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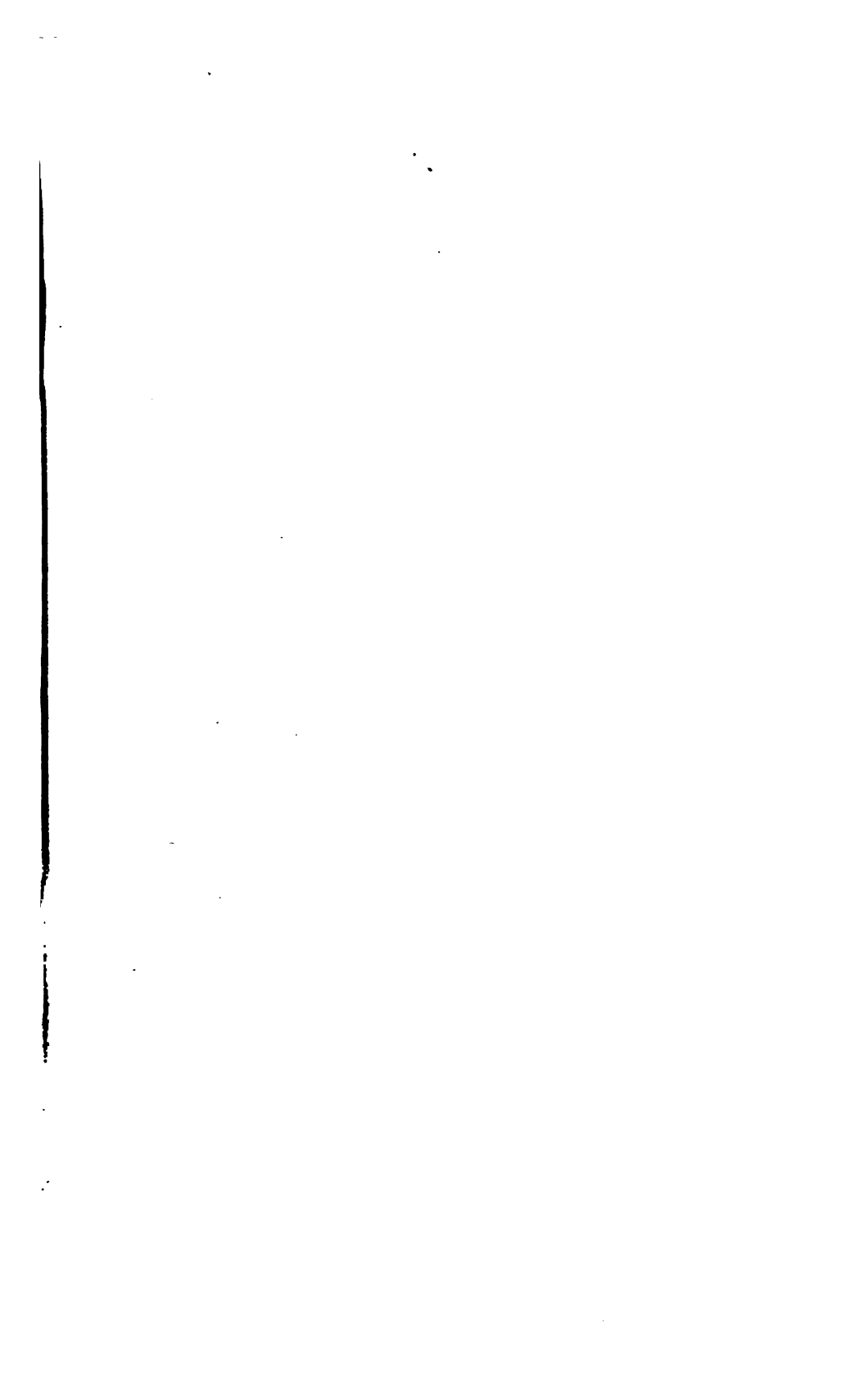
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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
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ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1833.

- ART. I.—1. *The existing Monopoly, an inadequate protection of the authorized Version of the Scriptures; Four Letters to the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Bishop of London: with Specimens of the intentional and other Detractions from the authorized Standard; to which is added a Postscript, containing the Correspondence of a London Committee of Ministers on the subject, the Reply of the University, and a Report on the Importance of the Alterations made.* By Thomas Curtis.
2. *Mr. Curtis's Misrepresentations exposed.* By Edw. Cardwell, D.D. St. Alban's Hall, Oxford. 1833.
3. *The Text of the English Bible considered.* By Thomasarton, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge and Dean of Peterborough. 1833.

It is, doubtless, perfectly well known to our readers that the first edition of the authorized English version of the Bible appeared in the year 1611. It was published in folio, and in a large black letter; and was quickly followed by other editions of various sizes, some in a type of the same description,—others in a smaller black type,—others again in the Roman character. Eleven different impressions appeared between 1611 and 1618. The first edition was, of course, the most important, as coming more immediately from the hands of the translators. But even this edition, being prepared by human beings, could advance no claim to complete exemption from human imperfections. And if the translators had been, themselves, infallible, their copyists and their printers would still have been liable to error; and their work could, therefore, hardly have been invested with the full dignity of a *standard*, from which it would be unlawful, in any instance, to depart. Manifest blunders of transcription and typography might, accordingly, be removed, in subsequent editions, without any intolerable violation of the sanctity of the

original impression. Again, in the reign of James I. and long after, the orthography of our language was so unsettled, that in all printed books, the same word would often occur with a different mode of spelling in two consecutive sentences, and sometimes even in the very same sentence; and half a dozen pages would frequently exhibit a still more capricious variety. It was, consequently, not to be expected that printers of the Bible were, in all future time, to persevere in retaining every unseemly blemish and inconsistency of this description, which might chance to be found in our version of the sacred text. On the contrary, as the national orthography became more fixed, it would obviously be their duty to adopt so desirable an uniformity, instead of superstitiously respecting the unsteadiness, or the carelessness, of their predecessors. Further, there are many words of our language whose grammatical form and inflexion is undergoing a constant change. For instance, the ancient preterite of the verb *fetch*, was formerly written *fet*: in the same manner, *lift* was often written, in former days, where we should write *lifted*: and, on the other hand, the verb which, with us, is always *rend* in the present tense, frequently appeared in what we now consider as the preterite form *rent*. And it will scarcely be contended that, in cases of this sort, all subsequent editors were bound religiously to adore every obsolete grammatical formation of our ancestors. Lastly, there would occasionally occur in any work of that period a word or a phrase, which had afterwards fallen into such utter desuetude, as to become wholly unintelligible to any but persons deeply versed in the antiquities of our language. Of this description is the word *bought*,—(probably the old preterite of the verb *bow*)—which was once used to signify a curve or knot. In such cases, indeed, the exercise of discretion would require much greater delicacy. But still, the cautious and sparing substitution of intelligible words, for words which had ceased to convey any meaning whatever, would hardly be deemed a very atrocious breach of editorial fidelity.

If, then, the departures from the original edition of 1611, now to be found in modern editions, were all of them among the classes above enumerated—(namely, corrections of manifest errors of the press, or compliances with certain unessential changes in the language)—the public would, clearly, have no substantial reason for complaining, that the copies of the English Bible now in circulation, were very unfaithful representatives of the labours of our venerable translators. And yet, it is quite evident that, even in that case, any person who should sit down to the business of collation, in the spirit of a caviller, or an alarmist, would find in the existing editions of the Bible abundant opportunities for

labouring in his vocation. He might reckon, possibly, by the thousand, the deviations of the present from the ancient *standard*. He might, then, declaim on the audacity, the perfidy, or the carelessness of privileged editors. And he might soon succeed in persuading a vast multitude of ignorant and timid people, that they were shamefully defrauded of the genuine oracles of God!

But what are we to say to those departures (if any) from the authorized version, which may be called *critical*?—that is, what are we to say to passages where a modern edition exhibits a different sense from that which is to be found in the original edition? Our answer to this question is, that we should be very unwilling to undertake the defence of the critic who first ventured on this supposed amendment: for such an example manifestly tends to a dangerous and licentious tampering with the work of the original translators. The correction itself may, possibly, be unimpeachable. But, undoubtedly, the proper place for its introduction is not in the authorized text of the Bible, but either in a professedly new translation, or else in the pages of a Commentary. The retention of some few mistakes of the first translators, may indeed be an evil; but then it is a much less evil than that of permitting editors, whatever may be their learning or their integrity, to give a new sense to obscure or doubtful passages. For, if this were allowed, the authorized text might, in the course of ages, gradually disappear; and the public would then have to complain, very justly, that the work of King James's divines was no longer before them. But, now, suppose that a critical alteration has actually been made; that its justness has long been, openly or tacitly, acknowledged by the learned; and that it has, accordingly, been allowed, for a long period, to maintain its place without murmur or dispute. What, in that case, would become the duty of any modern supervisor of an edition of the Bible? Is he, in the plenitude of his veneration for the ancient version, to restore it to its integrity, by recalling into the text the exploded error? Or, is he to retain an alteration which has, virtually, received the sanction of public consent and approbation? We have, here, a case of conscience, of which different persons will, probably, give different solutions. For our own part, we are disposed to acquiesce in that of Dr. Cardwell, whose words are—“I say nothing of the boldness which first made the alteration; I only commend the judgment, which, after it was generally adopted, did not hesitate to retain it.”

Changes of this last description, however, are likely to be much less considerable for their multitude, than their weight; and, consequently, when taken altogether, would do but little, numerically, to swell the list of the most indefatigable collector of

grievances. But this is not all. There is yet another invaluable source of complaint; and in order to understand the nature of it, we must bear in mind, that, in the original edition of the English Bible, there frequently occur words, and sometimes even short sentences, printed in a different character from the rest of the text. The reason for which this expedient was adopted, must be perfectly familiar to every one who has the slightest acquaintance with the languages in which the Sacred Books were originally written. It is an expedient which would be, more or less, necessary in the translation of any important work, even from one European tongue into another, if executed by persons anxious to warn the perusers of it, *first*, that, in certain passages, there was a difference between the idiom of the original language, and the idiom of the language of the translation; and *secondly*, that they had laboured, to the best of their knowledge and judgment, to introduce into the translation such words, as—although they had no specific counterpart in the original,—were, nevertheless, required, in order fully to convey its meaning. The resort to such an expedient, would, in fact, be no other, than a perpetual admonition to the public in general, that the persons engaged in the version had constantly before their eyes the genius and the spirit of the language which they were attempting faithfully to render; and it would, besides, be a perpetual invitation to the best informed readers, to compare the work of the translators with the original text. And if such a measure might be useful in any translation of an important work, it would, of course, be eminently serviceable in the version from a dead language into a living one,—and, more especially, from an Asiatic, and singularly elliptical language, into another, widely different in its form and construction. The expedient thus adopted by our translators, was, of course, continued in all the following editions of our Bible. The only difference was this,—that when the translations came to be published in the Roman character, instead of the old black letter, the words introduced for the purpose of completing the sense, were printed in *italics*.

Nothing, in short, can well be more evident than the fact, that the practice in question had its origin in the scrupulous caution and integrity of the translators. Had they omitted it, they might possibly, have been charged with introducing into the Bible, at their own discretion, *and without notice*, a considerable variety of matter, which had nothing exactly corresponding to it in the original. Their adoption of it, however,—(as we have already intimated)—has, eventually, turned out to be another fruitful source of reprehension and complaint; *not* of complaint against the translators themselves, but against the subsequent editors, who have been

the appointed guardians of the text. The *gravamen* recently produced against those privileged bodies, is no other than this,—that they have not been content with the *italics* authorized by the divines of James I.; but have, most audaciously, ventured to introduce *italics*, on their own authority, in a multitude of passages, where no such distinction is to be found in the standard translation; and have, thus, most fearfully augmented the catalogue of their delinquencies. This article of charge, it will soon appear, occupies so prominent a position in the discussions, which have been raised respecting the accuracy of the modern editions, that the whole might not inaptly be termed the *italic controversy*.

With a view to the more distinct exposition of these charges, it will here be necessary to state the process by which the text of the English Bible has been brought into the condition in which it is now presented to the public. Between sixty and seventy years ago, the attention of the world, more especially of the learned world, was drawn to the imperfect manner in which the Scriptures had been published. The current editions exhibited all the defects, of every description, which were to be found in the original edition; and, together with them, a large and various accumulation of errors, subsequently contributed, whether by accident or design. A complete and careful revision of the whole of the authorized version was, accordingly, recommended by Archbishop Secker. This recommendation was zealously followed by the delegates of the Oxford press. Several learned men undertook to prepare an edition more perfect than any that had preceded it. The chief conductor of the business was Dr. Blayney. And the result of the undertaking was the publication in 1769, of two editions, one in quarto, and the other in folio, commonly known as Dr. Blayney's editions. Of these, the latter being the more accurate of the two, has, since that time, been usually considered as the Standard for the English Bible. At all events, it has certainly been retained as *their* Standard by the delegates of the Oxford press. And one question now is, whether they were justified in so retaining it.

In judging of this question, it must be remembered that the instructions given to Dr. Blayney fixed upon the edition of 1611, as *his* Standard. And, from the account rendered by himself of his own labours, it appears, that to this Standard he adhered, with such exceptions only as the case seemed fully to justify, or to render absolutely unavoidable. He had before him the Bible of Bishop Lloyd, of the year 1701, and two others printed at Cambridge: and his collations with these editions enabled him to point out, and to correct, certain manifest errors, which were

found not only in the later editions, but also in the original edition of 1611. Whether the plan thus pursued by him was defensible or not, is, of course, open to fair and temperate discussion. Thus much, however, is quite certain,—that this plan was powerfully recommended, and undertaken with the most entire rectitude of purpose: and, to this hour, the Oxford delegates, instead of being ashamed of Dr. Blayney's edition, are prepared most confidently to vindicate their adherence to it. They, moreover, assert, by the mouth of their advocate Dr. Cardwell, that, for the last twelve years at least, “the text of the Oxford Bibles, though not totally free from errors, affords a more perfect specimen of faithful printing, than any other book they are acquainted with of the same extent.”

This declaration of confidence in the faithfulness and accuracy of the Oxford editions, it is well known, has been drawn from Dr. Cardwell, by the pamphlet which stands first at the head of this Article. The author of this arraignment is Mr. Curtis, formerly a bookseller, now a Dissenting Minister. The work appears in the form of four Letters to the Bishop of London. It charges the Universities with a most appalling amount of unfaithfulness. It numbers, almost by the myriad, the errors admitted by them into their editions of the Bible. It accuses them not only of typographical inaccuracy, but of wilful departure from King James's text. It complains that the British public are compelled to pay to the authorized printers of the Bible a *tax* of between forty and fifty thousand pounds a-year; and that all they get for their money is a disgraceful and pernicious accumulation of blunders. It recommends an abolition of the existing monopoly, and the substitution of some more effective precaution for the protection of the text. It, moreover, affirms that such precaution might be obtained for less than a twentieth part of the present *tax*. And, lastly, it professes that all these accusations and complaints have, throughout, been prompted, not by the slightest “bad feeling” towards the Universities; but, solely, by the writer's love for “the blessed book,” and by his “care and wish to secure correct Bibles for his countrymen.”

It seems that, somehow or other, these professions of impartiality and good-will, have by no means been successful in winning implicit trust from the *privileged* functionaries of Oxford. For the pamphlet of Mr. Curtis has been recommended, by Dr. Cardwell, “for perusal, to all persons who can derive pleasure from seeing feelings and statements placed in painful opposition to each other,—positive assertions resting upon precarious facts,—professions of kindness and sincerity in company with strong

tokens of artifice and malignity,—assumptions of knowledge in cases where there was real ignorance,—and a smooth surface of complacency and disinterestedness, but half concealing a sense of bitter disappointment.”

“ Troth, Captain Peesel, but these be very bitter words ! ”

whether, or not, they are more bitter than the occasion demands, we would much rather leave the public to pronounce, than give any positive opinion of our own. It scarcely forms a legitimate part of our duty to institute an analysis of the motives and feelings of Mr. Curtis, and to exhibit the various elements which may have entered into the mixture. Our concern is with arguments and facts. We shall therefore abstain from any detailed scrutiny into the proceedings of Mr. Curtis in this matter. We shall content ourselves with stating, that, whatever may have been the impulse which has governed his movements, it has been powerful enough to produce prodigious activity. He appears to have made his professions, and to have propounded his statements, and to have offered his services, in almost every possible quarter. He has applied to the Bishop of London—to the University of Cambridge—to the University of Oxford—to the Archbishop of Canterbury—and, lastly, (as to a grand Court of Appeal), to a committee of Dissenting Ministers. At Cambridge, his zeal was such, that it induced Dr. Turton to talk of *remuneration*, for his proposed exertions in collating Bibles, with a view to the correction of existing errors. There is, we all know, a sort of magic in the very word “ remuneration.” Nevertheless, it was not of sufficient potency to overthrow, for an instant, the modesty of Mr. Curtis. Not, indeed, that he exactly understood it, like Costard, to be “ the Latin word for *three farthings*.” But he did mention (“ in the spirit of *candour* which had pervaded their communications,”)—that although Dr. Blayney had received 1000*l.* for putting the Universities in the *wrong*, he would ask only 500*l.* for assisting to set them *right*: and this sum, he “ *roughly thought*,” the University of Cambridge might give him. Unfortunately, however, the University of Cambridge thought no such thing. In their reckoning, “ remuneration ” ultimately dwindled down from 500*l.* to 100*l.* ! Still the modesty of Mr. Curtis was undisturbed. He acquiesced, with a very tolerable grace, in this parsimonious arithmetic; and, verily, he did “ *impetrate* the gratillity.” The University of Oxford was still more untractable and niggardly than her sister. From her he could get neither “ *guerdon*,” nor “ *remuneration*,” nor encouragement of any kind. The Archbishop of Canterbury was almost equally impenetrable. Nothing, therefore, remained, but the final resort

to a tribunal of his Dissenting brethren. A committee was, accordingly, formed of the most eminent Dissenting ministers, resident in London and its environs, "for the restoration and protection of the authorized version of the Bible." A sub-committee was afterwards appointed, "to verify and to report upon the various collations of the secretary of the general committee"—which secretary was Mr. Curtis! The secretary, thereupon, specified, in the postscript to his "Four Letters to the Bishop of London," the cases of "intentional departure from the authorized version." These cases were examined by the sub-committee: and their report is as follows:—*

"At Grove House, Islington, June, 13, 1832.

"Present—Dr. Bennett, Dr. Cox and Dr. Henderson, a sub-committee appointed to verify and report upon a collation of various editions of the Holy Bible, made by the secretary.—Dr. Smith, though not of the sub-committee, kindly assisting in the investigation, it was

"Resolved 1. That this committee are perfectly satisfied that an extensive alteration has been introduced into the text of our authorized version, by changing into Italics innumerable words and phrases, which are not thus expressed in the original editions of King James's Bible printed in 1611.

"2. That these alterations so far from being an improvement of our Vernacular Translation, greatly deteriorate it; inasmuch, as in most

* Justice requires of us to state here, that while we were engaged in writing this Article, the following advertisement in the Times came to our knowledge,—(though not till nearly a fortnight subsequently to its date, March 26,)—in which the sub-committee make the following declaration:—

"That in publishing the resolutions of the 13th June, 1832, Mr. Curtis acted, not only without their concurrence, but in direct opposition to the written injunction of one of the committee,—to the positive declaration made to him by another, (who was also of the sub-committee), that such an act would be a gross breach of faith,—and to the obvious design of that part of their 4th resolution, in which it is declared expedient to wait for the Oxford Reprint of the edition of 1611. And, further,—that the sub-committee do not consider themselves responsible for any statements which Mr. Curtis has made in his Pamphlet, or which he may hereafter make; and that he is no longer secretary to the committee to which they were appointed, or in any way connected with that body. They add: that as their design was not to implicate character, but to secure the integrity of the Text of the authorized version, they consider the reprint of the Standard Edition, now commenced at Oxford, as the first step towards the commencement of the object they had in view." The signature of Dr. J. Pye Smith is affixed to this declaration, together with the names of the sub-committee.

The whole of our following remarks on this report were completed before any notice of the above declaration reached us. We did not think it necessary, or expedient, however, to expunge those remarks from our manuscript, before it went to the press: for we conceived it to be very desirable that the sub-committee should be distinctly aware of the impression which such a document is fitted to make on the public mind. We, nevertheless, are anxious that the sub-committee should have whatever advantage can be derived from their disavowal, not of the report itself, but of its publication. And if there should appear to be any thing of keenness or severity in any part of our strictures, our readers are welcome to exercise their discretion in transferring the application of those strictures in such portions as they may think right, from the sub-committee, to their *Ex-Secretary*, Mr. Curtis.

instances, they convey to the reader the idea, that wherever any words are printed in *Italics*, there is nothing corresponding to them in the original text: whereas it must at once be obvious to every person who is competent to judge on the question, that what has been supplied in these instances was absolutely necessary in order to give the full force of the Hebrew and Greek idioms; and consequently should have been printed in the same characters as the rest of the text.

“ 3. That those who have made these alterations, have discovered a great want of critical taste, unnecessarily exposed the sacred text to the scoffs of infidels, and thrown such stumbling-blocks in the way of the unlearned, as are greatly calculated to perplex their minds, and unsettle their confidence in the text of Scripture.

“ 4. That it be recommended to the general committee, to take such measures as they shall deem most likely to effect a speedy return to the Standard text, which has thus wantonly been abandoned; but that it is expedient to wait till the reprint of the edition of 1611, now printing at Oxford, be before the public, ere any further correspondence be entered upon with the Universities.

“ (Signed) E. HENDERSON.
F. A. COX.
J. BENNETT.”

“ It may be right to state that the members of the committee are J. Bennett, D.D.; J. Blackburn; George Collison; F. A. Cox, LL. D.; Thomas Curtis; J. Fletcher, D.D.; E. Henderson, D.D.; J. Pye Smith, D.D.; J. Townley, D.D.; R. Winter, D.D.”

The attention of our readers is particularly invited to this report. It is, most assuredly, well entitled to their attention: for it expresses the sentiments of some of the most distinguished individuals of the Dissenting community. And yet, it is most remarkable, that their statement contains not one syllable relative to the *miscellaneous* imputations produced by their secretary. It is wholly confined to the *Italic* department of his grievances. According to the sentence of this tribunal, the “very head and front of the offending” of our modern editors, is, their expression in *Italics* of a multitude of words and phrases, which are *not* so expressed in the original edition of King James’s Bible. What then becomes of the other counts of the very copious indictment preferred against them by the public accuser? How happened it that even the brethren and familiar friends of Mr. Curtis should have consigned to silence and oblivion the remaining swarm of imperfections which are said by *him* to disgrace our English Bibles? How are we to account for their virtual abandonment of all his other charges, but by concluding that, in the estimation of the sub-committee, those other charges were wholly destitute of foundation,—or, at least, that they vanished into utter

insignificance, when compared with the capital offence of multiplying the *Italics*?

The manifesto of this committee might, in truth, reasonably warrant the defenders of the modern text, to dismiss all thought or anxiety respecting the other heads of accusation, set forth in the pamphlet of Mr. Secretary Curtis. It may nevertheless be due to the *public* to bestow some notice on these charges, before we proceed to that, which, undoubtedly, forms the main feature of the present controversy.

The grand complaint, then, of Mr. Curtis, is, that the original edition of 1611 has been abandoned; nay, more than this, that it never was before the Oxford delegates, when they undertook their revision of the text, in 1767! His words are as follows;—

“ Shall we find that Dr. Blayney, or any of his learned friends, *KNEW* the edition of 1611, to which they evidently refer as King James's Bible, to be the first original edition? The phrase, *the edition of 1611*, was evidently written on the supposition of there being but one edition of that year. But I personally possess two. The copies of the Universities are *all of one edition*, I believe. But in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, and lately in the possession of George Offor, Esq., of Tower Hill, was a distinct edition of 1611, answering to my No. 1. Those of the Universities answer to my No. 2. And these editions are both in the large black letter.”—p. 34.

Again,—

“ The fact of there being *two* editions at least of this year, 1611,—one in the Lambeth library, and the other at his hand—is surely sufficient to prove that Dr. Blayney, and the Oxford reformers of the text in 1769, were *disgracefully ignorant* of the materials they might have accumulated for their task. The resolution of the delegates bears this *ignorance of a vital point*—(which is, the first edition)—on the face of it, and leaves it doubtful whether, throughout the whole business, they had a *document of the slightest genuine authority before them*. That is, they may have mistaken a *second* and more inaccurate, for the *first* and genuine edition of the translators.”—p. 55.

Now let us hear the reply of Dr. Cardwell to this formidable and very unceremonious charge of *disgraceful ignorance*, and this want of a *document of the slightest genuine authority*. According to his statement, then, the case stands thus. Of the *Oxford original*, (the authority of which is questioned by Mr. Curtis), thirteen copies have been examined at Oxford. Of these thirteen copies, the greater part have titles to the Old Testament, and *all of them* have titles to the New. *In every instance, the date is 1611*. Of another edition, eight copies have been examined at Oxford: and four out of the eight are found to have titles to the Old Testament, *bearing date 1613*. Of the other four,

the titles have been lost. The titles of the New Testament in this edition, it is true, bear the date of 1611. But then it is also true, that they appear to have been taken, with some little alteration, from the same block with that edition which bears, *through-out*, the date of 1611. What, therefore, is the inevitable inference,—but that the last mentioned edition is of a later date than the former? And this result, Dr. Cardwell further informs us, is confirmed by a multitude of small but decisive tokens, which make the matter clear to every intelligent and experienced printer. With regard to the Lambeth copy,—it is stated by Dr. Cardwell that this copy did not belong to the Lambeth library before the time of Archbishop Secker; and that, on examination, it is found to be actually a compound made up from different editions; and that it contains many leaves, in various parts of the book, ascertained to belong to the year 1640. And this is the copy which Mr. Curtis has dignified with the mark of *his* No. 1, and which, in his judgment, is to supersede the *Oxford original* of 1611!—It appears, therefore, that there were not two editions of 1611; but, one of 1611, and one of 1613; that the Lambeth edition is, for the present purpose, of no authority whatever; and that the delegates *had* before them, the Oxford original, of 1611, the only document to which any *genuine authority* can be ascribed.

It may, perhaps, be said, that Mr. Curtis was ignorant of all this. This may very possibly be so. But, if it be, he will hardly complain, should the public prefix to *his* detected ignorance the same epithet of *disgraceful*, with which he has not scrupled to stigmatize the *imputed* ignorance of the Oxford delegates.

But, further, if Mr. Curtis is to be believed, it is of marvellous slender importance whether the delegates had the true original edition before them, or whether they had not. For he tells us, plainly, that, if they had it, they were totally unable to make a proper use of it. He affirms, roundly, that neither they, nor Dr. Blayney, “knew enough of the matter to distinguish between typographical and critical alterations!”—p. 57. Now, we cannot very well pretend to conjecture with what feelings the Sub-Committee of Dissenting Ministers must have contemplated an assertion like this, from the mouth of their secretary. But this we know,—that to us it sounds very much like the extremity of fool-hardiness and utter infatuation. Dr. Blayney, a most eminent Hebrew scholar, knew nothing of criticism; and the delegates of the Oxford press knew nothing of typography; and so, between them, they bungled most ignominiously in the discharge of an important and sacred responsibility; and it is happily reserved for Mr. Curtis, secretary to the Dissenting Sub-Com-

mittee, to gibbet their disgraceful and blundering ignorance! It would be a waste of time and patience to offer another word of commentary on this prodigious exhibition of hardihood. Truly the zeal of the secretary appears to have completely eaten up his discretion. For though the Oxford editors may not have had before them the Lambeth copy, No. 1, it is clear that they *had* before them, in addition to the undoubted standard of 1611, the most elaborate editions of modern date; for instance, Bishop Lloyd's edition of 1701, together with the two Cambridge Bibles (which would abundantly inform them of the alterations, whether right or wrong, which had subsequently been introduced into the text); and that they, likewise, had constantly before them the Hebrew and the Greek originals. With such an apparatus, they must, indeed, have been bunglers, worse than Mr. Curtis himself can imagine or describe, if they were unable to discriminate between mere errors of the press, and manifest departures from the sense of the original edition!

It would be impossible for us, without writing another pamphlet, to follow Mr. Curtis through his whole labyrinth of accusations. The arbitrary variations complained of by him, relate chiefly to the punctuation,—the heads or contents of chapters,—the column titles,—the marginal notes,—the paragraphs marks,—and, more particularly, the distinction of character used in printing the Sacred Name. Of these, the last is the only one of any solemn importance. The others scarcely fall within the description of departures from the text. We must therefore refer the reader, who may be desirous of satisfaction, respecting such subordinate matters, to the reply of Dr. Cardwell; observing, merely, that occasional changes in the column-titles became quite inevitable, as the editions were altered in size and form. There was manifestly no alternative, but either to abandon them altogether, or else to frame them, from time to time, in accommodation to the varying distribution of the text, in page and column.

The alleged departures from the authorized version, in printing the names of the Deity, form undoubtedly a more important head of enquiry. It cannot be needful to remind our readers, that the translators of the Bible were withheld from printing the ineffable name *Jehovah*, by a scruple somewhat analogous to that which restrained the Jews from giving utterance to it. They substituted for it the term "Lord." But then, as the same term would often be required for the purpose of expressing the title *Adon*, or *Adonai*, it was necessary to adopt *some* distinction in the English version, which might inform the reader whether *Jehovah* or *Adonai* was the word in the Hebrew. They accordingly printed LORD in capitals, wherever it was used as the

representative of the name *Jehovah*, and they printed the same word in the small character when the original was *Adonai*. In those cases where *Adonai* and *Jehovah* occurred together, this expedient would of course fail; and the method then resorted to, was, to represent the word *Jehovah* by the word **GOD**, in capital letters. And, lastly, where *Jehovah* was followed by the word *Elohim*, the word "God" was still retained, as corresponding to *Elohim*; but it was printed in ordinary characters, and was preceded by **LORD**, printed in capitals. So that *Adonai Jehovah* would, in English, be represented by **Lord God**; and *Jehovah Elohim* by **LORD God**.

Every one must instantly perceive that distinctions like these would become as snares and pitfalls to the most vigilant typography: and that all these perils might well nigh have been avoided by preserving the word *Jehovah* in the English translation throughout. The errors which have actually crept into our Bibles from this source of confusion are the more deeply to be lamented, because it cannot be denied that, in the opinion of the best Hebrew scholars, the title of *Jehovah* is one which imports no less than the eternity and self-existence of the Deity,—a notion which it cannot be safe or reverent to trifle with in any translation of the Scriptures. And yet, after all, the distinctions in question are chiefly, if not solely, interesting to the scholar and the divine. To the unlettered reader they are comparatively unimportant. What peasant or artisan ever felt his spirit sensibly raised up or edified by seeing the title **LORD** in capital letters instead of ordinary ones? What notice could this convey to him that the self-existence and eternity of God were, here, in the contemplation of the sacred writer? And how could his devotion be endangered or disturbed by finding the same word in the ordinary character, where capitals should have been employed? To him, the phrase would, in meaning, be precisely the same, in whatever form it might be printed. To those persons who might be acquainted with the original languages, errors of this description would, indeed, be more offensive than they ever can be to the unlearned. But even to the learned, such errors are much less momentous than may at first appear. For how is the theologian or biblical critic to be misled by them, when he has the original Bible constantly within his reach?

These considerations, indeed, can never for a moment be produced in palliation of careless printing or revision. But they will naturally start up in the mind of all tolerably intelligent readers, on hearing the sonorous and tragic emphasis with which the failures in question are denounced by Mr. Curtis. "It is startling," he exclaims, "to see that, in the chief seats of our na-

tional and biblical learning, a grammatical peculiarity of the original scriptures, of more importance, perhaps, than any other peculiarity in any of the grammars of the earth, should be *cast, as it were, to the winds!*" And who are they who have cast it to the winds, but Dr. Blayney, and his disgracefully ignorant associates! Well, then, what standard are we to follow for their correction? The original edition of King James?—Why, the edition of King James contains no less than twenty-eight errors of this very description! Any other edition of the English Bible? Against this, Mr. Curtis will of course protest; and well he may—for no edition is to be found, in which such errors do not occasionally occur. What then is to be done, but to resort to the Hebrew Bible as the standard?—that is, to do what Mr. Curtis is eternally condemning, viz. to depart from the venerable English standard of 1611! In spite, however, of his condemnation, this is precisely what the University of Oxford are now in the habit of doing: for the Bibles printed at the Oxford press do actually deviate in this respect from the edition of 1611, and are in *strict* accordance with the Hebrew; as strict, at least, as mortal fallibility and imperfection will allow. And if at any time an accidental error of this class should still be occasionally detected, it is to be hoped that the present delegates will experience a little more charity from the public, than their predecessors have received at the hands of Mr. Curtis; and that they will no longer be accused of carelessly *tossing to the winds the most important grammatical peculiarity on earth!*

But we must now hasten forward to the main body of the delinquency which lieth heavy on the memory of Dr. Blayney and his confederates—namely, their intolerable license in the use of *Italic* letters! And here we really feel half tempted to retire from the office of criticism or arbitration, and to leave the case wholly in the hands of Dr. Turton; in other words, to print his pamphlet in these pages, from the beginning to the end. We know of no other means by which we could so effectually do justice to the cause he represents. But as this would occupy rather too much of our space, we shall endeavour to give the public as complete a notion as our limits will allow, of the triumphant manner in which Dr. Turton has disposed of the case.

We must begin by requesting our readers to look back to the manifesto of the sub-committee, printed by us above, in p. 8. And when they have well considered the language of that document, we shall next solicit their attention to the following reflections which it has extorted from Dr. Turton:—

"To say the truth, if I were a member of the Sub-Committee, I should at the present moment feel greater uneasiness of mind than it has

ever yet been my lot to feel. Before this time, I should have ascertained the real state of the case, with regard to these italics; and when I saw it in print, as my own deliberate declaration to the world, that those who had made the alterations in question "had exposed the sacred text to the scoffs of infidels, and thrown such stumbling-blocks in the way of the unlearned, as are greatly calculated to perplex their minds, and unsettle their confidence in the text of Scripture,"—I should shrink from the purport of my own language. Even if I considered it as my happiness, rather than my misfortune, not to belong to either of the great Academical Institutions of the country, I should still acknowledge that such institutions ought not to be censured on slight grounds. I should be aware that, on very insufficient evidence, I had held up to public reprobation the characters of men who had never injured me, and of whom I had no reason to think evil. These would now be my feelings if it were my unhappiness to be a member of the Sub-Committee."

These, indeed, are not words of bitterness, (though they cannot be very much like the honey-comb in the mouth of the Sub-Committee, or of Mr. Secretary Curtis!) but they are words of grave and solemn rebuke, which sound like the knell of that cause, for the demolition of which Dr. Turton has stepped forth. It now remains for us to contemplate the process by which he has effected its destruction.

He begins by a brief exposition of the purposes for which the italics were introduced into the edition of 1611, and produces various examples of the practice from the text of that edition. Sometimes it appears that a verb is printed in italics; e. g. "Darkness *was* on the face of the deep."—"Pride *goeth* before destruction."—"Faith *cometh* by hearing." Pronouns are occasionally presented in the same type,—thus: "We have Abraham to *our* father."—"And knowest *his* will."—"The author and finisher of *our* faith." Occasionally nouns: "The time that women go out to draw *water*."—"Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up *their* voice."—"Neither will He keep *his* anger for ever."—"God is not *the* author of confusion." Prepositions and connecting particles are very often printed in the same way: "The table *and* all the vessels thereof."—"So Hiram gave Solomon cedar trees, and fir trees, *according* to all his desire."—"They are corrupt, and speak wickedly *concerning* oppression," &c. &c. &c. In short, there is perhaps no part of speech which is not frequently distinguished by the type in which it is printed from the rest of the sentence. And sometimes phrases and even short sentences are similarly marked: "He was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of *such as* have cattle."—"A brother offended is *harder to be won* than a strong city."—"He bendeth *his bow* to shoot his arrows."—"Inasmuch as not without an oath *he was* made priest."

No person with three ideas in his head can look at the above instances without seeing in a moment the object of the translators. He must perceive that the *italics* were not adopted by them for the purpose of informing the public that in some places they had ventured to *take liberties* with the original text,—only that they could not think of doing this without giving distinct notice. On the contrary, their intention obviously was to point out, that in many cases the difference of the idiom was such as would disable them from preserving the full meaning of the sacred text, and sometimes even from making it at all intelligible, without introducing more words than the original contained; and, by way of a check upon this exercise of their own discretion, they printed the words so introduced in a different character.

The application, however, of an expedient like this, would of course demand an immensity of care and attention on the part of translator, copyist, and printer. It is no matter of surprise if they all occasionally nodded over such a task, in the course of so protracted a work. That they did sometimes slumber over it seems evident from the fact that the *italics* are often, to all appearance most capriciously, omitted. There were multitudes of passages in the original Bible of 1611 in which the principle seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and which passages yet demanded the application of that principle quite as manifestly and urgently as any in which it had been most scrupulously observed. Instances such as these would very naturally force themselves on the attention of subsequent editors, and more especially on the attention of persons like Dr. Blayney and his coadjutors, solemnly entrusted with a complete revision of the text. It would as naturally occur to such persons, that their office could not be faithfully or usefully discharged without an attempt to carry into more complete effect the principle of the translators themselves, by applying it to numerous words and phrases which they had printed in the ordinary character. And what if they had heard a voice behind them, saying, "Beware how you depart from the edition of 1611: at your peril introduce a single *italic* not warranted by that venerable standard: tremble at the thought of exposing the sacred text to the scoffs of infidels, and of placing stumbling-blocks in the way of the unlearned!" If, we say, they had heard a warning like this, is it to be imagined that they would have listened for a moment to such an oracle? No: they would have known their duty better; and, to them, their sense of duty would have been the *εἰς δίκην ἀγίστος*. And as for the arduous responsibility of venturing to supply the manifest omissions, and to correct the manifold inconsistencies of King James's translators in their use of *italics*,—they would almost as soon have thought of

shrinking from it, as they would have thought of declining to correct the grossest blunders of King James's press.

The manner in which they have acquitted themselves of this responsibility is the next thing to be considered ; and this will be best ascertained by a reference to certain texts examined by the Sub-Committee.

The first instance considered by Dr. Turton is Gen. i. 9, 10. In the edition of 1611 no italics appear in these verses, whereas the modern editions exhibit them thus : " Let the dry *land* appear ; and it was so. And God called the dry *land* earth." And this deviation from the ancient standard is the first item of complaint. There is no word, it is true, in the original, corresponding to "*land* ;" but then, saith the accuser, the Hebrew word effectually implies it. Be it so. And now take 2 Kings, ii. 21 : " There shall not be from thence any more dearth or barren *land*." Ought the last word in this sentence, then, to be in italics, or not ? If it *ought*, our modern editors are also clearly right in the instance above condemned by the Sub-Committee, for the two cases are perfectly analogous. If it ought not, the original translators were wrong, for they have printed it "*barren land* !" The Sub-Committee are entirely welcome to whichever horn of this dilemma may suit them best.

Again : we should like to know how the Sub-Committee would themselves have printed the following words in Gen. xx. 17 : " And they bare children." If they should answer, that they would print *children* in italics, then we should ask, why are they angry with the modern editors for doing likewise ? But if they say that the word should be printed in the ordinary character, as it is in the original text, we should then like to take their pleasure respecting the following passage : Gen. v. 3. " The sons of God came in unto the daughters of men ; and they bare children unto them." And here we should address them as before,—“ Now, Gentlemen, what say you, "*Italics*," or "*No italics* ?" If they would be *consistent with themselves*, they must unquestionably reply "*No italics* !" But if they *were* so to reply, they would as unquestionably be *inconsistent* with the venerable standard, which prints the latter words thus : " and they bare *children* unto them."

There would be scarcely any end to an accumulation of instances in which the practice of the modern editors is irresistibly justified by the practice of the translators. But we must content ourselves with one or two passages more from the New Testament. It will hardly, we suppose, be contended that the copulas should be differently printed in such passages as these : " Strait is the gate and narrow is the way, &c."—" This is a faithful saying, &c." Now, in the latter of these two passages only have the

italics been adopted by the translators. Were the moderns then to worship their inconsistency, and to discard the italics in the former? Once more: Our translators have printed—"Let us hold fast *our* profession;" (*καταῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας.*) Why then is a modern editor to be charged with "a wanton abandonment of the standard text," for printing—"Servants, obey *your* masters in all things;" (*οἱ δούλοι ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κυρίοις*)?

For further examples, however, we must unavoidably entreat the reader to consult the pages of Dr. Turton himself. They seem to us to set the whole question at rest for ever; and they are further most valuable for the exposition which they contain of the principles upon which the italics were originally adopted, and have been subsequently introduced. We apprehend that the sub-committee themselves must by this time be fully well convinced that he is abundantly warranted in exclaiming—"I do affirm, in the face of the world, that the modern *italics* are not, in the least, more liable to objection than the *italics* of 1611."

If however the gentlemen of the sub-committee are not yet fully satisfied of their own rashness,—if they still imagine that their charges can survive the pamphlet of Dr. Turton—we would then, most respectfully, propose to them the following sort of *ordeal*, with a view of bringing the question to a final issue. Let the triumvirate, viz. *Doctores* Bennett, Cox, and Henderson, either by themselves, or with a *tales de circumstantibus* from among their brethren, be placed under lock and key, either at Grove House, Islington, or, should they prefer it, in the most comfortable common room at Oxford. Let them there be provided with Hebrew Bibles, and Greek Bibles, and Latin Bibles, and Bibles in every language under heaven. Let them, moreover, be furnished with copies of that modern edition of the English Bible which is most plentifully garnished with italics. But let *not* the original standard edition of 1611 be suffered to enter their chamber. Lastly, let them, during the period of their confinement, be rigidly confined to the diet of the Pythagorean or the Nazarite. The task which we would assign them, in their imprisonment, would be no other than this,—to employ their own sagacity and their own learning,—(aided with the Biblical apparatus collected for them, but without the help of the original text of 1611),—in separating, from among all the passages, marked by *italics* in the *modern* editions, those which are peculiar to the *standard edition* of King James. We grievously suspect that, if they were not to emerge from their captivity, till this task was accomplished, the experiment would be an awful one indeed! We further do surmise that if their doors were not to be unclosed, till they should have arrived at some tolerable agreement among

themselves, upon the subject, with reference to any one specified portion of the Scriptures, they would come out much thinner, much sadder, if not much better men, than they went in! And of this we feel perfectly assured, that they would be unable to look back upon their own labours, without trembling at the thunders of their own report.

Do they doubt the justness of our anticipations, in the case we have imagined? or, do they object to the experiment on so formidable a scale? If they do—we willingly consent to propose it in a less portentous shape. Let them only take Dr. Turton's pamphlet, and let them imagine that they had before them all the instances which that pamphlet contains, of passages marked with italics, whether selected from the edition of 1611, or from any modern edition,—and that they had these instances before them *promiscuously*, and without the slightest previous knowledge respecting the copy from which each instance had been extracted: let them imagine this;—and then let them say, candidly and honestly, whether they believe that they could tell the *italics* of 1611, from the italics of 1769, or of any subsequent period? And if their answer should be, (as we have no doubt it must be)—in the negative,—then let them think of the firebrands they, or their Secretary, have been scattering: nay—let them take care lest they themselves should be in danger of a scorching!—It is, indeed, a fearful thing to “expose the sacred text to the scoffs of infidels,—to throw stumbling blocks in the way of the unlearned,—and to unsettle their confidence in the text of Scripture!” And, this being so, it is likewise a fearful thing for men to spread abroad such imputations as these,—especially if, by their own confession, they would be unable, without previous notice, to distinguish between the rock of offence, and the goodly stones which add both to the strength and symmetry of the building!

It might—as Dr. Turton has most judiciously and happily suggested—be matter of curious speculation, to conjecture what might have been the fate of the privileged editors of the Bible, had they religiously abstained from all violation whatever of the standard of 1611. Every one knows that among the most approved and popular topics of complaint against our learned bodies, none is more effective than their *antipathy to improvement*. We are eternally reminded that they are always a century, at least, behind the age in which they live,—that in the midst of the universal progress, they alone are, to all appearance, stationary—that their lethargic slumbers can be disturbed by nothing but by fierce and vexatious dreams of innovation and confusion,—that the very word *change* fills their brain with all manner of ugly phantoms,—and that, consequently, they are no better than cor-

porations instituted for the perpetuation of ignorance, error, and abuse. All this is as familiar as household words in the ears of our most thinking and most reforming people! Let us, then, suppose that the Universities had, in this instance, remained faithful to the character which the men of "liberal ideas" have always so generously ascribed to them: that, true to their natural abhorrence of innovation, they had retained the text of 1611, unaltered and inviolate, to the present time. What, in all human probability, would, then, have been the phenomena, attendant upon an inquiry into the condition of the English Bible? For our own parts, we can easily imagine a sub-committee assembled at Grove House, Islington; and, after deep and solemn deliberation, agreeing upon the following resolutions:

1. That this committee are perfectly satisfied that multiplied inaccuracies and inconsistencies are to be found in the original text of our authorized version; more especially in the partial, irregular, and capricious introduction of *italics*, as expressed in the original editions of King James's Bible printed in 1611.

2. That the italics found in those editions, ought either to have been discarded altogether in the modern impressions—or else, should have been much more extensively and judiciously applied: since the present limited and unsteady use of them must convey to the unlearned reader the erroneous impression, that, in the places so distinguished,—and in no others,—words have been introduced which have nothing corresponding to them in the Hebrew or Greek originals.

3. That those, who have scrupulously adhered to the use of italics, as circumscribed by the authority of the original edition, have discovered a great want of critical taste,—have suffered the English text to remain exposed to the suspicion of carelessness or unfaithfulness,—and have failed to remove a stumbling block, which may seriously shake the confidence of the public in the text of Scripture.

4. That it be recommended to the general committee, to take such measures as they shall deem most likely to effect a speedy correction of the *standard* text, the manifest errors of which have been thus unwisely and pedantically preserved: but that it may be expedient to wait till an exact reprint of the edition of 1611 shall be before the public, ere any correspondence be entered upon by the Universities.

Such is the report, which, as we humbly surmise, might not unreasonably have been expected from a conclave of Dissenting ministers, had the standard of King James been suffered to remain in its ancient and venerable state of imperfection. And verily, if under such circumstances, a report of this description,

had appeared, the delegates of Oxford and the syndics of Cambridge would, in our judgment, have been placed by it in no very enviable condition. They would, we think, have had but little reason to applaud or congratulate themselves, on account of their fidelity to the very blemishes of their original: and we have very little doubt that if our translators themselves could revisit the earth, even *they* would have found themselves compelled to acquiesce, with deep humility, in the complaint of the *delegates* of Grove House. From the present generation of reformers and economists, at all events, our monopolist editors would have had no mercy to expect. We should have then have heard of nothing but the incorrigible sluggishness and apathy of privileged functionaries; and the abomination of paying 50,000*l.* a year, merely for the purpose of consecrating and canonizing the blunders or the caprices of our forefathers!

We will not injure the pamphlet of Dr. Turton by producing any more fragments from it. The whole of it *must* be perused—(it is only 44 pages)—by all who would distinctly survey the grounds of their confidence in the present text, so far as the *italics* are concerned. We must, however, add a word or two more on the subject itself. Not content with the authority and sanction of the sub-committee, Mr. Curtis, it seems, is anxious to fortify his case with the venerable name of Dr. Adam Clarke. For, in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, on the Patent of the King's Printers, he says—"Dr. A. Clarke, in his preface to the Bible, states that he had corrected many thousand errors in the *italics*, which made God to speak what he never did speak." Now it is not to be believed that these words were produced by Mr. Curtis, as testimony *in favour* of the modern italics. And if they were produced against the modern italics, we do not hesitate to affirm that his carelessness is intolerable. And if he objects to this charge, we must plainly tell him, that we cannot modify it, otherwise than by substituting for *carelessness* some other word which he will find still more unpalatable. Let the public hear Dr. A. Clarke himself, at full length,—and then judge. The following is the account, given by that laborious scholar and excellent man, of Dr. Blayney's edition.

"The most complete revision of the English Bible was made by Dr. Blayney, in the year 1769, under the direction of the vice chancellor and delegates of the University (press); in which, 1. The *punctuation* was thoroughly revised:—2. *The words printed in ITALICS examined, and corrected by the Hebrew and Greek originals*:—3. *The proper names*, to the etymology of which allusions are made in the text, translated, and entered in the margin:—4. *The heads and running titles* corrected:—5. Some material errors in chronology rectified:—and 6. *The marginal*

references re-examined, corrected, and their number greatly increased. Copies of this revision are those which are termed above *the most correct copies of the present authorized version*. And it is this revision, re-collected, re-examined, and corrected from typographical inaccuracies, in a great variety of places, that has been followed for the *text* prefixed to these notes."

Having thus, as it were, erected Dr. Blayney's edition into his *standard*, Dr. Clarke proceeds to notice more particularly the errors that had crept into the text, in printing the italics. Respecting these, he adds,

"But, besides these corrections, I have found it necessary to re-examine *all the italics*. By those, I mean the words interspersed through the text, avowedly not in the original, but thought necessary by our translators to complete the sense, and accommodate the idioms of the Hebrew and Greek to those of the English language. In these I found gross corruptions,—*particularly where they had been changed for ROMAN CHARACTERS*, whereby words have been attributed to God which he never spake."

We now give Mr. Curtis joy of the testimony of Dr. Adam Clarke! And, lest he should still be desperate enough to cling to it, we shall further solicit attention to the following statement of Dr. Cardwell:

"On an examination of Dr. Clarke's text, I have found, in every instance compared by me, and particularly in the passages complained of by Mr. Curtis, (Exod. xii. 36, &c.) that *the Oxford italics are retained*. I have also compared the Oxford 4to. of 1824, with Dr. Clarke's text in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and I find that, in addition to the italics of the former, Dr. Clarke admitted at least *three new cases of them*; viz. ix. 17.—xii. 19.—and xii. 25."

We presume that the name of Dr. Adam Clarke may now be finally struck off from the list of witnesses for the prosecution. Indeed, he—(in his posthumous reputation)—may be in some danger of a prosecution himself!

To the opinion of Dr. Adam Clarke we subjoin the testimony of another learned and respectable Dissenting minister, produced by Dr. Turton. The person we allude to is Dr. Edward Williams, who was for many years the theological tutor in an academy for the education of young students in the ministry. In a little book designed for the information of his pupils, Dr. Williams gives the following character of Dr. Blayney's edition:—"For accuracy of printing, the Oxford edition of 1769, superintended by Dr. Blayney, Regius Professor of Hebrew, at Oxford, is much esteemed. The valued correctness extends not merely to the text, but also to the contents of the chapters, the marginal readings and references, the chronological dates, &c."—(*Christian Preacher*, p. 415, ed. 1800.) Such—says Dr. Turton—is the

evidence borne, by a person whose partialities were not on the side of the Universities, to the estimation in which Dr. Blaney's edition was held, more than thirty years after it had been presented to the world.—p. 59.

With regard to the miscellaneous charges of inaccuracy, it is no easy matter, according to Mr. Curtis's statements, to appropriate them to this or that particular edition. What he professes to produce is a sort of consolidated fund of incorrectness, the accumulation of a long period, and the contribution of a great variety of impressions. So that all the editions which have been published for years past, seem to stand before him, in the predicament of a vast copartnership of error; each member of the firm being answerable for the full amount of failure imputed to the whole. In order to suppress the panic which rumours like these might otherwise spread abroad, it will be sufficient to state that (so far at least as Oxford is involved)—there is, at present, nothing whatever which indicates any instability of credit. It is distinctly stated by Mr. Parker, the manager of the Clarendon Press, in his evidence before the committee, that the erroneous editions are those of early date,—none later than ten or twelve years ago. Of the extreme and meritorious anxiety of the present delegates and manager, to secure accurate impressions, we may judge from the assertions of the same gentleman;—who informs the committee, that “a reward of a sovereign is paid to any person discovering an error of any importance, and affecting the sense;—and, half-a-crown for every printer's error,—such as the turning a letter up-side-down,—or a comma,—or the smallest blunder that can be discovered; that he should be happy to pay any person a sum to point out any error in any of the Oxford editions since 1820; and that twenty years ago, a number of books were circulated with forged Oxford titles.”

Respecting the Cambridge editions, little appears in the minutes of evidence before the committee; and even in the estimate produced by Mr. Curtis, their share of delinquency is comparatively moderate. Most of the errors imputed to them are to be found in editions more than ten years old: and it may reasonably be presumed that these have been subsequently corrected.

Of the editions published by the King's printers, some have been occasionally very defective. But the editions of 1806 and 1813, are said to be almost immaculate. So much for the privileged editors of modern times, who are said to be emptying the pockets of the King's subjects of their cash, and, in return, filling their Bibles with intolerable blunders! It may perhaps be a more difficult matter to vindicate their predecessors of the seventeenth century. That a multitude of serious errors had crept into the

impressions of the Bible even in the time of Charles I., is beyond all question. Under the Commonwealth, however, *when there were no King's printers*, matters seem to have got worse: for it was strongly suspected that, in those days, the text suffered from treachery as well as carelessness. In 1660, Fuller complained that "the late many false and erroneous impressions of the Bible" were among the causes of the growth of infidelity in the land. It can scarcely, however, be worth while to dwell upon the prodigies of negligence, or unfaithfulness, which occasionally disfigured and corrupted the text, at that remoter period, whether in the days of Charles I., or those of the Protectorate. Monopoly, or no monopoly—such abominations are not very likely to occur in modern times. It may, nevertheless, be still gravely questioned whether it would not be a most perilous experiment indeed, to consign the text of Scripture to the care and integrity of individuals. There is something, we are quite aware, in the very sound of the word *monopoly*, which, at this day, would be sufficient, of itself, to ruin the credit of the King's printers, or the two Universities of the land, in the estimation of those virtuous men, who have nobly undertaken the restoration of all things! But it is to be hoped that the magic of a phrase will not be quite powerful enough to enchain the judgment of the legislature. Among the greatest enemies to privileged editorship, is Mr. Child, who contends that this *monopoly*, like all other monopolies, is in fact, a bounty upon carelessness, instead of a security against it. His own example, however, furnishes but a sorry illustration of his doctrine. He has himself printed some editions of the sacred volume. And what has been his success?—Mr. Parker states that he caused the Oxford corrector to examine one portion—the Psalms only—of Mr. Child's "Bible with Henry's Commentary;" and the result was that, in that small portion of the book, there were variations,—some of them of the greatest importance,—from the standard edition, to the amount of about *a thousand*;—which is at the rate of some 16,000 errors for the whole Bible, if the same degree of inaccuracy should prevail throughout; and which is half as many again as the industry of Mr. Curtis has discovered in a great variety of editions, issuing from many different presses in the course of more than half a century!

With regard to the alleged costliness of the existing monopoly, we hardly can venture to open our mouths. In this age of arithmetic, it almost amounts to downright treason against the public interest to say a syllable in favour of any thing that is not *cheap*—the word *cheap* being always used to indicate the lowest rate at which the article can, by any possibility, or in any state, be brought into the market. And when we are told that "the British public

are paying from forty to fifty thousand pounds per annum to the authorized printers of the Bible, and this without any kind of adequate benefit,"—what are we to expect, but a burst of patriotic wrath throughout all ranks of utilitarian and free-trading men? But let them rage together never so furiously, they will yet imagine a vain thing, if they suppose that accurate and handsome Bibles can be procured without very heavy expense, whether the work be entrusted to free competition, or to privileged guardianship. Dr. Turton professes it to be his belief, that the sums which have been actually expended in preparing correct and improved editions, are far greater than would have been employed by individual enterprise for the same purpose; and that the profits arising from the money so expended are *much below* those which are usually expected from the employment of capital. And it appears from the evidence given before a committee of the House of Commons, (No. 1885,) that the actual profit derived from the Oxford press is only twelve per cent.—including the interest of capital, and the rent of extensive buildings. Of one thing we are profoundly convinced,—that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge value their privilege, or their *monopoly*, only as an instrument for securing to their countrymen correct and faithful copies of the Scriptures. We are not quite sure whether Mr. Curtis will believe this; but we are confident that it will not be questioned by that respectable body whose secretary he is, or was. It is not, indeed, to be expected that the Universities should be enamoured of obloquy, or that they should court dishonour and degradation. But let it once be demonstrated that the abolition of their privilege will provide the public with *cheaper and better* impressions of the Bible, and we have no doubt whatever that they will be not only ready, but anxious, to abdicate their present responsibility.

But whatever may be the end of the present controversy, it is scarcely possible to regret that it has occurred. The results of it must be, either to satisfy the public that they have hitherto been faithfully dealt by,—or, to secure them against the future negligence, ignorance, and abuse. One good effect of the inquiry is now before us. There has recently been published at Oxford, an "exact reprint of the Book of Genesis, page for page, from the authorized version published in 1611." And this specimen has been accompanied with the following advertisement:

"Complaints having been made that the English Bibles printed at the Universities, besides the necessary alterations in the spelling, differ greatly from the authorized version of the Scriptures, the delegates of the Oxford Press have caused collations to be made, preparatory to a careful consideration of the subject. They have, also, commenced an

exact reprint, in Roman letter, of the authorized version printed in the year 1611 in large black letter, folio; to which will probably be added the various readings of some other editions, printed in the same year, or soon after. When this reprint shall have been completed, the public will be enabled to compare it with the Oxford Bibles of the last ten years, and with such as issue in future from the University press. But, as many months may elapse before the whole work can be correctly executed, the Book of Genesis is now published as a specimen."

ART. II.—*The Life of William Cowper, Esq. compiled from his Correspondence and other Authentic Sources of Information.*
By Thomas Taylor. London, 1833.

IN the present day, when the highest honours are too often bestowed upon departed genius, without sufficiently regarding the good or evil influence it may have exercised upon the public mind, and when the adornments of art and the labours of criticism are lavished upon the illustration of a text, oftentimes decidedly immoral, and scarcely ever devoted to the advancement of right or religious principles, at this time especially, we are bound to welcome every attempt to diffuse more generally the names and works of those men, who, considering their talents only entrusted to them for the benefit and moral improvement of their fellow-creatures, were unceasingly lifting up their voices in the cause of piety and virtue. We are therefore thankful to Mr. Taylor for affording us, in his *Life of Cowper*, an opportunity of cherishing, both in our own hearts, and in the hearts of our readers, the remembrance of one, whose meekness and singleness of mind entitle him to our admiration, not less than his poetry and his griefs endear him to our affections.

One of the earliest shocks sustained by the delicate spirit of Cowper was the loss of his mother, who died when he was only six years old. A very delightful essay might be written upon the attachment of literary men to their mothers. Our early and recent history is full of examples. Sir Fulk Greville has recorded "the ingenious sensibleness" of Sir Philip Sidney's parent, who chose to hide herself from the eyes of a "delicate time," and devote her days to the education of her children, and if it had not been for the watchful interest of his mother, one of the most gifted and unfortunate of the sons of genius, might, in our own day, have been a butcher or hoiser at Nottingham.

How deep a sensation the death of his mother produced upon the mind of Cowper, may be conceived from those exquisite verses, composed more than fifty years after the event, upon

receiving her portrait from his cousin, Anne Bodham;—verses, the most pathetic, perhaps, in our language, and which seem to have been written, as they must ever be read, with eyes full of tears. Not content with eulogizing her virtues in poetry, he made her picture the subject of melancholy thought in the letters he addressed, at that time, to Lady Hesketh, Mrs. King, and Mr. Johnson. We think this incident in the infant life of Cowper deserving of particular notice. He was sent very soon after to a large school, according to Hayley, at Market Street, in Hertfordshire, although Cowper says, in the memoir of his own life, that his first school was in Bedfordshire. The melancholy sufferings he underwent are well known; his gentle and almost feminine spirit was ill fitted to carry him through a large school. He became the victim of a petty tyrant, who subjected him to the most humiliating inflictions of his cruelty. Cowper continued at this place until he had reached his eighth year, and the manner in which he received his first religious impressions is so indicative of his excited and imaginative temperament, that we will give the account of it in his touching words,—“One day, as I was sitting alone, upon a bench in the school, melancholy and almost ready to weep, at the recollection of what I had already suffered, and expecting at the same time my tormentor every moment, these words of the Psalmist came into my mind, ‘I will not be afraid of what man can do unto me.’ I applied this unto my own case, with a degree of trust and confidence in God that would have been no disgrace to a much more experienced Christian. Instantly I perceived in myself a briskness and cheerfulness of spirit which I had never before experienced, and took several paces up and down the room with joyful alacrity.” To none but a boy of a very extraordinary mind would such feelings as these have suggested themselves. The susceptibility which had already been the cause of so much unhappiness to Cowper at Market Street, contributed towards making him wretched at Westminster, where he was now removed. There can be no doubt that the miseries of his after life were considerably increased, perhaps in some measure originated, by the nervous timidity which his youthful sorrows had nourished and given birth to. The impression left by them upon his mind was never erased, and in the *Tyrocinium* he gave utterance to his sentiments.

While we cannot but regret the plan of education adopted towards Cowper, we wish to be understood as by no means imputing the consequences which resulted from it to the system of public instruction. Our youthful prejudices, indeed, are all enlisted in its favour; it has its evils, but it still possesses a compensating number of advantages. There is an ancestral dignity,

about Eton and Winchester, and similar establishments, which imparts a peculiar feeling to the student. His love of fame and virtue is excited by the remembrances living in every old form around him. The writer of this article can say for himself, that he never sat down in that venerable hall, upon whose walls the names of Bennet, of Jones, and of Byron were graven, without feeling all the powers of his understanding deeply excited.

Cowper left Westminster in his eighteenth year, and although he cannot be said to have had any very vivid ideas of the Divine Revelation, his heart was soon open to receive religious consolation. This is proved by his conduct at Market Street and Westminster. When Dr. Nicholls, the head master, was preparing his pupils for confirmation, Cowper was much affected both by his manner and exhortations. He now for the first time, says Mr. Taylor, attempted prayer in secret, but being little accustomed to that exercise of the heart, and having very childish notions of religion, he found it a difficult and painful task, *and was even then alarmed at his own insensibility*. We have marked the last remark in italics for the purpose of contrasting it with the following observations of Mr. Taylor in the same page. "Such was the character of young Cowper in his eighteenth year, when he left Westminster School—notwithstanding his previous serious impressions, he seems not to have had any more knowledge of the nature of religion, nor even to have discovered any more concern about it, than many other individuals have been known to feel at an early age, who have never afterwards given it any attention."

We know Cowper to have been a most relentless judge, in later times, of his youthful negligence with regard to religion, and Mr. Taylor may be borne out to a certain degree in what he states. But the fact of a schoolboy being *alarmed at his own insensibility* in prayer, is a most powerful evidence of a mind deeply affected by religious truth; and however the impression might have been afterwards weakened, we do not think it was ever obliterated.

If the plan of education had been unwisely chosen, the profession of the law, for which Cowper's father designed him, was selected with equal want of judgment. His habitual shyness, united to a peculiar sensitiveness of temperament, totally unfitted him for an occupation requiring qualities exactly the contrary. His literary life commenced with his residence in the Temple, in 1752, when he was in his twenty-first year. His efforts were, however, chiefly confined to translations from the ancient and modern poets, and an occasional contribution to a periodical of that day, called *The Connoisseur*. In Mr. Duncombe's *Horace*, published in 1759, two of the satires were rendered by Cowper.

He had not been settled long in the Temple, when, according to his own account, he was seized "with such a dejection of spirits as none but those who have felt the same can have the least conception of." He lay down at night in horror, and arose in the morning in despair. His former studies lost their charm, and even his favourite classics could not gain his attention. Some accident at length presented him with Herbert's poems. "This was the only author," he says, "I had any delight in reading. I pored over him all day long; and though I found not in his work what I might have found—a cure for my malady, yet my mind never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading it." Cowper continued the study of these poems until advised by a relative to lay them aside as more "likely to nourish his disorder than to remove it."

We could name many works more adapted to the wants of a person labouring under acute mental depression than Herbert's poems; but a pretty intimate acquaintance with their style enables us to acquit them of any disposition to nourish such a disorder rather than remove it. Herbert is not a melancholy writer; to employ one of his quaint but expressive images, he puts blood into the pale cheeks of death, and teaches us to look upon it as a friend rather than a foe. His piety, too, is always simple and unbigoted, and in places where he allows his heart to speak unfettered by the mannerisms and pedantry of the age, his poetry is full of soft and expressive melody. But to return to Cowper. He continued in this deplorable condition for a twelvemonth, when having experienced, he says, the inefficacy of all human means, he at length betook himself to God in prayer; he composed a set of prayers and made frequent use of them. Change of scene having been recommended, he went to Southampton with some friends, and it was at a place called Freemantle, about a mile from the town, that he was one evening visited by an extraordinary power which seemed at once to remove all mourning from his heart. Cowper at first considered the sudden alteration in his feelings to be the effect of a miracle, and his subsequent reference of it to the change of scene and the variety of the place, he attributed to the instigation of Satan. This is another instance of the extraordinary feelings of Cowper. There was surely nothing very impious in supposing the beauty of the weather and the sublimity and serenity of the scene around, to have been instrumental in clearing away the gloom which brooded over his thoughts. To one, indeed, who believes the very air we breathe to be full of the melody of the Omnipresent Spirit, such a belief is perfectly natural. Cowper thought and felt otherwise, and the issue was deplorable. The blessing was of a truth con-

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verted into poison, and when he returned to London he burnt his prayers and lost at the same moment his thoughts of devotion and of dependence upon God. Such, at least, are his own affecting words. The death of his father, in 1756, aroused him slightly from his lethargy of despair, and by the kindness of a friend he obtained the appointment of reading clerk in the House of Lords. He was now in his thirty-first year, and his anticipated union with his amiable and accomplished cousin promised him a life of happiness. But in Cowper the seeds of misery were early sown and nurtured. His nervous timidity had grown with his growth and strengthened with his years. The mere idea of appearing at the bar of the House of Lords in his official capacity overwhelmed him with alarm. His conduct at this time really seems to verify the character of himself so playfully drawn in a letter to Lady Hesketh, where he says that though not a fool, he had more weakness than the greatest of all fools. After a painful struggle with contending passions he resigned the office and received the clerkship of the journals in its stead. The event proved how lamentable was the exchange. His friend's right of appointment was called in question, and Cowper was desired to prepare himself for examination in the House of Lords. The dreadful issue of the mental agony which he underwent was near at hand. When the day of trial arrived, even his most anxious friends coincided in the propriety of his resigning the appointment. By this occurrence all Cowper's prospects in life were entirely destroyed, and we think in the obstacle it presented to his union with his cousin, to whom he was most warmly attached, may be found one of the great causes of his future misery.

Mr. Taylor very properly argues that the malady which now obscured the poet's understanding can in no way be said to have originated with religion. His recent struggles had reduced his mind to a state of weakness perfectly pitiable. When, therefore, the conviction of his unworthy state pressed suddenly upon him, the effect was as terrible as it was instantaneous. The moment he began to feel acutely that he had lived without God in the world, his sins, both real and imaginary, rose up in array against him. He has left us a record of his sufferings, and they were such as would have drawn blood from any soul. The Sword of the Spirit seemed to guard the Tree of Life from his touch. In every volume he opened he found something that struck him to the heart; even the parable of the barren fig-tree he applied to his own case with a strong persuasion that it was a curse pronounced upon him by the Saviour; and to complete this catalogue of horrors, he was tormented with a fear of immediate judgment.

Mr. James Montgomery, in some remarks upon a subsequent attack of Cowper's malady, has shown very clearly that these delusions were generated in his own distempered mind.

"With regard to Cowper's malady," he says, "there scarcely needs any other proof that it was not occasioned by his religion than this, that the error on which he stumbled was in direct contradiction to his creed. He believed that he had been predestinated to life, yet under his delusion imagined that God, who cannot lie, repent or change, had, in his sole instance, and in one moment, reversed his own decree which had been in force from all eternity. At the same time, by a perversion of the purest principles of Christian obedience, he was so submissive to what he erroneously supposed the will of God, that, to have saved himself from the very destruction which he dreaded, he would not avail himself of any of the means of grace, even presuming they might have been efficacious, because he believed they were forbidden to him."

Among the diseases to which the human eye is subject, is one which has the effect of presenting every object under an aspect totally different from that properly belonging to it; in the case of Cowper the eyes of the understanding appear to have been visited with a like affliction; all the gentle mercies and long suffering kindness of the gospel were unobserved, and one fearful sentence was alone distinctly visible, written in characters of fire—his own heinous sin and the horrors of immediate judgment.

On the 7th of December, 1763, Cowper was removed to St. Alban's and placed under the care of Dr. Cotton, the friend of Young, and peculiarly fitted, by the meekness of his heart and his elegant and polished taste, to minister to the sick mind of the poet. Cowper's torments for some time rather increased than diminished. He beheld every thing through the most exaggerated medium—his recovery was almost miraculous. The cloud of horrors which had in his own words so long hung over his mind, began rapidly to flee away, and the year he passed with Dr. Cotton, after his restoration to mental health, appears to have been one of the most peaceful seasons in his life. At this time he composed two hymns, which he styles specimens of his first Christian thoughts. We cannot refrain from quoting the following verses from that entitled *Retirement*. The storm and the clouds were past away, and the sweet song of peace was alone heard in his heart.

"The calm retreat, the silent shade,
With prayer and praise agree,
And seem by thy sweet bounty made
For those who follow thee.

"There, if thy Spirit touch the soul,
And grace her mean abode,

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Oh, with what peace, and joy, and love,
She communes with her God.

“ There, like the nightingale, she pours
Her solitary lays ;
Nor asks a witness for her song,
Nor thirsts for human praise.”

Cowper removed to Huntingdon in June, 1765, and it is delightful to read his accounts of the uninterrupted happiness he enjoyed, in his letters to Lady Hesketh and Mrs. Cowper. “ As to my personal condition,” he assures them, “ I am much happier than the day is long ; *sunshine and candlelight see me perfectly contented.*” Persons accustomed to read the life of Cowper, unassisted by the perusal of his numerous letters, are apt to forget that his gloom was broken by these pleasant intervals. His residence at Huntingdon terminated soon after the death of Mr. Unwin, and his removal to Olney followed. During the earlier period of his abode in that place, the majority of his hymns were composed. These sacred songs, which have carried hope and consolation into so many dwellings, have been often praised, and by none with more truth and elegance than James Montgomery, a poet resembling Cowper not more in the purity and sweetness of his verse, than in the simple and fervid piety of his life. Viewed only in the light of poetical compositions, the hymns are not entitled to a distinguished rank ; they possess little, if any, of that rich imagery which flows like a stream of gold through some of our old religious poetry. They have neither the eccentric boldness or grandeur of Quarles, nor the sweet and picturesque fancy, recommended by the most heart-rending pathos which we meet with in the enthusiastic lays of Crashaw. Perhaps the whole range of our poetry does not contain a composition which so completely paralyses the soul with fear and trembling as the *Dies Iræ* of that writer. But the hymns of Cowper have a merit peculiarly their own and resulting from the circumstances under which they were written. They are in fact communings with his own heart, and therefore especially applicable to the alleviation of the common sorrows and troubles of life ; they afford faith to the doubting, hope to the desponding, and strength to the tempted. The hymn beginning “ God moves in a mysterious way,” can never be read without sensations of the most profound awe ; it was composed during a lonely walk in the fields at Olney, and as Montgomery has beautifully said, in the twilight of departing reason. Several circumstances may have combined to bring on that second and more dreadful visitation which attacked Cowper in 1773. It is a singular fact, that after his settlement at Olney,

his correspondence became less frequent than formerly. This change, owing perhaps to his constant intercourse with Mr. Newton, is we think to be lamented—it deprived him of the advantage his feelings always derived from pleasant and affectionate society—for his letters are the most conversational we have ever read—and threw him too much back upon his own reflections. The loss of a brother, whom he dearly loved, also wounded his heart severely. In adopting, with certain restrictions, Mr. Hayley's opinion of the misery frequently seen to result from "a wild extravagance of devotion," we trust that our meaning will not be misunderstood. Cowper's intimacy with Mr. Newton was so close, that "they were seldom seen waking hours apart from each other." It might have been wished that this intercourse had been a little varied by lighter and equally innocent companionship. But an allusion to this subject is sufficient, and we are anxious to pass over the long period of five years during which this most interesting of mourners pined under the weight of anguish unalleviated by the slightest consolation. The unwearying care and solicitude with which his tender nurse, Mrs. Unwin, watched over him throughout his protracted illness, have won her a place by the poet's side in all our bosoms. We are also indebted to her advice for the poems which soon after made their appearance.

It has been remarked that the poems of Cowper were, with few exceptions, written at the request of friends. He composed his hymns to please Mr. Newton; translated the songs of Madame Guyon to oblige Mr. Bull, and wrote his *Table Talk*, *Truth*, &c. to gratify Mrs. Unwin. His great work, the *Task*, was undertaken entirely at the desire of Lady Austen, and to her suggestion we are to attribute the most celebrated of modern ballads—John Gilpin. His version of Homer was alone the fruit of his uninfluenced choice.

The composition of *Table Talk* and the *Progress of Error* furnished him with employment during the winter months. It is not easy to discover in these poems any traces of that morbid depression from which the poet was not then entirely relieved. He found poetry the most effectual opiate of his distress. "When I am in pursuit of pretty images," he writes to Mr. Newton, "or a pretty way of expressing them, I forget every thing that is irksome, and like a boy that plays truant, determine to avail myself of the present opportunity to be amused, and to put by the disagreeable reflection that I must after all go home and be whipt again." The chief merits of *Table Talk* consist in the vivacity and playfulness of the dialogue. The thoughts generally flow in an easy and simple manner, but occasionally the versification as-

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sumes a bolder tone, and rolls along with that stately and swanlike course which the bard expressed himself anxious to obtain. Take the beautiful character of Lord Chatham for an example.

“ Not so—the virtue still adorns one age,
Though the chief actor died upon the stage.
In him Demosthenes was heard again ;
Liberty taught him her Athenian strain ;
She clothed him with authority, and awe
Spoke from his lips, and in his looks gave law.
His speech, his form, his action full of grace,
And all his country beaming in his face.
He stood, as some inimitable hand
Would strive to make a Paul or Tully stand.
No sycophant or slave, that dared oppose
Her sacred cause, but trembled when he rose ;
And every venal stickler for the yoke
Felt himself crush'd at the first word he spoke.”

The excellent observation which concludes the poem deserves a cordial approval from every well regulated mind ; if genius is to be a sufficient indemnification to its possessor for his contempt of morality and religion—though “ Butler's Wit, Pope's Numbers, Prior's Ease,” be combined to ornament every line—we agree with the Christian poet in considering “ one madrigal” of Sternhold and Hopkins, one aspiration of a lowly, humble and contrite heart, to be worth them all.

The *Progress of Error* is for the most part weakly written, and the satire of the author sometimes degenerates into caricature. Occidimes, we suspect, never existed as “ a pastor of renown” any where save in the writer's imagination, and the characters of Clodio and Gorgonius might have been omitted with advantage. In other parts he is more successful ; his apostrophe to Lord Chesterfield, as the modern Petronius, and his attack upon the pandering romance-writers of his day are admirable. We may point out the following exquisite couplet, where the reiteration is peculiarly sweet ; he is speaking of music.

“ Hark ! how it floats upon the dewy air,
Oh, what a dying, dying close was there.”

And the manner in which he ridicules the common idea of supposing the careless trifling away of our time innocent—

“ Innocent ! oh, if *venerable Time*,
Slain at the foot of Pleasure, be no crime.”

The *Progress of Error* was followed by *Truth*, which was composed, we learn, from a letter addressed to Mr. Unwin, soon after its publication, on purpose to inculcate the eleemosynary

character of the gospel as a dispensation of mercy in the most absolute sense of the word, to the exclusion of all claims of merit on the part of the receiver; consequently to set the brand of invalidity upon the plea of works.

The volume containing these poems, with some others, appeared in the spring of 1782, and was at first rather coldly received, notwithstanding the care the poet had taken to rub, as he expressed it, the public gums with a coral, recommended by the tinkling of all the bells he could contrive to annex to it.

The acquaintance Cowper made with Lady Austen in the autumn of 1781, was a source of great delight to him, and the happy influences of it are discoverable in his letters. The lady appears, indeed, to have been endowed with every quality necessary to render her company acceptable to the poet. To lively and prepossessing manners were added a cultivated mind and a still rarer and more precious sensibility. The tears, says Cowper, started into her eyes at the recollection of the smallest service. Her conversational powers and her musical talents were equally devoted to his amusement, and with the most gratifying results. We have already alluded to the accidental occurrence which gave rise to the *Task*, a poem embracing almost every variety of style, both serious and humorous. But it possesses, independent of its poetical merits, a particular interest from the incidental notices scattered through it of the writer's manner of life and occupation. It is in fact the autobiography of the poet, and on that account is read with the same delight with which we peruse the *Confessions* of Rousseau and the *Essays* of Montaigne, except that it is alike free from the affectation of the first and the coarseness of the second. The *Task*, like the Angler of Isaac Walton, immediately enlists the sympathies of the reader in the cause of the writer. We never weary of Walton's company, but "stretch our legs up Tottenham Hill," and drink "a civil cup" at the Thatched House, and sit down with him after a day's sport under the beech tree close "by the primrose hill," and finally part from him in sorrow, and long for "the 9th of May," when we may enjoy his society again—and so it is with Cowper in the *Task*; he takes the reader by the hand, as it were, and leads him into the scenes of his youthful days, when he loved

" the rural walk, thro' lanes
Of grassy swarth, close cropp'd by nibbling sheep,
And skirted thick with intertexture firm
Of thorny boughs."

The reader, perhaps, can remember, as well as the poet,—

" How oft, the slice of pocket store consumed—

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he fed—

“ On scarlet hips and stony haws,
On blushing crabs, or berries, that emboss
The bramble, black as jet, or sloes austere.”

The first book of the *Task* abounds in the most beautiful pictures of nature. The traveller with the poem in his hand may trace out every haunt commemorated by the poet. He may find the cottage

“ Perched upon the green hill's top, but close
Environ'd with a ring of branching elms,
That overhang the thatch,”

and then descending over the rustic bridge, he mounts again, “ ankle deep in moss and flowery thyme,” until he reaches the summit. Thomson has not surpassed the landscape which Cowper has drawn of the view from this eminence—every rural sound seems to have an echo, and every tint upon the trees a colour in his verse. The willow with its silver-lined leaf, the deeper green of the elm, and the dark glossy foliage of the oak, are all distinctly marked. We think the *Sofa* bears internal evidence of having been written when the spirits of the author were more than usually exhilarated. It has been the custom of many critics to denounce Cowper's elaborated descriptions of nature, and to compare them with the more rapid touches of Burns. Admitting for a moment the validity of the criticism, the cause of the difference may be given in Cowper's beautiful words in a letter to Mr. Hill. After observing that the winter season, which generally destroys the flowers of poetry, unfolds his, he continues, “ In this respect, therefore, I and my contemporary bards are by no means upon a par. They write when the delightful influences of fine weather, fine prospects, and a brisk motion of the animal spirits make poetry almost the language of nature ; and I when icicles depend from all the leaves of the Parnassian laurel, and when a reasonable man would as little expect to succeed in verse as to hear a black-bird whistle.”

Poetry, therefore, which was natural in Burns, was an acquirement in Cowper. It was to one the language in which the healthful joy of his heart found utterance, and to the other an instrument of amusement and occupation, to the expulsion of less pleasing reflections. The majority of Burns's poems were composed in the open air—some of the most exquisite, when holding the plough—joy came to him of its own accord ; but it had to be allured to the fireside of the melancholy Cowper.

It may be worth while to illustrate our remarks by a passage

from each writer. The following address to Evening from the *Task* will answer our purpose—

“Come, Evening, once again season of peace ;
Return, sweet Evening, and continue long !
Methinks I see thee in the streaky west,
With matron steps slow moving, while the Night
Treads on thy sleeping train ; one hand employ’d
In letting fall the curtain of repose
On bird and beast, the other charged for man
With sweet oblivion of the cares of day ;
Not sumptuously adorned, not needing aid,
Like homely featured Night, of clustering gems ;
A star or two just twinkling on thy brow
Suffices thee : save that the moon is thine
No less than her’s, not worn indeed on high
With ostentatious pageantry, but set
With modest grandeur in thy purple zone,
Resplendent less, but of an ampler round.
Come, then, and thou shalt find thy votary calm,
Or make me so.”—*Book iv.* p. 106.

Now contrast this passage with two stanzas from the *Birks of Aberfeldy*.

“Now Simmer blinks on flowery braes,
And o’er the crystal streamlet plays,
Come, let us spend the lightsome days
In the birks of Aberfeldy.
‘While o’er their heads the hazel’s spring,
The little birdies blithly sing,
Or lightly flit on wanton wing
In the birks of Aberfeldy.”

These verses were composed by Burns while standing under the falls of Aberfeldy near Moness, and they are warm with the sunshine of a glad and cheerful heart. We differ however entirely from the judgment which awards the meed of superior excellence to the pictures of the Scottish bard, and think the invocation to Evening which we have quoted, far more impressively picturesque than any passage of a similar nature to be found in his works. It breathes a grand and sombre solemnity, reminding us of the pathetic prayer to Sleep in the *Orestes* of Euripides.

But dismissing all argument upon the comparative merits of Cowper and Burns, as painters of nature, we are certain that even the most cursory examination of the *Task* will convince the reader, that the delicate organs both of sight and hearing were never in the most celebrated painters or poets more exquisitely

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modulated than in the bard of Olney. To begin with a domestic image, every student will recognize in

"The glowing hearth
With faint illumination that uplifts
The shadows to the ceiling, there by fits
Dancing uncouthly to the quivering flame,"

the strange productions of his own "parlour twilight."

If the reader be partial to winter walks in the woods, he has probably heard the redbreast flitting from tree to tree, and wherever it rests shaking

"From many a twig the pendant drops of ice
That tinkle in the withered leaves below ;"

and his wanderings in the early spring mornings must have led him sometimes to those green and silent

"Lanes, in which the primrose ere her time
Peeps thro' the moss that clothes the hawthorn root ;"

or perhaps in the evening, when he has been waiting in the thick copse, and scarcely venturing to move, lest he should disturb the nightingale, he may have seen

"The moonbeam sliding softly in between
The sleeping leaves,"

and giving the birds all the light they desired for their music. The number of these exquisite pictures may easily be increased, but we will rest satisfied with defying the most ardent admirer of Burns or any other poet to adduce images of greater delicacy and beauty than those we have given. Cowper possessed also in a very eminent degree that power of portraying the habits of the poor which has rendered Crabbe's poetry so celebrated. We can only afford space to the following specimen of "the taper soon extinguished," which he saw

"Dangled along at the cold finger's end,
Just when the day declined."

In the second book the author becomes almost entirely didactic, his object having been in the first "to allure the reader by characters, by scenery, by imagery, and such poetical embellishments, to the reading of what may profit him." There can be no doubt that he was only deterred by the fear of disgusting the idle reader, from making his compositions entirely and exclusively religious—a sort of exhortation in metre. He declares that he was "compelled and scourged" into the composition of verse, and that if he could have made his own choice, or if he were even permitted to do it then, those hours which he spent in poetry he would devote to God. These expressions occur in a letter to Mr. Newton in

1786, after the completion of the *Task*, which was published in the summer of 1785. We would gladly proceed in the analysis of the beauty of the *Task*, if our limits did not warn us to forbear.

The close of the year 1784 was rendered gloomy to Cowper by the loss of Lady Austen's society.

"Some of his biographers," says Mr. Taylor, "have unjustly and without the slightest foundation, attempted to cast considerable odium upon the character of Mrs. Unwin for her conduct in this affair, as if all the blame of Cowper's separation from Lady Austen were to be laid at her door. One has even gone so far as to state that her mind was of such a sombre hue, that it rather tended to foster than to dissipate Cowper's melancholy. . . . The fact is, that Cowper never felt any other attachment to either of these ladies than that of pure friendship, and much as he valued the society of Lady Austen, when he found it necessary for his own peace to choose which he should please to retain, he could not hesitate for a moment to prefer the individual who had watched over him with so much tenderness, and probably to the injury of her own health. The whole of his conduct in this affair, and indeed the manner in which he has every where spoken of his faithful inmate, proves this indubitably."

Without attempting to decide whether Mrs. Unwin was in fault or not, one thing is quite evident, notwithstanding the negative of Mr. Taylor, that Cowper's separation from Lady Austen was attributable in some measure to her. The probable solution of the mystery is, that Mrs. Unwin viewed with a jealous eye the superior influence exercised over Cowper by their accomplished visitor, and by her consequent dissatisfaction reduced him to the alternative we have mentioned. Mr. Hayley has glossed over this untoward event, but it is clear, from the terms in which Lady Austen spoke to him of the farewell letter written to her by Cowper, that she considered herself the aggrieved party; at any rate the irritation of her feelings, which induced her to burn the letter, has precluded the possibility of obtaining a clearer elucidation. Certain it is they parted to meet no more.

Lady Austen was subsequently married to a Mons. de Tardif, a French gentleman of poetical talents, and died at Paris on the 12th of August, 1802, somewhat more than two years after Cowper.

After the completion of the *Task*, Cowper began to discover that a constant succession of employment was essential to his well being, and he accordingly commenced the most arduous of all his works, the translation of Homer. How deeply his mind was occupied with the adequate performance of this voluntarily undertaken engagement, may be learnt from his correspondence, which for several years after abounds with pleasing anecdotes

of his progress. We almost see him now, "as soon as breakfast is over," retiring to the "nutshell of a summer house," crowded "with pinks, roses and honeysuckles," and lined with "garden mats, and furnished with a table and two chairs," where he remained seldom less than three hours, and often more.

The peculiar tone of the poet's character is shewn even in the manner in which he mentions the translation to his friend Mr. Newton. I am inclined to think, he says, that it has a tendency to which I myself am at present a perfect stranger; and in 1791, when the translation was completed, he observed to Mr. Newton, that he thought any person of a spiritual turn may read Homer with advantage. It is probable that unless Cowper had been actuated by some such belief, he would not have persevered with such unremitting patience in the toil, for his idea of the responsibility attendant upon the composition of a book was awful in the extreme. What we have done, he said, when we have written a book, will never be known till the day of judgment.

That Cowper entertained a very just conception of what a translation ought to be, is evident from the letter he addressed to Hayley in 1794, in reply to some observations upon a disputed passage in his Homer. We have another reason, besides its critical merit, in making the following extract from this letter; it was nearly the last he wrote to Hayley, and with very few exceptions the last he ever wrote at all.

"Imlac, in *Rasselas*, says—I forget to whom—"You have convinced me that it is impossible to be a poet. In like manner I might say to his lordship, you have convinced me that it is impossible to be a translator. On his terms I would defy Homer himself, were he alive, to translate the *Paradise Lost* into Greek. Yet Milton had Homer much in his eye when he composed that poem. Whereas Homer never thought of me or my translation. There are minutiae in every language, which, translated into another, would spoil the version. Such extreme fidelity is in fact unfaithful. Such close resemblance takes away all likeness. The original is elegant, easy, natural; the copy is clumsy, constrained, unnatural. To what is this owing? To the adoption of terms not congenial to your purpose, and of a context such as no man writing an original would make use of. Homer is every thing that a poet should be. A translation so made of him will be every thing that a translation of Homer should not be. Because it will be written in no language under heaven. It will be English and it will be Greek, and therefore it will be neither. He is the man, whoever he may be, (I do not pretend to be that man myself,) he is the man best qualified as the translator of Homer who has drenched, and steeped, and soaked himself in the effusions of his genius, till he has imbibed their colour to the bone, and who, when he is thus dyed through and through, distinguishing what is essentially Greek from what may be habited in English, rejects the former and is

faithful to the latter, as far as the purposes of fine poetry will permit, and no farther; this, I think, may be easily proved. Homer is every where remarkable for ease, dignity, energy of expression, grandeur of conception, and a majestic flow of numbers. If we copy him so closely as to make every one of these excellent properties of his absolutely unattainable, which will certainly be the effect of too close a copy, instead of translating, we murder him. Therefore, after all his lordship has said, I still hold freedom indispensable. Freedom, I mean with respect to the expression; freedom so limited, as never to leave behind the *matter*, but at the same time indulged with a sufficient scope to secure the spirit, and as much as possible of the manner; I say as much as possible, because an English manner must differ from a Greek one, in order to be graceful, and for this there is no remedy. Can an ungraceful awkward translator of Homer be a good one? No! but a graceful, easy, natural, faithful version of him—will not that be a good one? Yes; allow to me but this, and I insist upon it that such a one may be produced upon my principles, and can be produced on no other."

The translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which occupied him five years, was published in two quarto volumes in 1791. It has never obtained a popularity equal to that of Pope, which is indebted for much of its general acceptance to the circumstance of its being rather an English poem than a Grecian. It has not a look of antiquity about it, and the heroes walk about frequently with an air more resembling the court of queen Anne, than of Priam or Agamemnon. At a more convenient season we may probably offer our readers a few remarks upon the comparative merits of the English and other versions of these old Asiatic stories. Italy especially has been frequent in her attempts to render the tale of Troy into her own language.

We pass on rapidly to the latter days of Cowper. In the November of 1793, Hayley paid a second visit to Weston, where he found his friend in apparent health, and enlivened by the society of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Rose, who had arrived from Althorpe, the seat of Earl Spencer, with an invitation to Cowper to meet Gibbon at that place. Although the poet was then in the possession of all his faculties, Mr. Hayley discovered something in his appearance which inclined him to form melancholy forebodings of the future. His situation was rapidly becoming dreadful in the extreme. The spectacle of Mrs. Unwin, reduced to a state of the most deplorable imbecility, was of itself sufficient to agitate his heart beyond endurance. But her afflictions rather increased than diminished his love, and one of the tenderest poems in this or in any language was composed by him at this time, in token of his unabated attachment. The threads of his "Mary" had indeed wound themselves round his heart.

After various ineffectual changes of place, towards the close of

October, 1796, it was thought desirable to remove Cowper and his afflicted companion to Mr. Johnson's house at East Dereham. Three years ago we availed ourselves of the opportunity afforded by a residence in the neighbourhood to make a long-purposed visit to the grave of Cowper. Dereham, our readers are aware, is a town in Norfolk, and remarkable for little save the memory of him who has made it almost sacred ground. We were not aware when we arrived, that Sarah Kerrison, the faithful servant who attended Cowper and Mrs. Unwin during their last years, was then living in the place; but we eagerly sought her out when we had acquired the pleasing intelligence. The cottage in which this faithful domestic resided is situate at the end of the principal street, and presented something of a poetical appearance in the beautiful flowers with which it was ornamented. We shall not soon forget the hours we passed in listening to every trait of the departed poet.

The tears came into our eyes when we thought of his daily visits to the bedside of poor Mrs. Unwin, where he sat folded up in the curtains—the most afflicted of mourners weeping by the most pitiable of sufferers! His first question to Sarah Kerrison in the morning was always to this effect—"Sally, is there life above stairs?"—an inquiry rendered still more affecting by the plaintive tone in which it was uttered. After the decease of Mrs. Unwin, he beheld the corpse, and having gazed upon it for a few moments, uttered a cry of deep and passionate grief, and burst away from the sight. From that day he was never heard to mention her name; but so anxious were his friends to keep his mind from brooding over her whom he had lost that, if we remember aright, some time elapsed before Mrs. Kerrison appeared in his presence in mourning. These precautions proved unnecessary, for he never after referred to the event—a most striking proof indeed, as Mr. Taylor remarks, of the intense anguish of his own sufferings. With an affectionate zeal beyond all praise, Mr. Johnson devoted his time and studies to the amelioration of his relation's miseries. He had the satisfaction of seeing his endeavours sometimes crowned with partial success. Cowper was continually haunted by the fear of accidents befalling him, which were generated by his troubled imagination. He used frequently to express a doubt to Mrs. Kerrison whether she would find him there in the morning. Mr. Johnson relates a pathetic anecdote, which illustrates this singular delusion. One morning, after breakfast, he placed on the table Villoison, Barnes and Clarke, opening them all, together with the poet's translation, at the place where he had left off a twelvemonth before, but talking with him, as he paced the room, upon the ideas that

distressed him, when Cowper said to him—"And are you sure that I shall be here till the book you are reading is finished?" Upon his kinsman assuring him that he would, and pointing out the books, he took up one of them, saying—"I may as well do this, for I can do nothing else." The last of Cowper's original compositions was *The Cast Away*, a poem founded on an incident in Anson's voyage, but principally remarkable for the allusion it contains to his own condition. This was the last gleam of that pure fire which was soon to be extinguished for ever in this world! Mr. Taylor has described the last days of the poet with much simplicity and feeling. Most sincerely do we wish that the cloud of delusion might have been chased away from his soul ere he was taken hence. But it was not. So serene and peaceful was his death, that its precise moment was unobserved by those who stood at the foot of his bed. Thus beautifully did the Christian poet fall asleep; a slumber only to be broken by the dawn of Paradise and the voices of those whom he loved, and whom we may believe, without presumption, that he met in a land where all tears were wiped away from their eyes.

Although Cowper had resided some years at Dereham, so great was his unwillingness to meet the public observation, that he could never be prevailed on to take his airings in any but the most secluded lanes, and if he thought himself observed, he not unfrequently covered up his face with his hands. To such a painful power had his nervous shyness attained. His personal appearance was therefore scarcely known in the town where he died, and few of its inhabitants can say that they were acquainted with the outward lineaments of the poet. We believe he never attended divine service during the latter years of his life; his reply to any request to that effect invariably being, that he was not worthy.

Cowper was buried in that part of Dereham Church called St. Edmund's Chapel, on Saturday, the 2d of May, 1800. Having died without a will, his affectionate relation, Lady Hesketh, readily became his executrix, and erected a tablet to his memory, the inscription upon which was written by Hayley. The monument is very simple, as becomes the meekness of him whom it commemorates. It consists of a slab of white marble, with *The Task* placed by the side of the Bible, and overhung by a branch of laurel. Underneath are two tablets; the one on the left to the memory of Mary Unwin, and the other on the right in remembrance of Miss Margaret Perowne, whose sisterly watching of the poet in his last and protracted sickness entitles her to this communion with his name. It was on a delicious summer evening that we made the sketch of the monument of which we

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have given a brief description, and we yielded to the pleasing fancy, as the sunlight played over that memorial of death, that the poet himself might not be unconscious of the humble aspirations of our heart before it—a belief in some measure countenanced by the poet himself in several of his letters, where he alludes to the probable happiness of the blessed.

We have already commented in passing upon some of the poetical works of Cowper, and we have only space to add a few general remarks.

The admirers of Southey, Wordsworth and Coleridge, do not, we suspect, always bear in mind that to Cowper these great poets were indebted for their style, and frequently for their manner. Of the three, Wordsworth presents the most striking resemblance to his master; he looks out upon nature with the same mild and unfevered eye that dwells with equal rapture upon the most lowly and the most sublime objects; upon the eternal hills which lose their heads in the clouds, and the gentle daisy blooming at his feet. But the highest praise in our power to give Cowper's poetry, is the appellation it so truly deserves of *Christian*. He never for an instant forgot the paramount importance of Religion, and looked upon his imagination only as a handmaid who might be employed in strewing with flowers the path to the Holy Temple. In this light he considered all the embellishments of his verse,—we have, in another part of this article, shown that his own taste would have been gratified by their erasure.

Mr. Taylor has contrasted the productions of Cowper with those of Milton and Young, and he very properly concludes that from both these illustrious writers he differs essentially. Milton may be considered the bard of the Old Testament, and Cowper of the New. The moment our mind enters within the hallowed precincts of Milton's Paradise, we feel oppressed and spell-bound; we know that we tread upon holy ground. His images, too, are all reflected from the most ancient and venerable times: he startles our ears with the war-cries of barbaric legions and the unfurling of ten thousand banners upon the air. His poems are filled, moreover, with the most magnificent displays of earthly power and greatness. The gorgeousness of the Jewish polity—the picturesque pomp of the Roman government—the chaste and *sculptured* elegance of Athens, have all a place in his verse, and are continually passing before our eyes. His views of religion are rarely practical, and still seldomer experimental. He speaks of it almost constantly like a *poet*. Cowper, on the contrary, is rarely theoretical, but always striving to be practical. He only seeks to amuse, that he may instruct: he explains the

truths of the gospel with the plainness and dignity of a Christian minister, until the "immortal fragrance," diffused around,

"Tells us whence his treasures are supplied."

In his youth Cowper was an admirer of Cowley, or, as he calls him, the "splendid Cowley," but he imbibed none of the affected quaintness and pedantry which obscured the genius of that most idiomatic of English prose writers. We do not remember more than two or three instances of pedantry in all Cowper's works. One of these occurs in the first book of "The Task," where, after describing the life of the gypsies, he adds—

" The sportive wind blows wide
Their fluttering rags, and shows a tawny skin,
The vellum of the pedigree they claim."

The construction of his versification is equally original with his style. It is no more like Milton's than it is like Young's. His pauses are regulated by no rule save his own judgment. His numbers have not the embossed richness of Milton's, or the stately flow frequently attained by Thomson; but they are full, sonorous, and purely English. He has enlarged the stock of poetical phraseology by the application of epithets hitherto confined to prose, and has consequently imparted a healthful strength, if we may so speak, to his compositions, which will preserve them for ages. But it is time to bring these observations to a conclusion, and we cannot do so better than by joining in the sentiment expressed in these lines :

"Poet and saint, to him is justly given
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven."

We must, however, give a parting word of praise to the elegance with which Mr. Taylor's life of the poet is printed, and the good taste and piety with which it is written. A most beautiful portrait of Cowper adorns the volume.

ART. III.—*The History of the Church of England.* By J. B. S. Carwithen, B. D. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford; Bampton Lecturer for 1809; and late Vicar of Sandhurst, Berks. Part the Second, to the Revolution. Vol. III. Oxford, Parker; London, Baldwin and Cradock. 1833.

A LITTLE more than three years since, when we called the attention of our Readers to the two opening volumes of this most valuable Work, we expressed an eager wish that it might proceed with a rapid pace to conclusion. To conclusion, alas! its very

able and amiable author has not been permitted to advance; the grave has closed over him in the middle of his labours. But fortunately, before he was taken away, he had arrived at the end of one more stage in his journey; and the volume now in our hands comprising the important period from the Restoration to the Revolution (which in one sense renders the Work complete) was in a state of sufficient ripeness to need only slight revision for the press. The *limæ labor*, which no one but a father can adequately bestow upon his own literary offspring, might perhaps have smoothed a few verbal roughnesses which now occasionally present themselves, if Mr. Carwithen's hand had been allowed to exercise it; but in essentials, that is, in fidelity of narrative, in accuracy of judgment, and in soundness of principle, this posthumous volume deservedly claims full brotherhood with its elders, which enjoyed the entire benefit of their parent's active and vigilant superintendence.

After a brief outline of the Religious and Political opinions most prevalent in England at the epoch of the Restoration, we are introduced at once to the struggle between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism consequent upon that event. The preliminary chapter contains some very spirited sketches of those great names which most powerfully influenced the current of thought in their day,—of Hobbes, who, shipwrecked upon vanity, believed all men to be alike devoid of virtue, and on that account contributed to make them so;—of his metaphysical opponents, Cudworth, More, and Wilkins, now so undeservedly neglected;—of Tillotson, the gentle, pious, and equable, but whose long-continued popularity as a writer we have always regarded with surprise;*—of Stillingfleet, inexhaustible in learning, and of whom it is no disparagement to remember that he was not triumphant when opposed to Locke;—*impar congressus Achillei*;—and lastly, of one who has had the singular good fortune to receive justice both from contemporaries and from posterity; and who, we may venture to predict, will retain his merited pre-eminence so long as our Church exists—the incomparable Barrow.

When the Presbyterian Divines, among the other demands which they made immediately after the King's return, desired that "the Lord's day might be more strictly sanctified, they were met by a reply, not unworthy of consideration even at the present moment, that, "touching the observation of the Lord's day, the

* Warburton prefers Tillotson as a *Sermon-Writer* to either Barrow or Taylor, and in his Criticism has fallen into an *equivoue*, from which, provided we may annex our own interpretation to it, we are not at all inclined to dissent. "You cannot sleep with Taylor; you cannot forbear thinking with Barrow; but you may be much at your ease in the midst of a long lecture from Tillotson."

Laws of the Kingdom were already stricter than those of any foreign Reformed communion whatsoever." The clause referring to this matter in the King's subsequent *Declaration*, is perhaps intentionally vague. "Our purpose and resolution is and shall be to promote the power of Godliness, to encourage the exercises of Religion both public and private, and to take care that the Lord's day may be applied to holy exercises without unnecessary diversions."

The narrative of the *Conference at the Savoy* is preceded by a brief account of the chief disputants; and among them that of Baxter, the most distinguished, the most able, and the most upright of his party (if he who was in himself a party can be said to have belonged to any other), may be presented as a fair specimen of Mr. Carwithen's skill in condensation.

"No precedence in rank will justify the historian in assigning the second place among the presbyterian commissioners to Richard Baxter. By a writer too fond of antithesis and sententiousness, Baxter has been described as a man remarkable for weakness of body and strength of mind; for preaching more sermons, engaging in more controversies, and writing more books, than any nonconformist of his age. His earliest religious impressions were derived from the perusal of a work by Parsons the Jesuit, and during many years he sustained a severe mental conflict, operating on a bodily frame of fragile texture. Though he possessed not the advantages of an academical education, yet he received episcopal ordination, and passed the early part of his ministry at Kidderminster, in a laborious and zealous discharge of his pastoral duties. At the commencement of the civil war he unhesitatingly joined the parliamentary army, yet, though he was a determined presbyterian, he prevailed with his congregation to refuse the covenant. His notions of civil government were republican, and he inveighed with severity against the military tyranny of Cromwell. On the return of the king, every fair attempt was made to gain him to the cause of royalty and episcopacy. He was appointed a chaplain of the household, and was called on to preach at court. The bishopric of Hereford was offered to him, which he honourably and consistently refused. The character of this extraordinary man will be differently represented, according to the point of view in which he is seen whether as a practical or controversial writer. As a practical writer, he has never been excelled; he was himself impressed by a deep sense of religion, and he had the faculty of exciting a deep sense of it in others. No greater proof of his merit can be adduced, than the respect with which he is mentioned by men of opposite sentiments, and the oblivion to which they are eager to consign all his defects. He has the high praise and the great reward promised to those 'who turn many to righteousness.' As a controversialist, another estimate is to be formed, and it is in this light unfortunately he must be here considered. The remark of his pertinacious and uncandid antagonist is not destitute of truth, that he dissented from those with

whom he most agreed, and that he was at variance with none more than with himself. He was not factious, because he could coalesce with no faction; he was not comparatively dangerous, because he would form no political or religious union. On this account he incurred persecution from almost every religious sect, as well as from those who had no religion at all. The distinctive feature of his character was a cool intrepidity, which no danger could appal, and a confidence in his own abilities, which no superiority of station could abate. He spoke and disputed with ease; and he possessed a singular faculty of retiring to distinctions foreign to the question, and of misapplying the rules of logic. Thus he embarrassed his antagonists, and it is doubtful whether he did not gain a temporary advantage over them, as much from his infirmity as his art." —p. 40—42.

On none of the many occasions in which Baxter had recourse to his peculiar Dialectics, does he seem to have been harder pushed, or to have felt more occasion to envelope himself in mist in order to escape the disgrace of open defeat, than during this Savoy Conference. On the question "whether it were sinful to enjoin Ministers to deny the Communion to those who would not receive it kneeling?"—the Episcopalians supported the negative on the very plain argument that things indifferent in themselves might become necessary if commanded by lawful authority. Their first assertion "that a command which orders a lawful act is not sinful," was denied by Baxter on the plea either that the lawful act might be accompanied by some unlawful accident, or that the penalty for disobedience might be exorbitant. The proposition advanced by his opponents in order to clear this objection, is no doubt sufficiently verbose: but the question itself was altogether one of logomachy, and it would cost some trouble perhaps to exhibit it in less cumbrous framework than that which they adopted as a barrier against the subtleties of their adversaries. "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, is not sinful." Even this statement received the *Quip modest*; and the Divines were compelled to expand it into a more portentous shape than it bore in the first instance. "That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty." The *Countercheck quarrelsome*, when Baxter finally offered, and upon which he

"measured swords and parted," is not very easily to be understood. He denied the premisses, "because the just act commanded may be accidentally unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstances be such." If this denial has any meaning at all (and thereon we hesitate) it assuredly does not mean more than the objection which has already been answered. Well might Morley, to whom we are indebted for an account of this disputation, call it a frivolous and false mode of arguing. "A length of denial thus sceptical," said that acute Prelate, "takes away all legislative power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself. For no act can be so good in itself, but that it may lead to a sin by accident; and if to command such an act be a sin, then every command must be a sin."

The particular demands of the Presbyterians, and the answers given to their objections, are clearly stated by Mr. Carwithen. Some of their requisitions affected points essential, others were merely verbal. It could be of very little serious import whether the officiating Clergyman was to be named Priest or Minister, whether the first day of the week should be called Sunday or the Lord's Day. But when the Presbyterians so far objected to the Liturgy, as to propose one entirely new, a crude, hasty, and undigested composition by Baxter himself, the Episcopalian Divines stood in the gap at once, and stopped the farther inroads of the Destroyer. Such a step, they said, far exceeded their commission, and they were not authorized even to examine a new Liturgy. That they were not actuated by any peevish spirit of hostility, is manifest from the concessions which they really *did* grant, and which they cheerfully admitted to be improvements. In many instances they are so important that we are surprised to find Mr. Carwithen totally silent concerning them here, and only partially noticing them hereafter. In the Epistles and Gospels, the last version was substituted for that of the Great Bible; and when we read some of the "misperformances," as they are quaintly but mildly termed, of the ancient translation, the exchange cannot be deemed unnecessary. Thus, in the Epistle for the Sunday next before Easter. Phillipp. ii. 7. *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος* was rendered "being found in his apparel as a man." In that for the Fourth Sunday in Lent. Galat. iv. 25. *τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ Σίνα ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, συνοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ* was translated "Mount Sinai is Agar in Arabia, and borders upon the city which is now called Jerusalem." In the Gospel for the second Sunday after Epiphany, John ii. 10, *ὅταν μεθύσῃσι* was given "When men be drunk;" words which convey as unjust an imputation against the sobriety of the marriage feasts of the

Jews, as the immediately preceding blunder does upon the correctness of their Geographical knowledge. Lastly, in the Gospel for the Annunciation, Luke i. 36, ὅτις μὲν ἔκτος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆ καλουμένης γάμης had been allowed to stand, in defiance of common sense; "This is the first month which is called barren."

Another concession which was unhesitatingly granted, removed a palpable absurdity; "when any thing is read for an Epistle which is *not* in the Epistles, let the Superscription be '*for the Epistle.*'" In the Marriage Service, the word "honour" was allowed to supersede "worship" in the declaration of the bridegroom, "with my body I thee worship," and it is much to be wished that this alteration, supported as it is by the authority of Selden and of Martin Bucer, had been really carried into effect. How it came not to be so is unexplained. The obsolete sense of "worship" may be innocent enough; but why should we retain a word which is calculated to mislead the unlettered, and which requires explanation to the ears even of those better informed? In one other point on which the Episcopalians yielded, they appear to have acted unadvisedly, and to have corrected their error in time. The form on the committal of the corpse to the ground, in the Burial Service, originally ran, "in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life." The Presbyterians objected that this was an indiscriminate declaration that all men would be saved; and the words "sure and certain" were accordingly at first omitted. In the *final* review of the Liturgy by Convocation, the ejected words were restored, and the true sense of the passage was elucidated by the insertion of the definite article, "in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life," thus intimating (to use Mr. Carwithen's words) that it is the general doctrine in which Christians place their sure and certain hope.

If any fact had been necessary to evince the wisdom of Sheldon's resolution in the outset of this Conference, that the proceedings should be conducted by written argument rather than by verbal disputation, (which latter course was much coveted by the glib-tongued Presbyterians,) it will be found in the last stage, when this combat a *l'outrance* was accepted, and three champions on each side entered the lists. The consequence was such as might be anticipated; "through want of method, frequent interruptions and personal reflections, this mode of debate was attended with no satisfactory result." Amid the Babel of Polemics which ensued, even the patient Sanderson was provoked, by repeated violations of his favourite Logic, to pronounce of one of the disputants, that "he never had met with a man of more pertinacious confidence and of less ability." The close was as tumultuous as that of a County meeting.

"After some desultory conversation, it was agreed that a disputation should take place on the third point, shaped into the question, Whether the communion should be refused to such as would not kneel? Here the Presbyterians were at first the opponents, and rested its sinfulness on the text in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." The respondents said that this precept could not be understood of the communion. Gunning, having read certain citations in defence of his interpretation of this text, Cosins, who acted as moderator, put the question thus: "All of you who think that the respondent has proved that the passage of St. Paul is not applicable to the communion say, Aye." Upon which there was a general shout among the hearers in favour of Gunning.

"In their turn the episcopal disputants were the opponents on the question, Whether it was sinful to make an injunction, refusing the communion to such as would not receive kneeling? The disputation proceeded to a considerable length, but was at last terminated with abruptness and confusion, and severe reflections were bestowed on the perplexed and intricate ratiocination of Baxter, who confounded what was clear, rather than decided what was doubtful.

"At the close of the last day the commissioners, who had spent so many months in altercation, and who had differed on every topic of debate, came to a unanimous conclusion on the terms in which the result of the conference should be reported to the king. It was thus expressed; The welfare of the church, unity and peace, and his majesty's satisfaction, were ends upon which they were all agreed; but as to the means, they could not come to any harmony.'—p. 55, 56.

Such ever has been, such it may fearlessly be affirmed ever will be, the termination of all Synods in which any attempt is made to decide between conflicting Religious interests, by the double-edged sword of verbal controversy. Many hard blows will be interchanged, much to the damage of individuals, some what perhaps to the scandal of the cause which both parties may be supposed to have equally at heart; and in the end the feud will be aggravated, victory will be claimed by all who have been engaged, and the adjustment of the quarrel will be more remote than it was at the beginning. We never turned to the narrative of any Council, Colloquy, or Conference which History records, without being forcibly reminded of a passage in Lucian, in which that arch Satirist relates the breaking up of a day's *set too* among the Athenian Philosophical *Fancy*. It is too long for extraction here, but every word of it is applicable to our purpose; and we may be allowed to cite a few sentences descriptive of the actual parting, which alike depict the exit of the Sophists from the Acropolis, of the Papists from Poissy, and of the Presbyterians from the Savoy. Διαταράξαντες γε οὖν τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπισκοπούμενοι συγχέαντες, ἀπίασιν λοιδωρησάμενοι ἀλλήλοις οἱ πολλοί,

τὸν ἰδρωῖτα ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου ἀγκύλα τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀπεξεσμένοι. Καὶ τοὺτους κρατεῖν ἴδοξεν ὃς ἂν μεγαλοφρονέτερος αὐτῶν ἢ θρασύτερος.*

A singular mistake occurs in the account of the final review of the Liturgy; and it is so unequivocal an oversight, that we notice it only as a specimen of the unhappy lot which posthumous publications are doomed to encounter. "The Apocryphal Books were still read, but it was agreed that they should be read only on Sundays."—p. 63. It is scarcely necessary to do more than to repeat the words of Wheatly, that there is not "any one Sunday in the whole year that has any of its Lessons taken out of the Apocrypha." The word *not* has been accidentally omitted, the word *only* has been inserted in Mr. Carwithen's MS.; and the eye of the Author himself would have detected the error while revising the proof sheets.

The Act of Uniformity occupies, as might be expected, a good deal of Mr. Carwithen's consideration. He first shows that whatever opinions may be formed as to its necessity, or as to the benefits which it produced, it was the work not of the Lords, nor of the Church, nor of the Crown, but plainly and altogether of the House of Commons. With that House it originated; that House rejected the amendments proposed by the Lords, and that House by its perseverance carried the Bill through to completion. Secondly, he proves that which indeed cannot be doubted, that its provisions were directed solely against the Presbyterian Clergy. There was, in fact, no other class of Dissenters which entertained a wish for comprehension. A third question, as to the merits or demerits of the Act, is very fairly stated, and the arguments in each scale are weighed with much niceness and delicacy of touch. In our minds, all of them may be compressed into a nutshell. *Some* standard of doctrine and of discipline is necessary for the existence of every visible Church; and we have the admission of Calamy himself, in his *Life of Baxter*,† that relaxations, which must have gone far to endanger the predominance of Episcopacy, would have been very short of giving satisfaction to even the most moderate Non-conformists. With every inclination, therefore, to use mistakes in Religion with tenderness, we cannot but agree with Sheldon, that it was far better to have Dissent without our Pale than Schism within it.

With respect to the consecration of the Scottish Bishops, we find Mr. Carwithen directly at issue with an authority to which, on such a point, we are much inclined to defer. Jeremy Collier, after stating that Sharp, Hamilton, Barwell, and Leighton (or Loghton, as he writes the name) being already in Presbyterian

* *Bis accusatus.*

† p. 497.

Orders, were first ordained Deacons and Priests, and then consecrated Bishops, adds, "at this solemnity they expressly disclaimed the validity of their former ordination." Mr. Carwithen's account is so diametrically opposed to Collier's, that we greatly regret the absence of marginal references which might guide us to the sources from which it has been derived.

"When the time appointed for the consecration of the Scottish Bishops approached, the English Bishops, finding that Sharp and Leighton had not been Episcopally ordained, insisted that before they could be consecrated bishops they must pass through the inferior gradations of deacon and priest. Sharp was more tenacious on this point than Leighton, and reminded the objectors that when the Scottish Bishops were consecrated by order of James, their reordination was not required. Leighton without hesitation acquiesced; though he did not think Presbyterian ordination invalid, yet he thought that every Church had a power of making its own regulations in matters of discipline, and, consequently, that the reordination of a priest ordained in another Church, imported nothing more than an acknowledgment that he was publicly adopted by the new community. He did not think that the solemnity implied the invalidity of any former commission."—p. 89, 90.

To so bigoted a writer as Kirkton we should pay very little attention on any point in which his prejudices were immediately concerned; and his narrative of the consecration of these Bishops is, no doubt, conveyed in a tone of great sarcasm and bitterness. Nevertheless, as a contemporary, he would scarcely have dared to falsify that which must have been a notorious fact, and any misrepresentation of which must have found instant contradiction. The following passage in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, strongly corroborates the account given by Collier.

"Four of these, Sharp, Ffairfoull" (Faithful, we are not sure whether Kirkton intended to pun upon this name), "Hamilton, and Leighton, the King called up to London, that there they might receive Episcopal ordination, a flower not to be found in a Scottish garden; so by Doctor Sheldon, Bishop of London, and two or three suffragans, they were solemnly consecrated. But first there was a question to be answered, and that was, whether they were to be reordained Presbyters, yea or no? Sharp desired that they might be excused, and that their Presbyterian Ordination might be sustained. Episcopal they could not have, and the former English Bishops had sustained Spotswood's Presbyterian Ordination in the year 1610. But Sheldon was peremptory; either they must renounce their old Presbyterian Ordination, or miss their expected Episcopal Coronation, so they were content rather to deny themselves Presbyters than not to be received Bishops; and when they consented, Sheldon told Sharp, that was the Scottish fashion, to scruple at every thing and swallow any thing. But with a great process of change of vestments, offices, prayers, bowing to the altar, and kneeling at the Communion, they were

reordained and consecrated Bishops both in one day, and this was a preface to a fat Episcopal banquet, and so their work ended."*

On another point, in treating which Collier was either wilfully blind or defective in information, Mr. Carwithen is clear-sighted and correct. No sooner had the Act of Uniformity passed, than Charles, a concealed Papist at heart, thought, that by establishing a dispensing power, under the pretext of relieving the tender consciences of the Non-conformists, he might obtain considerable indulgence for Romanism. With this view, he framed a Declaration, ostensibly referring to his former Declaration from Breda; in which, without noticing that the promises there held forth were *conditional*, he notified his intention of maintaining the Act of Uniformity, "only he should dispense with some matters in it." In other words, he would render it a dead letter. Feeling, perhaps, that he had here outstepped discretion, he afterwards expressed himself more warily in his Speech at opening the next Session; when he reduced to a *wish* that which he had before broadly avowed to be a *design*. "If the Dissenters would demean themselves peaceably and modestly, I could heartily wish I had such power of Indulgence to use upon occasion." The Commons at once perceived the drift both of the Speech and of the Declaration; and by a manly Remonstrance, they put an end to all hope that they could be cajoled into submission. They represented the Declaration from Breda in its true light, to be only so far binding as it pledged the King to take the advice of his Parliament; that the Act of Uniformity having issued from that advice, had consequently altogether superseded the Declaration; that the proposed Indulgence would establish Schism by Law, and make the whole Church-Government precarious; that it was unbecoming the gravity and wisdom of Parliament thus to retrace its own steps, by passing contradictory Statutes in two consecutive Sessions. The Address concluded by some very powerful arguments showing how little the proposed measure would contribute to peace; and in one paragraph, touching the very point which was really at issue, *Indulgence*, it said, would lead to general *Toleration*, "and in time some prevalent Sect will at last contend for an *Establishment*, which, for ought that can be foreseen, may end in Popery." The King, however deeply he must have been chagrined at these expressions, which implied so close a knowledge of his designs, received the Address with his accustomed suavity; heartily thanked his faithful Counsellors, assuring them that never any King was so happy in a House of Commons as he was in this, and promising them an answer when he had

found time to consider their arguments. All this by-play on behalf of Popery is lost upon Collier; he puzzles himself not a little as to the King's motive in being thus anxious for Indulgence; and he feels not a doubt that it was gracious and benevolent. Was it general goodnature? or gratitude to those Non-conformists who had promoted the Restoration? or a sincere belief that public tranquillity might so be best preserved? In good truth, we answer, that none of these laudable thoughts occupied the mind of Charles; but that the Earl of Bristol and his adherents had pointed out to him, that if a suspension of legal penalties on account of Religion, by the exercise of regal prerogative, could once be established, "the members of the Church of Rome might enjoy the same indulgence which was granted to other Dissenters from the National Church."

In his account of the change in the mode of Ecclesiastical taxation when the Clergy abandoned the right of levying imposts on their own body, and suffered themselves to be included in the Money-bills prepared by the Commons, Mr. Carwithen treads very closely in the steps of Collier. We are not about to advocate the exhibition of electioneering zeal in a Churchman; and we abhor, quite as much as those who are for ever indiscriminately bandying about the phrase, the character of a Political Parson. But when it is urged, as we frequently hear it urged, that a Clergyman has *nothing* to do with Elections, and that he ought to be *wholly* devoid of Politics, we may ask in return, whether he ceased to be a Citizen when he adopted the Gown? Do those persons who object to see a Clergyman tendering his vote for a Parliamentary Candidate recollect, or rather did they ever know, the far greater privileges which the Church surrendered when it received a very inadequate compensation by the grant of this liberty of polling? The Clergy is the only portion of the kingdom which is not taxed by representatives chosen from its own class; which is altogether financially dependent upon a foreign body; and which has no voice in the disposal of its money. Into the intricate question how far the revival of the ancient powers of Convocation might assist the general interests of the Church and the Nation, strong as is the opinion which we entertain, it is not requisite that we should now enter. It is enough to say that the Convocation signed its own death-warrant, when it discontinued to provide the Crown with subsidies; and this *felo de se* was sagaciously foretold by Collier. "'Tis well," he says, "if these Convocation meetings are not sometime discontinued, if they do not sink in their significance, lie by for want of Royal License, and grow less regarded when their grievances are offered."

The fall of Clarendon is, perhaps, the most disgraceful portion of the most disgraceful reign in our History. Yet that which his unprincipled persecutors, at the very moment when the cry was most fiercely up, shrank from endeavouring to effect, has been pronounced, by one of the ablest writers of our own days, as positively accomplished. It is well known that when the twenty-three Articles of Impeachment were exhibited against him, Clarendon informed the Managers of the Commons, that, in order to save time, if they would select any one Article, at their own choice, and substantiate it, he would acknowledge himself guilty of all. This proposal, which no man, unless he had been conscious of complete innocence, could have ventured to offer, was declined; and his accusers, abandoning any special ground, demanded the great Minister's imprisonment, on a general accusation of Treason. Notwithstanding this failure on the part of Waller and Vaughan, of Garraway and Littleton, of Bristol and Buckingham—we name but a few among the motley assemblage from all factions, whom the virtues of Clarendon had first shamed, and then associated for his destruction—we are now told, after the lapse of more than a century and a half, that there are matters in that Impeachment “which never were or could be disproved.”* The guilt, however, ultimately resolves itself into a charge of detaining in illegal confinement certain turbulent and refractory personages, some of whom, if he had gratified their friends by allowing the Law to take its course, might have exchanged a prison for the scaffold. Assuming this accusation to be true, Clarendon, at the utmost, committed a breach of the Law in mercy; but we may ask, if it were true, why was it not proved when first advanced? Again, on the imprudence of Clarendon's retirement, so far as his own interests were concerned, no difference of opinion can exist. Ungrateful as was his Prince, virulent as were his enemies, corrupt as were many of his judges, it is far from being improbable that the force of Truth must have prevailed, if he had confronted the foe; and that, by remaining in England, he would have triumphantly surmounted all the perils with which malice and bitterness had sought to environ him. That the King's application to him to withdraw was most disgraceful and treacherous, we at once admit; that Clarendon's compliance was “pusillanimous,” or involved in it any abandonment of “that stern courage which innocence ought to inspire,” we are equally prepared to deny to the very utmost. On the contrary, we call to mind few instances in History of more pure self-devotion. His retirement was far from being “voluntary;” it was tardy and most reluctant, and obtained only by the

* Hallam, *Const. Hist.* i. 230, &c.

repeated urgency of the Duke of York. He neither "clung to office," nor did he "cheat himself against all probability with a hope of his master's kindness when he had lost his confidence;" but, well knowing all the consequences of expatriation, the advantage which it must afford his enemies, and the hopelessness of his return, he yielded to a belief that his own personal sacrifice would work good to his Country; "partly," as Mr. Carwithen has well put it, "to serve the King; partly to save his family; partly to prevent enmity between the King and the Duke of York; and, above all, to avoid being the occasion of a breach between the two Houses of Parliament." Nor was he without his reward; for great as Clarendon's reputation must ever have been if he had died even when in possession of the Seals, it may fairly be averred that his most enduring fame with posterity, the *κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶν*, which he coveted and has obtained, mainly depends upon the occupations to which he dedicated himself during his seven years of banishment.

The second fruitless attempt at a Declaration of Indulgence, the honest and uncompromising opposition of the Commons, and the astounding tergiversation of Shaftesbury, led the way to the Test Act; of which Statute that more versatile and profligate of all Statesmen was the chief and effective advocate. The Dissenters, to the credit either of their wisdom or of their disinterestedness—or, as it is more just to say, of both—contributed to erect that great and then necessary barrier against Popery; and the Duke of York and Lord Clifford in consequence resigned their appointments; declining to receive the Sacrament, as Swift has it, "not for Piety, but for employment, according to Act of Parliament." The Ministry of Danby, himself an upright and high-principled man, but fated to be mixed up in some of the most dishonourable transactions in our annals, is treated with much discrimination by Mr. Carwithen. But it is more to our purpose to lay before our readers the character of a Prelate who has sometimes been unjustly depreciated; and who assuredly, if his Piety may be measured by his Works, is free from the stigma which Burnet has cast upon him of "not having a deep sense of Religion, and of speaking of it most commonly as an engine of Government and a matter of Policy."

"Sheldon was early known in academical life, and joined the literati who assembled at the conversations of the accomplished Falkland in the vicinity of Oxford. In "learning, gravity, and prudence," he was not inferior to his contemporaries, but he excelled them in a polished urbanity of manners, arising from Christian benevolence. "Pleasant he was, perhaps too pleasant," is the remark of a splenetic writer; but it is

difficult to say how that pleasantry can be excessive which never violates morality or decorum. The dignity belonging to his station Sheldon maintained with exemplary consistency, and calumny itself has never dared to impeach his Christian purity. His demeanour was as ingratiating as that of his sovereign, without incurring a similar suspicion of insincerity; and he had all the firmness of Clarendon, unallayed by the cold and repulsive manners of that lawyer and statesman. His piety was undoubted, but though he was assiduous at prayers, he regarded not the practice of Divine worship so much as its use, placing the sum of Religion in a good life. His advice to the youth of higher quality, who constantly resorted to him by the advice of their parents, was always this: 'Let it be your principal care to become honest men, and afterwards be as devout and religious as you please. No piety will be of advantage to yourselves and to others, unless you are moral and honest men.'

"Next to his piety ought to be mentioned his learning, which the same writer who has detracted from his other excellences, has allowed to have been acknowledged "before the wars." The learning which he was known to possess before the wars was not likely to be diminished by the return of peace. It was then also acknowledged by all who knew him, and though it was not of the highest degree, nor of the largest extent, yet he had sufficient learning to appreciate and to cherish learned men. He was not a profound metaphysician; he did not, like many of his contemporaries, engage in opposing the speculative principles of infidelity; but if he did not confute, he was able to live down many "Leviathans."

"But the name of Sheldon will live in the grateful recollection of posterity for that virtue which will continue when 'tongues shall cease, and knowledge shall vanish away.' Truly may his charity deserve the epithet of Christian, for as in its measure it had no bounds but the extent of his revenues, so in its objects it had no other limits than 'the household of faith.' It was not only vast, but various; it was not only practised in splendid munificence, but in silent and secret bounty. It was employed, not only in raising the stately edifices consecrated to learning, but reached even the pallet of the leazar, and the dungeon of the captive.

"United to Clarendon by the ties of early friendship, and by similarity of principles, the memory of Sheldon and Elyde is still associated in that seat of learning which they both adorned, and which they both loved. To this day those venerable edifices remain, illustrative of the exalted characters whose names they bear, of kindred appropriation, and of rival grandeur. Yet they stand, and may they long stand, monuments of Learning consecrated by Religion, and of Liberty guarded by Law."—pp. 172—174.

The notorious Oxford Decree is elaborately examined and defended by Mr. Carwithen. One of its greatest faults, in our opinion, is its needless attack upon abstract propositions, propositions which it is always more safe to leave undisturbed. One

of its strongest apologies is to be found in the received belief of the times; in a comparison of it with existing Homilies and Statutes. Mr. Hallam has a singular remark upon this Decree; that it does not contain "the slightest intimation that the University extended their censure to such praises of despotic power as have been quoted in the last pages;" the quotations being from Hickes, Sherlock, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Robert Filmer. Strange, indeed, would it have been if an Academical Convocation, the chief object of which was to condemn the *enemies* of Government, should have gone out of its way to reprehend the *friends* of Government, even when those friends were most injudicious! That advocate would have small claim to the praise of discretion who, in urging the conviction of his opponent, should exhibit unnecessary candour by digressing on the errors of his own client. Mr. Carwithen, in the passage which we give below, has shown that the Decree purposely avoids affirmation. The absence of censure therefore upon the *ultra* Propositions of the higher Tories, is by no means to be construed into an approval of them.

"The substance of the Decree consists of twenty-seven propositions, selected from different books published in the English and Latin tongue. Of these propositions it is first affirmed, that they are repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, decrees of councils, writings of the Fathers, the faith and profession of the primitive Church, and also destructive of kingly government, the safety of his majesty's person, the public peace, the laws of nature, and the bonds of human society. The obnoxious propositions are selected from the writings of Buchanan, Bellarmine, Baxter, Milton, Hobbes, and others of inferior notoriety.

"It is not too much to say, that twenty, out of these twenty-seven propositions, are not described in worse terms than they deserve, as being contrary to reason, and subversive of social order. That 'dominion is founded on grace,' a favourite maxim of the Puritans; that 'all oaths are unlawful,' a maxim not less cherished by the Quakers; that 'the King's supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs, asserted by the Church of England, is Popish and Anti-Christian,' a capital dogma of the Presbyterians; that 'the powers of this world are a usurpation upon the prerogative of Jesus Christ,' the fundamental tenet of the fifth-monarchy men; such propositions as these, few sound members of the National Church, few men of sound reason, would hesitate to condemn. Not more defensible are the paradoxes of Hobbes, that 'a state of nature is a state of war,' that 'success in an enterprise is a proof of its justice,' and that 'as an oath superadds no obligation to a fact, so a fact obliges no farther than it is credited; consequently, if a prince gives any indication that he does not believe the promises of allegiance made by his subjects, they are thereby freed from their subjection.' In the same class must

be ranked another proposition, 'that an oath obliges not in the sense of the imposer, but of the taker.'

"There are other propositions, which, though not theoretically false, are practically mischievous, and which, as they are fairly disputable, ought not to be generally inculcated; for they are controverted both by Whigs and Tories. The first and second propositions, that 'all civil authority is derived originally from the people,' and 'that there is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects;' however they may be recommended by the authority of Sydney and Locke, are attended with difficulties which must prevent their reception as acknowledged truths. Another proposition, that 'the sovereignty of England is in the three estates, King, Lords, and Commons;' that 'the King has but a co-ordinate power, and may be overruled by the other two;' is inaccurate in its terms. Though the Lords and Commons have a share in the legislative branch of the Constitution, yet they cannot be said to have a co-ordinate power, or an equal share in the sovereignty. In the executive part of the Constitution, which is, strictly speaking, the Government, and which is of constant exercise and application, the Lords and Commons have no share. The Commons have one-third only of the legislature, and of the government no share at all. The Constitution has settled two portions, the Lords and Commons, against one, as to the legislative part; 'and in the whole of the judicature, the whole of the federal capacity of the executive, the prudential, and financial administration in one alone.' It is the union of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which constitute 'the sovereignty.'

"Though all the propositions condemned are disputable, and though most are manifestly unsound, yet the Oxford Decree contains nothing affirmative. It does not follow that if these propositions be false, the converse is true; for to deny one extreme, is to hold the other extreme or a middle proposition between the two."—pp. 228—230.

"From this impartial statement, it is impossible to avoid drawing the conclusion, that the Oxford Decree has been grossly misrepresented. It is neither slavish, nor is it extravagant; and a memorialist, who has called it a wild Decree, has been guilty of far greater inconsistencies in his political life and writings. Whatever may be its errors, it is not to be considered as an authorised formulary of the Church of England. But, in truth, it is capable of a satisfactory vindication."—pp. 232—233.

Cambridge evinced greater wisdom than her sister. The Senate voted an Address which was presented to the King at Newmarket, but it abstained from any entanglement in formal disputation. The Address was couched in language far too adulatory, and might have been offered with more propriety to Titus or to Alfred than to Charles II.; but much allowance is to be made for the *prestige* of a King *in esse*. A less avowed acknowledgment than it contains of the *Jus divinum* and of the consequences inseparable from that tenet, would have been altogether out of character with the times: and we mention the

Address now, more for the purpose of noticing its beauty of style than from any wish to commend its matter. The conclusion, especially, was most eloquent.

“ It is thus that we have learned our own, and thus that we teach others their duty to God and to their Prince. In the conscientious discharge of both which we have been so long protected by your Majesty's most just and gracious Government, that we neither need nor desire any other Declaration than this experience for our assurance and security for the future. To all which Grace and Goodness we have nothing to return. We bring no names and seals, no lives and fortunes well capable of your Majesty's service, or at all worthy of your acceptance. Nothing but hearts and prayers; vows of a zealous and lasting loyalty; ourselves and our studies; all that we can or ever shall be able to perform, which we here most sincerely promise and most humbly tender at your Majesty's feet; a mean and worthless present, but such a one as we hope will not be disdained by the most gracious and indulgent Prince that Heaven ever bestowed upon a People.”

In his remarks upon the expulsion of Locke from Christ Church we do not think Mr. Carwithen so successful as in his extenuation of the Oxford Decree. The connexion of Locke with Shaftesbury is said to be inexplicable. Is it forgotten that Shaftesbury was Locke's earliest Patron, at a point of life in which the latter was devoid of any brilliant prospects? that Shaftesbury, knowing him first only in the character of a medical tyro, sagaciously penetrated his extraordinary mental powers, and assisted in their development? Under such circumstances, who can be surprised that Locke was permanently grateful? or who that is acquainted with the character of the wily Achitophel, can wonder that he knew how to maintain the ascendancy which in the outset he had thus fairly and honestly gained? Nothing appears to us more mistaken than to say, that “ to demolish the reputation of the Statesman is to impeach the honesty or the penetration of the Philosopher.” Respecting the mandate of Government for the expulsion, Mr. Carwithen is content to affirm that it is not “ the *most* wanton and cruel act of tyranny in this reign;” that it “ might be oppressive and might be despotic;” and that although “ not unprovoked, the punishment exceeded the provocation.” The provocation, be it remembered, was no more than a very hasty and ill-founded suspicion, afterwards proved to be false, that Locke was the author of certain Pamphlets offensive to Government. Is it too much to say that an act by which an innocent man was to be dishonoured and deprived of bread, on unsubstantial charges, was wanton, cruel, despotic, and oppressive? That Charles, in the course of his reign, allowed or committed other acts to which those epithets may be

applied in a yet higher degree, can never remove its absolute stain from this particular incident. A bad act does not change its nature because others can be shown which are still worse.

So, also, respecting Bishop Fell. In the general praises of that excellent Prelate few will be more ready than ourselves to concur: but in Locke's instance we think he was misled, not by "servility" but by an over-zealous loyalty; we do not believe that he was "treacherous," but we can scarcely acquit him of having been meddling. Mr. Carwithen has been less accurate than usual in his notice of the correspondence between Fell and Sunderland.

"Under these circumstances Fell suggested a plan which, if it had been adopted, would at once have obviated the charge of persecution. He proposed to issue a mandate to Locke, enjoining his return to the college of which he was a dependent member, for to all members on the foundation non-residence is a matter of favour, not of right, and it is generally enjoined by an express dispensation revocable at the will of the governor of the college. The statement of Fell is perfectly fair: 'If he comes not back he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy; and if he does, he will be answerable for that which he shall be found to have done amiss.' Sunderland thought that this mode of proceeding was too dilatory; a royal mandate was transmitted for the immediate ejectment of Locke, to which Fell, in those days when the rights of visitors were not defined as at present, thought himself bound to submit."—pp. 237, 238.

Now this statement, no doubt, contains the truth, but certainly not the whole truth. The citation from Fell's letter terminates at a convenient point for his exculpation; and the reader would scarcely suppose from the words above quoted, that Fell not only pointed out sources from which it was possible evidence might be obtained against Locke, but yet farther, *suggested to Sunderland the expedient of a Royal mandate for his expulsion*. His letter continues in the following words:

"It being probable, that though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew himself suspected, he has laid himself more open at London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his Majesty and Government were managed and pursued. If he don't return by the first of January, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion. *But if this method seems not effective or speedy enough, and his Majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the Dean and Chapter, it shall accordingly be executed.*"

Four days after the despatch of this gentle hint, was issued the Warrant for expulsion, prefaced by a lie and enjoining a robbery. "Whereas we have received information of the factious and dis-

loyal behaviour of Locke, &c." Great as is our general reverence (and we are altogether sincere in avowing it) for the otherwise estimable Dean, *this* is an occasion on which we need not look very far for a reason why

"We do not like thee, Dr. Fell."

In the review and commendation of the energy with which the leading Divines of the Church of England buckled on their armour to resist the Dispensing power which James lost no time after his accession in claiming, and in favour of which he had obtained a solemn Determination from his packed and corrupt Judges, we meet with another paragraph which must have found its way into Mr. Carwithen's MS. by some *incuria* in transcription, and the inconsequentiality of which appears to have escaped his Editor. "Even the least bigoted and bitter of the Nonconformists could refuse to allow the sole glory of standing forward in the hour of peril to combat Popery, backed by Regal power, to the Clergy of the National Church. But the admission has been accompanied by an invidious deduction from their merit, that they coldly received or contemptuously rejected the aid of Dissenters."—(p. 270.) The sense plainly demands that we should read "*Not even the most bigoted,*" &c.

The sketch of Samuel Parker is admirably drawn; the touches are few, strong, and distinct; and the portrait stands out from the canvass with a boldness which almost gives it the appearance of having been taken from the life.

"The life of this individual furnishes a moral too useful not to be insisted on. If there be any one whose neglected merit or whose repulsed assurance in the disposal of preferment shall have excited discontent, and prompted to gain the favour of the powerful by undue compliance and by a sacrifice of conscience, let him be admonished by the example of Samuel Parker.

"The enemies of this individual have been studious to conceal, and his friends have been willing to forget what he once was, and the height from which he fell; though the one might have found in it an aggravation of their exultation, and the other a mitigation of their resentment. He was descended from puritanical parents, and was educated at Oxford, when that university was a school of puritanism. He was committed to the care of a presbyterian tutor, and belonged to 'the straitest sect' of these puritanical disciplinarians. But it was observed, that though he made an outward show and profession of a mortified and abstemious life, his disposition was more liberal, and his talents more attractive, than generally falls to the lot of sectaries. It was without surprise or anger, except from those whom he had deserted, that the Restoration occasioned a change in the habits and opinions of Parker. He left Wadham College, and entered himself at Trinity, where he was patronised by its

president, Ralph Betharst. To this excellent man he acknowledged himself indebted for many benefits, and for none more important than for emancipating him from the prejudices of his education. Pursuing a course of useful study, he published a treatise on natural theology, which he dedicated to Sheldon; and so great was its merit, that the primate honoured him, not only by patronage, but friendship. He was first chaplain to the archbishop, then archdeacon, and finally prebendary of Canterbury. In these responsible situations he conducted himself with ability, though not with prudence. His theological studies were not neglected, for he gave to the world a treatise containing a demonstration of the divine authority of the law of nature and the Christian religion. But he was, to his misfortune, better known as a controversialist, and as a spirited yet acrimonious opponent of the Nonconformists. His style was lively and forcible, his learning exact and copious. The violence of his attacks provoked the famous Andrew Marvel to answer him, but it is in the opinion of Whigs only that Marvel was superior to Parker even in wit, in learning comparison would be ridiculous. At this period of his life, such was his zeal for the Church of England, that he sent a written address to James while Duke of York, penned with his usual energy of diction, persuading him to renounce the Church of Rome. He gave due praise to James for the sincerity of his adherence to the Romish faith in opposition to his secular interest, but he laboured to remove those prejudices which the duke unhappily entertained against the English Church. 'If,' he says, 'by a true and sincere account of things, I can bring your conscience over to the Church of England, though I shall not bring your conscience to your interest, yet I shall make them meet; for if that were satisfied, it is obvious on which side the advantage lies.'

"Unhappily for both, the conscience of James was opposed to the interest of Parker, and Parker submitted to bring his interest to his conscience. Whether his struggles were severe, or whether his acquiescence was sudden; whether he was wrought upon by tempting offers, or whether he voluntarily presented himself to James, is not recorded. His lamentable defection from the faith which he formerly defended was sufficiently notorious, by his acceptance of the Bishopric of Oxford. It was known to be the price of his treachery, for which he sacrificed reputation and peace of conscience. His change of opinion was immediately proclaimed by himself, for he published a tract containing reasons for abrogating the test imposed on all members of parliament. It was not without ingenuity; and his two reasons, that the test diminishes or rather takes away the natural rights of the peerage, and that its origin is ignoble, being brought forth to give reputation to the perjuries of Oates, are strongly argued. He calls the test the *Oatesian sacrament*. But when he comes to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to clear it from the charge of idolatry, he shows that 'zeal without knowledge,' which is often found in a neophyte, and always in an apostate."—pp. 285.—288.

The whole well-known dispute respecting the Presidency of Magdalen College, terminating in Parker's appointment and

death, is narrated with terseness, vigour, and spirit: and the Chapter detailing the memorable conflict with the Seven Bishops is a remarkable specimen of the high interest which may be given by a skilful writer to a subject however trite and familiar. We will not say that we read it as if the incidents which it presents were new to us; but we honestly say, that our acquaintance with them by no means diminishes their zest and raciness. They are told pointedly, rapidly, and dramatically; with a good deal of effect, yet without apparent labour; and they display a strength of outline and a breadth of colouring which fully compensates for the want of any minuter finishing which it is probable their lamented Author might have bestowed, if his ὕψαται φροῦνδες had been directed to their revision. The volume bears a similar character to its end: and the dangerous and difficult path through which the author's course is bent towards its conclusion, is trodden with caution and with judgment, yet without any timidity or wavering. The incalculable debt which is owing to the Church of England, as the main instrument by which Religious and Political Freedom was established at the Revolution, is displayed, not with the distorted exaggeration of an advocate, nor with the florid emptiness of a declaimer. Sober fact and sedate argument are the guides which Mr. Carwithen has chosen; and under their pilotage he has framed a Work forming a most honourable monument to his own memory, as a well-read Historian, a sound Divine, and a charitable Christian.

ART. IV.—*Lectures on Poetry and General Literature, delivered at the Royal Institution in 1830 and 1831.* By James Montgomery, Author of "The World before the Flood," "The Pelican Island," &c. &c. London: Longman. 1833. 8vo. pp. 394.

To write *Lectures on Poetry and General Literature*, calculated to edify the adult Pupils who fill the benches of the Amphitheatre in Albemarle Street, is a task which probably Aristotle or Vossius would have been perplexed to execute. Perhaps it might have been undertaken by Blair or by Beattie, but we much doubt whether any one who ever put pen to paper, is better calculated for its fulfilment than Mr. James Montgomery.

First of all, Mr. Montgomery has written Poëms in his own person, and therefore he has experimental knowledge of the mysteries of the craft which he is to teach.—"He is himself the great sublime

he draws." Secondly, his style is the very pink of that which, at the risk of a Bull, we shall venture to call *vivá voce* composition—he delivers periods which might excite the envy of Mr. Walker while illustrating his Orrery; and he scatters flowers more blooming than any which even Mr. Smart entwines, while Elocution is at once his theme and his material. Duller Essayists may define, Mr. Montgomery is content to declaim; and who that ever experienced the laborious mental effort requisite to follow a Lecturer who *thinks*, will not prefer the far easier acquiescence which forms the sole demand made upon his auditors by one who *feels*? "The nature, or rather the essence of Poetry, I cannot define, and shall therefore not attempt it." How unpretending, how manly, how discreet is this avowal, with which Mr. Montgomery salutes us in his commencement! Would that the Stagyrite had acted with equal candour and similar honesty! How much pain and grief should we have been spared, in our days of Freshmanship, by the dismissal of that crabbed assertion, that Poetry is *μίμησις τὸ σύνολον*! What weary hours should we have escaped if we had never been expected to distribute its chief species according to their varieties of Imitation, *ἢ τῷ γένει ἑτέροισι, ἢ τῷ ἔτερε, ἢ τῷ ἑτέρως καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον*!

Nevertheless, let it not be supposed that we are left absolutely without guidance to discover for ourselves *what* is the subject upon which Mr. Montgomery is writing. Wisely as he has avoided the precise and narrow boundaries of that which Bentley terms "the explication of a thing by its kind and difference," he has still diffused through No. I. "On the Pre-eminence of Poetry," certain assertions, similitudes and adumbrations, by which, if we do not distinctly learn what Poetry *is* in all its parts, we are at least taught what it is *like* in some of them. Thus we are informed that "Poetry is the eldest, the rarest, and the most excellent of the Fine Arts; it was the first fixed form of Language, the earliest perpetuation of Thought"—that "the power of being a Poet is a power from Heaven; wherein it consists I know not." That "Poetry makes the reader himself a Poet"—that Poetry "resembling the Sun himself, may shine successively all round the Globe, and endure till the Earth and the works therein shall be burnt up"—that "A Poem is a campaign"—that Poetry "is a School of Sculpture; that it "builds up the ruins of History, fallen otherwise into irrecoverable dilapidation;" and finally, that "it exhibits man in portraiture."

Having been taught that Poetry is and does all these matters, we fancied that we had learned "what is Poetical." But it seems that we were far too hasty in our calculation, for that question forms a separate inquiry in No. II.

That Truth is the ultimate Test of Poetry we are quite ready to admit, but it is a discovery at which we despair of arriving by Mr. Montgomery's induction. It was made clear to his mind by the conversion of two Mongol-Tartar Saisangs or Chiefs, the most sensible men belonging to their Tribe, who renounced the doctrine of Shakd-Shamaui, in consequence of being employed to assist a German Clergyman, resident in St. Petersburg, who was translating the Gospel of St. Matthew into their native Tongue. After a brief notice of "the Poetical of Place and Circumstance," exemplified by "a small sea-port town, rank with all the ordinary nuisances of such localities—sights, smells and sounds"—which are farther delineated with the dirty minuteness of a Flemish pencil; and a short digression in favour of the universality of sin, the remainder of Essay II. is devoted to an explanation of the reason which induced Lord Byron to call "the Stars" the "Poetry of Heaven." It was "not certainly on account of their visible splendor, for the gas lights in a single street of the metropolis outshine the whole hemisphere in the clearest winter evening; nor on account of their beautiful configuration, for the devices chalked on the floor of a fashionable ball-room to the mere animal eye would be more captivating." It was rather ("to myself at least," says Mr. Montgomery) because they are the "identical luminaries" which "appeared to Adam and Eve in Paradise;" because they are the same to us as they were to "Noah and his family," and to "the builders of Babel;" because they are still marshalled in the same battle array as when they "fought against Sisera," because—but the passages following are too sublime for mutilation:

"The stars, then, have been the points where all that ever lived have met: the great, the small, the evil, and the good; the prince, the warrior, statesman, sage; the high, the low, the rich, the poor; the bond and the free; Jew, Greek, Scythian, and Barbarian;—every man that has looked up from the earth to the firmament, has met every other man among the stars, for all have seen them alike, which can be said of no other images in the visible universe! Hence, by a sympathy neither affected nor overstrained, we can at pleasure bring out spirits into nearer contact with any being that has existed, illustrious or obscure, in any age or country, by fixing our eyes—to name no other—on the evening or the morning star, which that individual must have beheld a hundred and a hundred times,

'In that same place of heaven where now it shines,'

and with the very aspect which the beautiful planet wears to us, and with which it will continue to smile over the couch of dying or the cradle of reviving day."—pp. 58, 59.

"Yet much more than this is included (inevitably included) in the

association of ideas awakened by the silent, solitary firmament. We feel that all the invisible world of spirits, disembodied or pure,—I say *feel*, because, abstract them as we may, every idea we can frame of spiritual essences will be crudely material,—we feel that all these must be somewhere within that impenetrable veil, which is itself the only perfect emblem of eternity, and *is* eternity made visible. But I dare not pursue the flight further! I must not presume to spy out 'the secrets of the desolate abyss,' or,

' with the deep-transported mind, to soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at heaven's door
Look in.'

It is enough to have pointed out the way, which those of my auditory, who have nerve and power enough, may pursue to infinity."—pp. 65, 66.

In commencing the III^d. division of his inquiry, on "the Form of Poetry," Mr. Montgomery has expressed himself with very laudable and becoming caution; and exercising a wariness which cannot be too highly commended, he has avoided the possibility of being entangled by an over-hasty admission. "In every Language, barbarous or polished, (*I believe*,) there are two modes of utterance—speaking and singing; and two kinds of cadence in the collocation of syllables corresponding to speech and song—prose and verse." M. Jourdain passed forty years of his life before he knew that he had been speaking prose when he called for his night-cap and slippers; and he would perhaps have carried this ignorance with him to the grave, had not his *Maître de Philosophie* enunciated with a gravity only exceeded by that of Mr. Montgomery, *qu'il n'y a pour exprimer que la Prose ou les Vers. Tout ce que n'est point Prose est Vers; et tout ce qui n'est point Vers est Prose.*

Although Mr. Montgomery ranges through the entire circle of the Dead Languages, and considers Poetry under Hebrew, Greek and Latin garbs, we have a little misgiving of his critical acquaintance with some of those Tongues. We can assure him that *τύραννος* in Greek has a widely different signification from *Tyrant* in English, a distinction of which he by no means seems fully aware when he talks of Pisistratus almost redeeming that Royal title "from the obloquy which his usurpation had entailed upon it." Here, however, we confess ourselves to be doubly at a loss, for we are by no means sure whether it is not intended to represent that Pisistratus (if it had its due, a very great and illustrious name) sullied the title which before his usurpation was honourable. In respect to Latinity we have less scruple, and in the following line of Tibullus, we may venture to state positively that *teneam* is *not* in the future tense, as the mellifluous translation would delude an unsuspecting school-boy to believe.

*"Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.
Dying I'll hold thee with a failing hand."*

Every body knows the pleasure which is felt in being introduced to the privacy of a great author, through some incidental notice dropping from his own pen; and the eagerness with which we dwell on scattered hints of personal habits when furnished by the individual himself. Great, therefore, must have been the delight of the *Lecturées* at the Royal Institution, and inexpressible will be the satisfaction of as much of posterity as may read Mr. Montgomery's pages, at learning that they were written by the light of a pair of moulds, snuffed by his own hand. It must have been from the benevolent wish to occasion this pleasure, that he has inserted the following brief episode in his *Essay on "The Themes of Poetry."*

"While the last paragraph was passing through my pen upon paper, a fly glanced through the candle-flame, fell backwards into the liquid round the wick, and lay weltering there for several seconds before the mercy of a trembling hand could inflict a speedier death than that which it was enduring."—p. 230.

Some specimens of Mr. Montgomery's Criticism may fairly be expected by our readers. Of two *Canzoni* by Celio Magno, we are told that they "breathe such transporting tenderness, that the mind possessed by a melancholy more delicious than gladness, resigns itself wholly to the reverie, and dwells and dotes on chosen passages without strength or desire to leave them." The metres in Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* are compared "to a group of young Lions at play;—meeting, mingling, separating; pursuing, attacking, repelling; changing attitude, action, motion, every instant; all fire, force and flexibility; exuberant in spirits, yet wasting none; while the Poet, like their Sire, couched and looking on, may be presumed with his eye to have ruled every turn and crisis of their game."

"Here's a large mouth, indeed,
That talks familiarly of roaring lions,
As maids of thirteen do of puppy dogs."

A longer passage, on the exquisite lines of Collins, "To the memory of those who fell in the Rebellion of 1745," (lines so familiar to every lover of Poetry, that we need scarcely cite them,) appears to us the happiest imitation of Scriblerus with which we ever chanced to meet.

"What a quantity of thought is here condensed in the compass of twelve lines, like a cluster of rock crystals, sparkling and distinct, yet receiving and reflecting lustre by their combination. The stanzas themselves are almost unrivalled in the association of poetry with picture,

pathos with fancy, grandeur with simplicity, and romance with reality. The melody of the verse leaves nothing for the ear to desire, except a continuance of the strain, or, rather, the repetition of a strain which cannot tire by repetition. The imagery is of the most delicate and exquisite character,—Spring decking the turfy sod; Fancy's feet treading upon the flowers there; Fairy hands ringing the knell; unseen Forms singing the dirge of the glorious dead; but above all, and never to be surpassed in picturesque and imaginative beauty, Honour, as an old and broken soldier, coming on far pilgrimage to visit the shrine where his companions in arms are laid to rest; and Freedom, in whose cause they fought and fell,—leaving the mountains and fields, the hamlets, and the unwall'd cities of England delivered by their valour,—hastening to the spot, and dwelling (but only for 'a while,') 'a weeping hermit there.' The sentiment, too, is profound:—'How sleep the brave!'—not how sweetly, soundly, happily! for all these are included in the simple apostrophe, 'How sleep the brave!' Then, in that lovely line,

' By all their country's wishes blest,'

is implied every circumstance of loss and lamentation, of solemnity at the interment, and posthumous homage to their memory, by the three-fold personages of the scene,—living, shadowy, and preternatural beings. As for thought, he who can hear this little dirge 'sung,' as it is, by the 'unseen form' of the author himself, who cannot die in it,—without having thoughts, 'as thick as motes that people the sunbeams,' thronging through his mind, must have a brain as impervious to the former, as the umbrage of a South American forest to the latter. There are in it associations of war, peace, glory, suffering, life, death, immortality, which might furnish food for a midsummer day's meditation, and a mid-winter night's dream afterwards, could June and December be made to meet in a poet's reverie."—p. 200—202.

Is it quite complimentary to the memory of Sir Walter Scott, to call him the founder of "a *free and easy* species of verse?" Is it usual to talk of "*Charlemagne the great?*" And on what occasion was an unhappy criminal exhibited, "sensible even under the gallows to the inconvenience of a shower of rain, and cowering under the clergyman's umbrella to listen for the last word of the last prayer that shall ever be offered for him?" For one remark on the opening scenes in *Hamlet*, we are very grateful to Mr. Montgomery; it is just and acute, and may be appealed to in any future comparison (if such should ever be instituted) between Shakespeare and the modern school of Germany.

"It is remarkable, that in the progress of more than forty interlocutions, involving four distinct scenes, by the change of persons, within less than fourscore lines from the opening of this play, there is no necessity for a single stage direction:—every look, attitude, and movement of the six characters (including the Ghost) being so infallibly indicated,

that not the minutest particle which can give poetic or picturesque effect to the reality of the spectacle is omitted. This is the consummation of dramatic art, hiding itself behind the unveiled form of nature."—pp. 174, 175.

Of the future perfection of the Human Mind we have often seen very brilliant anticipations; but its capabilities, if it had been duly cultivated in times past, have rarely, if ever, been pourtrayed to us so glowingly as in the following extract, with which we shall conclude. It relates to the condition of the Common people of Greece.

"Now and then, indeed, an Æsop, a Terence, or an Epictetus, by the irrepressible buoyancy of native talent, rose from the bottom of that stagnant gulph, under which living intelligences were laid down in darkness like beds of oysters; rose from the mud of servile degradation, to vindicate the honour of outraged humanity, and teach both kings and sages, that within the thickest shell of a slave there is the kernel of a man, which only grows not because it is not planted; or, when planted, only flourishes not because it is unworthily beaten down and trampled under foot by those who ought to have cherished, and pruned, and reared it to fertility. Oh! what a waste of mind and worth! What havoc of talent and capacity, of every degree and of every kind, is implied in that perpetuated thralldom of uninstructedness (if I may coin such a negative), wherein the bulk of mankind, through every age and nation under heaven, have been held by tyrants as brutish as themselves, who knew nothing of knowledge except that they feared it; or by more flagrant injustice of those who possessed, but durst not or would not communicate it to the multitude! The aristocracy of learning has been the veriest despotism ever exercised upon earth, for it was bondage both to soul and body in those who were its victims. Thousands and thousands of spirits—immortal spirits—have dwelt in human bodies almost unconscious of their own existence, and utterly ignorant of their unawakened powers, which, had instruction been as general as it is at this day, and in our land, might, with Newton, have unfolded the laws of the universe, with Bacon, have detected the arcana of nature by the talisman of experiment, or, with Locke, have taught the mind with introverted eye to look at itself, and range at home through all the invisible world of thought. Had this been the case three thousand years ago, and thenceforward uninterruptedly, the abstrusest branches of natural philosophy and metaphysics themselves might now have been nearly as intelligible, and as certain in their data and conclusions as are mathematics and mechanics, or the abstract principles of jurisprudence."—p. 332—334.

In fine, it has been our lot to sit through a show Debate in the Reformed House of Commons; to listen, *usque ad somnolentiam*, to an Oration from the lips of the Interpreter of Tongues; and to have been allured into a purchase on the faith of more than one dainty programme, steeped in his own honeyed gluten

at the rostrum of George *Martel*.* Strong in this experience, we idly believed that

“The force of *Rhetoric* could no farther go.”

But we are now undeceived. Beyond each of these extremes a style may be found, and Mr. Montgomery has discovered it, more discursive and more desultory, more gaseous and more grandiloquent, more saturated with figure and more uncommunicative of fact.

ART. V.—1. *The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*. By John Abercrombie, M.D. F.R.S.E. London: Murray. 1833.

2. *Astronomy and General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology*.† By the Rev. W. Whewell, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Pickering. 1833.

THE reader may possibly be somewhat surprised at seeing two publications, whose object is so different, placed together at the head of this article. Their wonder will, probably, have disappeared before they reach the end of our remarks. They will, then, have found that both these writers have some purposes in common. The main design of each of them is to assert the Majesty of the Sovereign of the Universe, and to place our allegiance to him on grounds as solid as the everlasting rock; so that the rain may descend, and the floods come, and the winds blow, and beat upon the house, and yet it shall not fall. It cannot but be interesting and satisfactory to see two eminent men moving in two distinct, but not divergent paths, towards the same intent; the one labouring to trace out the image of Himself, which, in the beginning, was stamped by the Deity upon the human soul; the other to exhibit, and bring out the impress of the Divine perfections, discernible in the system of the material creation.

Of one thing we are deeply persuaded—that the distinguished philosopher, whose work forms the third of the eight Bridgewater Treatises, will think no scorn, at finding himself here associated with a name so honoured as that of Dr. Abercrombie, though not, perhaps, so splendidly conspicuous as his own in the ranks of general science. Dr. Abercrombie is already well known to the public by his admirable treatise on the Intellectual Powers of Man, to which we invited the attention of our readers in a

* Need we point more openly to the *finest* writer and the ablest Auctioneer of our day, Mr. George Robins?

† We have arranged these two works in the order in which they happened to fall under our notice.

former number of this journal.* Before we proceed to any notice of his present volume, we beg permission to remind our readers of the *peculiar* claims of the author on the gratitude of all who retain any belief of the high destinies of the human race. Dr. Abercrombie, be it recollected, is a physician, at the highest eminence of his profession; and, consequently, engaged, from morning till evening, in the discharge of its anxious and laborious duties. As we stated before, it may be almost literally said, that his chariot is his study. And be it further kept in mind, that he has been mainly impelled to this consecration of the fragments of his time by his solicitude for the moral and spiritual welfare of those young men, who are dedicated to the same pursuit in which he has achieved his own gratifying distinction. Of the dangers incident to the pursuits of anatomy and medicine, we have already given a somewhat copious exposition;†—dangers, which threaten those, whose lives are devoted to those pursuits, with the loss of everything for which a thoughtful or reasonable being could think it desirable to be born. It must, indeed, be well known to all who have given a single thought to the matter, that *materialism* is constantly staring the medical student in the face; and that, unless he is fortified by some charm of greater potency, that Gorgon head may chance to petrify all the finer principles and feelings of his nature. It is, moreover, well known that the early life of the youthful aspirant, is perilously unfavourable to the acquisition of the only secret which can preserve him from that disastrous enchantment. At the most critical period of his days, he is turned loose into the vast *solitude* of a great city. In that dangerous exile from the blessed influences of home, his character is left wildly to develope itself: and the consequences of this state of moral destitution, are, too often, seen either in his complete emancipation from the dominion of religious principle, or, at best, in his drifting about at the mercy of every current of passion, or every breath of opinion. Now, we apprehend, that a man placed in the commanding elevation now occupied by Dr. Abercrombie, in his own profession, cannot well confer a greater benefaction to the community, than by appearing as “the guide, philosopher, and friend,” of all these wandering prodigals. In the first place, the professional authority of Dr. Abercrombie must be next to irresistible. Secondly, we may add, his personal virtues are notoriously such as to make him the pride and the delight of the circle in which he moves. Thirdly, he has shown that nothing but ample leisure is wanting to place him—if that

* Brit. Crit. April, 1831. We are rejoiced to find that Dr. Abercrombie's treatise is proceeding rapidly through a second edition.

† Ibid. 347—351.

were his ambition—among the foremost inquirers after truth. And, lastly, his paternal solicitude for the faith, and virtue, and happiness, of his younger brethren* in the profession, must inevitably win for him their confidence and esteem. There can be nothing but honour in listening to the counsels, and following the guidance of such a man. The arguments and the statements of a great physician, who is neither a sceptic or a materialist, cannot be lost, even upon pupils who are walking the hospitals, and incessantly prying into the perishable mechanism of the human frame. And, surely, it may be added, that the labours of such an inquirer entitle him to an honourable place among the most successful and illustrious cultivators of science.

The object of Dr. Abercrombie, in composing this volume, as stated by himself, is to investigate the moral feelings of the human mind, in the same simple, popular, and *unpretending* manner, observed by him in his work on the Intellectual Powers.† Conformably to this view, he has comprised his speculations within the very moderate space of 244 pages. A tract so compendious can, of course, offer nothing like a complete and scientific system of ethics; and such a system, even if constructed with the most consummate ability and genius, would, unquestionably, be quite unfit for the purposes contemplated by the author. His design, evidently, is, to present to the minds of the youthful and the busy, in a clear, brief, and intelligible form, the most valuable results of profound ethical inquiry. And, assuredly, the most impatient reader can have no reason to complain that he is tasked with a burdensome extent of disquisition. If he is frightened at a work, which scarcely exceeds the dimensions of a pamphlet, he must already be in possession of a philosophy most eminently simple and self-sufficient. Unalterable repose, and freedom from disturbance, must have been adopted by him as his *summum bonum*!

In the outset of his discussion, one position is assumed by Dr. Abercrombie, for which he thinks it needful to offer some apology; namely, that there are two Great Lights given to man for his guidance in the search after moral truth,—the Light of Conscience and the Light of Revelation. He seems apprehensive that this assumption may be thought to involve something like a violation of rigorous philosophical propriety: and there might, perhaps, be some difficulty in defending it, if introduced into a treatise which made any pretensions to the highest precision, as a work of mere Moral Science. Conscience may be called the Lamp of God, shining within the sanctuary of our own heart. Revelation is the

* Notus in fratres animo paterno.

† Preface.

Light which issues directly from his dwelling-place in heaven. But to this representation of the matter, a captiously critical hearer might, possibly, object, that these two sources of knowledge cannot, in strictness, be regarded as entirely distinct, and independent of each other. Conscience is, in truth, the faculty which makes us fit recipients for the instruction communicated by revelation. Without the moral perception, the voice of revelation would speak to us in vain. We should, in fact, be then in no condition to judge whether a moral system, presented to us, could, under any circumstances whatever, be allowed to claim for itself the imperative authority of a revelation. It is generally agreed that no manifestation of preternatural power would be sufficient to command our acquiescence in a scheme of doctrine, which should offer violence to the plainest dictates of the monitor within us. The capacity of estimating the doctrine must, therefore, be presupposed, whenever we speak of discoveries from heaven. It is, itself, the very faculty which enables us to pronounce whether, or not, the other alleged source of knowledge can be safely trusted. But, whether strictly philosophical or not, the distinction in question is abundantly unimpeachable for all practical purposes; and we are quite content to accept it as illustrated by Dr. Abercrombie himself. The visual faculty may be considered as one source of our knowledge respecting a large class of the material phenomena of the universe. But the information we derive from it is extremely limited, when compared with the discoveries made to us by the various combinations of optical glasses. These scientific contrivances may therefore, without much danger of confusion, be spoken of as another distinct source of knowledge: and he who should reject, or disregard their aid, would do about as wisely as the adversaries of Galileo, some of whom, on using the telescope, declared that the instrument disclosed nothing new or wonderful, except to the blundering and worn-out eyes of the philosopher himself,—while others positively refused to look through it at all. It is true, that without accurate powers of vision, the telescope would be useless. But it is also true, that, without the telescope, many of the most splendid wonders of the firmament would, to this day, have been hidden from us. Now revelation may, properly enough, be regarded as our moral telescope. It unveils a world of glory which the unaided mental vision never could have reached. And, moreover, its discoveries furnish abundant confirmation to all the conclusions attained by the unassisted light of nature.

The next step of Dr. Abercrombie brings him to the ground which has been the scene of turmoil and contention from the days

of Socrates to those of Kant. He very wisely, however, abstains from all controversy relative to the matters in question. In a tone of calm dogmatism he assumes that there are certain *first truths*, which lie at the very foundation of morality; truths which admit of no demonstration, and which need none; truths which can derive no additional strength from the aid of logic, and whose adamant stability may "laugh a siege to scorn." In support of them, he appeals, not merely to the reasoning powers, but to the whole mental constitution, of his fellow creatures. And this he does in a tone of serene confidence, which plainly intimates that he can undertake to guide and to instruct no one who refuses to meet him upon this common ground.

We have said that he has done wisely to commence his dissertation in this language of modest dogmatism; first, because we believe that the soundest and most high-minded thinkers of the present day will be prepared to acknowledge that his position is impregnable: and, secondly, because any attempt to establish the validity of this assumption would involve him in a fearful labyrinth of historical and metaphysical disquisition; and would transform his work from a manual of popular ethics, into a desperate analytical puzzle. No man, probably, knows this better than Dr. Abercrombie. No man is better acquainted than he, with the labour and struggle with which the human mind has gone on for centuries, "sounding all the depths and shoals" of this awful inquiry. And most remarkable it is that all this toil and trouble has ended at last in bringing us round nearly to the very position, wherein the untutored and unsophisticated mind of man would have been originally contented to rest. In our notice of Dr. Abercrombie's former work, we observed that a similar destiny has befallen the metaphysical voyages of discovery, undertaken by the adventurous spirit of man. The navigators went on, and on, in pursuit of an object that was constantly retreating before them, till they had described the complete circumference of their sphere of inquiry; and then, to their astonishment, they found themselves nearly at the point from which they set out. And so it has been with ethical science. If we were to ask any unperverted, but intelligent individual, what reason he has for believing the existence and attributes of the Deity—or why it is that he ever renders obedience to what he is pleased to call his conscience,—or why he troubles his head with the thoughts of moral obligation, or of judgment to come?—the man would, probably, answer that he had never been in the habit of doubting these things,—that he hardly remembers the time, since he became capable of reflexion, when the Being of a God appeared much more questionable than the shining of the sun—that he never had

any conception of God, but as a Supreme Intelligence, of infinite power and unqualified perfection;—and, as for conscience, and moral responsibility, and future retribution, it never once entered into his head that such things could be the subject of debate among reasonable men;—the notions had grown up with him from childhood, and he could no more tear them out of his mind, than he could get rid of any other feeling, or principle, of his nature. This, to be sure, might appear, to some, a mighty unphilosophical account of the matter. It is, however, nearly all that you would be able to get out of the worthy catechumen, after the most searching cross-examination; and we suspect that the rack would now be unable to extort much more than this from the lips of philosophy herself. And, moreover, it is a great comfort to know that the best philosophers are now pretty well contented to allow this. They feel it, indeed, quite necessary to be on their guard against the needless multiplication of internal persuasions, and, what may—(for want of a better word)—be called *instinctive determinations*. But yet, it is satisfactory to perceive, that they are gradually approximating to the great aboriginal *philosophy*, which appeals to the *whole* constitution of human nature, and which irresistibly dictates and demands the admission of *some* ultimate facts and principles: and they feel that to cast themselves entirely loose from this safe anchorage, would be neither more nor less than, eventually, to consign their faith and virtue to the winds and waves.

Let us take for instance, our notion of the existence of the Godhead,—considered as attained by the light of nature, independently of revelation. With respect to this notion, human wisdom seems to be returning, as it were, to her *first love*. She is almost prepared to admit, without reserve, that this is a sort of primary conviction; an indestructible element of knowledge inherent in our mental constitution; a persuasion which it is nearly as difficult to banish, as it is to divest ourselves of the belief of a material world, or of our own personal existence. The man of logic, it is true, will tell us—and tell us reasonably enough—of the absurdity and contradiction involved in the notion of an eternal succession of finite beings. The sceptic, however, may possibly reply that, absurd as it may be, he finds it rather less difficult of digestion than the idea of a single being existing uncaused from all eternity. In assuming—he will say—the uncaused and eternal existence of a Creator, you are assuming an unfathomable wonder; in assuming the uncaused existence of what is called the creation, you do no more: and, of the two, the latter scheme appears to me to have the recommendation of greater simplicity. Again—the man of natural theology will tell

us—very truly—of the overpowering evidence of design exhibited throughout the material universe, and the impossibility of avoiding the conclusion that the whole must have originated in a designing and Supreme Intelligence. But what if the gainsayer should object, that the appearance of design will, in his judgment, establish nothing but the consummate wisdom of the contriver, *where a contriver is already known to exist*,—that no one can pretend to carry up his researches until he arrives at final causes,—that such causes have always been found to retreat before the inquirer, as the sphere of science has gradually widened,—and that, consequently, nothing is to be confidently inferred from the phenomena of the world but an indefinite chain of mere mechanical causation? How are we to deal with persons who can satisfy themselves with such a process of thinking as this? It is vain to trust to any course of bare argumentation for their conviction. Logic will never do the work. There is literally nothing to be done but to tell them, plainly, that whatever may be the value of *our* reasoning, *theirs* is manifestly good for nothing. Without further debate we may be sure that it is wrong, for that it leads to results at variance with the imperishable persuasions of mankind. Let it be granted that *our* arguments—as *bare arguments*—may possibly be of questionable force; still, they at least have this to recommend them,—that our conclusions are in harmony with the internal voice of our nature. *Their* arguments, on the contrary, to say the very least, are quite as far from rigorous demonstration as ours, and they conduct us to positions, in which human nature finds herself an alien and an outcast. Our constitution is, almost universally, found to shrink back from all approach to them. No mind, which has not gone through a course of unnatural and artificial discipline, ever looks upon the fabric of the universe without being absolutely overwhelmed with the persuasion that it must have been the work of unbounded wisdom and power. Marks of contrivance are visible at every step; and to exclude the notion of a contriver is a task which cannot be achieved without insufferable violence to our natural sense and apprehension. Your philosopher may reason with a plain man for ever: but the plain man will always turn upon him with this exclamation, “still I cannot, for the life of me, understand, how all these prodigies of perfect adaptation are to be accounted for, without resorting to the belief of a presiding and intelligent cause!” We may travel, till we are weary, along the chain of causation. Every link of it will but augment the exceeding weight of our astonishment. And where is the understanding or the heart to find relief under the burden? In the surmise that this stupendous series of wonders runs back into the realms of

some everlasting Nothing? or, in the belief that it may be traced up to the throne of One Great and Sovereign Intelligence?

No!—the only appeal, in discussions with such adversaries, is, to the authority which resides in the bosom of every one, who has not submitted to the arrogant usurpation of what is called Reason;—to that internal persuasion which is stronger than all argument, and which argument never can utterly destroy. The supposition of an omnipotent and eternal Creator may involve much that transcends our Reason; but, on the other hand, the successful negation of it is a task much too hard for Reason; and not only so, but it is a prodigy of hardihood which produces an unconquerable insurrection of all the better principles of our nature. Here, as elsewhere, Reason, it is true, may *perplex* the Dogmatists; but Nature *utterly confounds* the Pyrrhonians. To *disprove* the existence of the Deity is far beyond the powers of man. And if it cannot be *disproved*, the cause of the Atheist is irretrievably lost. The voice of mankind proclaims that the burden of demonstrating the negative, in this case, lies upon the gainsayer: It is to little purpose for the unbeliever to say—even if he could truly say it—that our *logic* is unable to refute him. Verily, something greater than *logic* is here. It has been often said of the *system* of Berkley, which questions the existence of an external world, that though it should be impossible to *prove* that *system* false, it is equally impossible to *believe* it true, or to act, for a day, or an hour, upon any such belief. The same observation may be still more justly applied to the Atheistic hypothesis. Let it be allowed, for a moment, that the religious believer is unable to destroy that hypothesis by any legitimate process of demonstration. What then?—there still remains the *fact*, that the Atheistic theory is a dead letter, except, here and there, to a knot of cold-hearted analysts, or licentious traders in literature, or, we may add, to certain offscourings of the human race, whose word would not be worth a rush, in “a controversy of three-pence!” And what are these, that their testimony should be arrayed against the indelible convictions of the rest of mankind, throughout all their generations?

Equally indestructible with our belief in the existence of the Deity, is our natural reliance on his moral attributes. Attempts have been made, in all ages, to show the goodness of God, by an exposition of the contrivances and arrangements with which the creation abounds, all of them manifestly directed to benevolent purposes; and we do ardently hope that fit and able men will never be wanting to illustrate this most interesting and beautiful department of theology. Assuredly “God hath not left Himself without witness, in that he did good.” The marks of his loving-

kindness are over all his works. The proofs of it are prodigally scattered over the Universe. But, alas! what would become of our faith, if this were *all*? What would this testimony, abundant as it is, be to a man who was gifted with no other powers but those of mere speculative Reason? Such a person might hear the heavens declaring the glory of God,—the firmament showing his handy-work,—the earth and all the fulness thereof joining to swell the chorus of grateful attestation; but then, such a person would likewise have his ear open to the wailings and groanings of a world that is travailing in pain together until now. And then, he would ask, where are the proofs of the consummate and paternal kindness of your Moral Governor? What is the story told us by his own creation? What is it that we read in his own works but a miscellaneous and chequered tale of good and evil? What is the world but a scroll that is written, sometimes with the brightest characters of happiness, sometimes with lamentation and mourning, and woe? And what are we, that we should venture to seek in this perplexing and mysterious volume, an assurance that our destinies are not in the hand of a capricious and imperfect Power? And if the Deity be good, how can we know that his goodness is not often quelled and defeated by some other qualities? Such, inevitably, would be the dark and dreary musings of one who had no guide *but Reason* to conduct him through the mazes of this great enquiry. And such we know has been the distraction of heart endured by all who have dared to approach the subject in the forlorn and desolate spirit of mere *Dialectics*, and have been “content to dwell in *arguments* for ever.” But now, let us suppose the man of syllogisms to be likewise endowed with a higher faculty, and touched with a more genial fire. Let us suppose the Spirit of *Moral* truth to descend upon his soul, and, as it were, to breathe into his nostrils the breath of life. What will be his condition then? He will then be able to consult another Oracle. He will then find that God, *indeed*, hath not left himself without witness. He will then have before him an internal testimony, such as the external world and all the glory thereof, can never furnish to the dull cold ear of mere unimpassioned Intellect. He will find something within him which protests, loudly and awfully, against the dreadful surmise that the goodness of the Deity is “servant to defect;” something which makes him shudder at the thought that evil can mix itself in the Supreme Essence; and this very feeling will be to him in the place of a whole battalion of syllogisms. He is now fortified with a moral, as well as an intellectual, nature; and he feels that this whole moral nature must crumble into ruins, before the Powers of unhallowed Philosophy can march into the Sanctuary

of his heart, and plant the abomination which maketh desolate where it should not be.

It may very possibly be said that all this is prodigiously grand and sonorous; but that still it amounts to nothing like a process of reasoning. We know that it amounts to nothing like a process of reasoning. And yet, herein, we contend, (as we have often contended before,) lies the chiefest virtue and strength of our cause. We affirm that the moral powers and perceptions of man, when duly developed and expanded, naturally cause him to hunger and thirst after what is benevolent and good, and to turn away, with unconquerable aversion, from every disposition, whether manifested in heaven or earth, which should be at variance with the general welfare, and opposed to the production of the greatest happiness. And if, with these emotions quick and powerful within him, a man *could* admit into his soul the poisonous belief, that one element of malevolence entered into the Divine Nature, we really know not what would be left for him, but to follow the counsels of Job's domestic *philosopher*, and, at once, *to curse God and die*. So long as he should retain his moral constitution unimpaired, his life would be rendered intolerably burdensome by the suspicion, that he was placed under the dominion of irresistible power, untempered with the most consummate goodness. But then, happily, the very tendency of his moral constitution is to trample down all such suspicions; to say to the tempter at his ear, get thee behind me Satan. When he looks on the evil that is under the sun, he may, indeed, be troubled, but not distressed; perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed; as dying, and behold he lives; as sorrowful, and yet always rejoicing. Now this is a state of mind to which the mere discipline of speculative Reason can never bring a man. It is a state to which no man could approach, if he were sent into the world without other and more sacred faculties than those of bare intellect. It is a state from which the wise men must utterly shut themselves out, if once they succeed in banishing moral sentiment and emotion from their philosophy. Mere logic, after all, can but crawl along the earth to its conclusions. It has feet, but no wings; and with these alone it never can climb up towards the threshold of eternal truth. The moral capacity it is which furnishes the soul with pinions; and with these she may mount, far over the wilderness, and the mountain, and the morass, and soar into the realms of uncreated Wisdom and Love.

For ourselves, we protest that we would almost as soon undertake to persuade Mr. Babbage's calculating machine of the existence and the moral attributes of the Deity, as attempt to drive these notions into the head of many a *mere* logician, and many a

thorough-paced geometer or analyst; or into the head of any living man who should be doggedly bent on refusing to admit the suggestions of the heart into his counsels. A person in this condition has, in fact, thrown away the better part of his nature. He is for treating man as a creature of thought only, and not of thought and feeling combined. He tells us that the moral perceptions, or any perceptions but those of pure reason, may be the result of nothing more than a taste,—or a fancy,—or a prejudice,—or a constitutional peculiarity,—and consequently that there can be no safety in trusting the notices they convey to us. They are as much out of place in *all* scientific investigations, as poetry or romance would be in the construction of a table of Logarithms. *His* heart, therefore, does *not* sink within him at the thought of an abandoned and fatherless world,—or at the thought of a world at the mercy of uncontrollable power and imperfect benevolence. On the one hand, he refuses to stir a step without rigorous demonstration. How, then, are we to *extort* from him an acknowledgment that, by the things that are made may be clearly seen and understood the eternal power, and divinity, and goodness of the invisible Creator? On the other hand, he is ready to follow whithersoever demonstration shall lead him. And if demonstration should seem to lead him into the very gulf of atheism, what is there to hold him back? What is there to whisper that there *must* be, somewhere or other, a faulty link in his chain of syllogisms, whether we can lay our finger on it or not? He has discarded the influence of moral sentiment; the principle of faith, or of moral intuition, he laughs to scorn. He has been conducted to the brink of the precipice by a regular logical process of unquestionable legitimacy: what, therefore, remains for him but fearlessly to plunge into the abyss?

And some there have been, in all ages, who *have* plunged into the abyss; and, if the matter were less tremendously important, it would be amusing enough to witness their gambols and evolutions therein. Should any one be desirous of this sort of recreation, he has nothing to do but to consult the solar microscope of Cudworth,* who has painfully and minutely exhibited to us the contortions and the wriggings of these philosophic animalcules in the dark stagnant waters of that bottomless pit. He would there behold Atheism in all its grotesque variety of forms,—the Atomic, the Hylozoïc, the Hylopathic, the Cosmoplastic, the Cosmozoïc!!!—in other words, the world sometimes represented as a fortuitous assemblage of inert atoms,—sometimes as a fortuitous assemblage of living atoms,—then as an infinite collection

* Book i. c. 3,

of matter endowed with certain qualities, by whose accidental segregation or combination the various departments of the Universe are generated,—then as a huge vegetable, gifted with the power of forming itself into every variety of substance, and, at last, of improving itself into sense and enjoyment, but all this without consciousness, or the faculty of reflection or design,—and then as a huge animal, moved and governed by something or other analagous to a soul! These, O Intellect, are thy glorious works! These are the immortal achievements of Mind, when rescued from the delusive influences of moral feeling! Yes—from the Atoms of Democritus to the Nebular Hypothesis of La Place, what is the whole of the Godless Wisdom, but a collection of mis-shapen prodigies, hewn out by the wilful strength of the Understanding, when once it has divorced itself from every higher and holier principle of our Nature?

The progress of Ethical Philosophy in general has been very similar to that of the peculiar department of it we have just been considering. It has been tending for a considerable time towards the establishment of the moral powers and feelings to a rank and an authority at least co-ordinate with that of the intellectual faculties. The fate of moral science, in ancient times, was sufficiently fluctuating. Plato regarded happiness as the natural fruit of virtue. Aristotle appears to have descended to lower ground, and to have represented virtue as the means of happiness. Epicurus insisted that all other virtues are but as branches, of which Prudence is the stem; for Prudence teaches us that without virtue there can be no pleasure. Zeno, in a spirit of magnanimous exaggeration, contended that where virtue is, there happiness *must* also be; that the presence of virtue makes happiness indestructible under all external circumstances whether prosperous or adverse. From this towering and dizzy eminence the Stoic Philosophy afterwards descended to firmer and safer ground; and virtue was justly regarded as the true secret of all the happiness which depends on our voluntary actions. Then came the reign of scepticism, and the din of interminable disputation, which kept the world, for centuries, in a state of perpetual confusion and *puzzlement*. The Ethical system of the Christian Schoolmen, or of their great representative Aquinas, was, so far as it went, simple and unexceptionable. It was formed with reference to the nature of man, and the general welfare of society; but abstained from all debate upon the origin of the moral faculty.* To come to more modern times; Grotius

* See Sir J. Mackintosh's *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, pp. 31. 32. Edinb. 1830.

represented natural law to be the dictate of right reason; and actions to be right or wrong, as Reason pronounces them to be beneficial or injurious to man as a social being. In this state ethical science was found by Hobbes. He then took her in hand, and most mischievously and contumeliously did he deal with her! He seized on her with a deadly gripe; and, at one vigorous plunge, he dived with her to regions of degradation, "deeper than did ever plummet sound." *He debased her even unto Hell.* He utterly confounded thought and emotion. He discarded all sense of justice or benevolence. He contended that there was no principle of action but the fear of evil, or the hope of advantage. It would follow from his system that every man is by nature invested with a brutal liberty to pursue his own interests; and to shed the blood, or sacrifice the happiness, of his nearest relatives, in the prosecution of his schemes, and the indulgence of his passions. Some restraints, he allows, must be imposed on this general freedom. But these restraints are purely conventional. They derive their force, not from the majesty of eternal justice, but merely from the necessities of men as members of society. For society, he maintains, is not kept together by the co-operation of the elements of good, but by a perpetual conflict of selfish appetites and interests. A state of warfare is the natural state of man; and justice and civil government are not things good or desirable in themselves; they are good only *by accident*, as necessary evils. To crown all, Atheism is solemnly recommended to the patronage of kings, because all power superior to that of kings is destructive of their sovereignty. Religion must be displaced, in order that *Leviathan* may have larger room wherein to roll, and tumble, and take his pastime. In a word, the enterprize of this Titan of Impiety was no less than to dethrone the Almighty, and to reduce his creatures to one vast horde of ruffians and villains.

It has been said that the Philosopher of Malmesbury was constitutionally a coward. And fear has often been described as the most cruel and tyrannical of passions. And, certainly, the system of Hobbes is precisely such as might be supposed to occur to an unprincipled but timid despot, or to a nervous and cold-hearted speculator, in times which seemed to threaten the approach of anarchy. But, however this may be, by his system, the philosophy of ethics was dragged down to the lowest depths which it was well possible for human turpitude to reach. To her, however, "descent was adverse." It was not to be supposed

that she would lie for ever imbedded in the ooze and the mire; and it was not long before many an adventurer

“ plunged into the bottom of the deep,
To pluck up drowned *Virtue* by the locks.”

But our space will not enable us to record the successive efforts which have been made for her deliverance from that sordid imprisonment. From the days of Hobbes to the present time, the movements of moral science have, on the whole, been upwards. It was the achievement of Butler to assert the supremacy of conscience, and to expose the calumnious sophistry which resolves all our best dispositions and actions into mere modes and manifestations of selfishness. Since his time, indeed, some retrograde steps have, unhappily, been taken. For instance, what Paley calls his definition of *Virtue*, affords but a low and defective representation of Moral goodness. “*Virtue*,” he says, “is the doing good to mankind, in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness.” The fault ascribed to this statement is, that it lays the foundation of all moral excellence chiefly, if not wholly, in self-interest; though, undoubtedly, in self-interest of an enlightened description. At the same time, we cannot perceive that it is righteously chargeable with *all* the blame which has been sometimes laid upon it. It has been said that, according to this doctrine, every action *not* done *for the sake* of the agent’s happiness is vicious; and that consequently every act which flows from generosity or benevolence is a vice; it being a contradiction in terms to affirm that a man acts *for the sake of any object* which is not present to the mind of the agent at the moment of action. We suspect that Paley would have loudly protested against this application of the rack to the words of his definition; and, in our opinion, his protestation would by no means be very unjust. If virtue were a single act, or a series of unconnected acts, the inference might, indeed, be inevitable. If a person were to be perpetually saying to himself “I will do this, or abstain from that, purely because I hope to go to Heaven, or to avoid Hell,” his pretensions to the honours of virtue would, undoubtedly, be slender enough. The goodness of such a man would be about as meritorious as the testamentary munificence extorted from a dying Romanist by the hope of securing a sufficient course of masses for the repose of his soul. But then it ought to be remembered, that virtue is to be considered as a habit, rather than as a sequence of insulated actions. And this habit, upon Paley’s system, is so far selfish, indeed, that the original motive for the formation of it is the everlasting happiness of the individual. But when the habit is actually formed;—

when the individual is accustomed to consider "the doing good to mankind" as the chief business of his life,—who will contend that every separate act of his *must* have a direct and immediate reference to the motive which first impelled him to this career of well doing? The Scripture tells us that every thing we do should be done with a view to the glory of God. But the soundest and the severest expositors of Scripture never exact of us, that, in every deed of our lives, the glory of God should be distinctly present to our minds. It is enough that this should be the principle upon which our whole scheme of action was originally constructed. And why should a more rigorous interpretation be applied to the words of a mere human preacher of righteousness? Surely a man may have the will of God for his rule, and everlasting glory for his object, without being supposed to have his own selfish interest incessantly before him, when he is engaged in works of mercy and benevolence, or in exercises of forbearance and self-denial. We bespeak, therefore, in behalf of Paley's system, a certain measure of the same indulgence, which is claimed by the best school of moralists at the present day, for other principles of action, which primarily involve a regard to self. When any course of action has become habitual, the motive in which it originated may be forgotten, or at least may be often out of sight; and the man may thus be conceived to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God, without a low and grovelling recollection of his own personal welfare, at every step in the course of his moral probation. The primary impulse may have been communicated by an anxiety for permanent and unspeakable enjoyment hereafter. The same moving force may have been afterwards repeatedly applied in order to accumulate, if we so may speak, a momentum sufficient to overcome all ordinary impediments. But when once the momentum is secured, there will be no need for an incessant application of the same force. The individual will be carried on, in the right way, without it, or at least without more than an occasional renewal of it. And if so, we are relieved from the necessity of conceding that Paley's virtuous man must, at each step of his progress, be goaded onwards by a steady and intense regard to his own ultimate well-doing. His generosity and his benevolence may, indeed, begin in what is usually called self-love. But they may continue, and they may end, in an almost total oblivion of self; and they may thus outrun the doubtful reputation attached to their original motive.

We are quite aware that these considerations may not be wholly sufficient to clear the scheme of Paley of a certain taint of selfishness. And we are, moreover, not unmindful that his claim

to this favourable interpretation is greatly impaired by his unqualified rejection of a moral sense. Nevertheless we are strongly impelled to give to the principles of this distinguished writer the best possible construction of which they are capable. And we are the more disposed to do this, because the motive, to which he ascribes all truly virtuous actions, may, in the Christian at least, be, after all, of a very exalted kind. For what is the Christian's desire of everlasting happiness, but the longing after an eternal fruition of the presence of God; the anticipation of that exceeding great reward which has been purchased for him by the merits of his Saviour? If this be selfishness, it is a selfishness of a very different spirit from that which animates the children of this world. It is a selfishness of which the children of Light need scarcely to be ashamed. It is a selfishness which almost presupposes something like a virtuous habit of the mind. The soul that thirsteth after the living God, cannot well be otherwise than in a highly moral condition. And if this were the species of selfishness contemplated by Paley, the main objection to his scheme would be, not that it is sordid and degrading, but that it involves a vicious circle; that it ascribes all praiseworthy actions to a motive, which, of itself, would be nearly sufficient to constitute the agent a virtuous character.

But what shall we say to the Sages of Utilitarianism, with the *Avròs; ipa* of their glorified and mighty Master constantly on their lips, and ΜΗΔΕΙC ΑΝΑΠΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΟC ΕΙCΙΤΩ written over the portals of their schools? What shall we say to the men with whom morality is an affair of computation?—whose philosophy is conversant with things that may be numbered, and weighed, and measured, and handled?—who set about the construction of a system of ethics much in the same spirit that they would set about the settlement of a tariff? whose deliberations on the theory of virtue are ruled by the self-same power which presides over a Committee on the Question of the Currency, or the Charter of the Bank of England? What shall we say to these? Of a truth their system at the beginning, the middle, and the end of it is of the earth, earthy! It has one attribute of humanity, it is true, for it looks before and after; but it raises no lofty gaze towards the stars. It savoureth of the world, and the things that be in the world. And if this were, indeed, “a world without souls,” it would find itself still more completely and comfortably at home. It has not, certainly, the atrocity of Hobbes' scheme. It does not altogether “villainize” mankind. It does not convert the world into a vast menagerie, and social communities into cages of wild beasts. But though it may not have about it all the “belluine” ferocity of Leviathan, it, assuredly, has a good deal

of the grovelling turpitude of the old serpent. At all events, some portion of the serpent's primal curse seems to rest upon it; for it goes upon its belly, and is compelled to swallow many a mouthful of the dust!

Only consider what a shop-keeping, accountant, profit-and-loss, balance-striking world this would be, if the problems and calculations of the Utility-men should ever come to form the text-book of our ethical lecturers! Only imagine Virtue (not in the bright and celestial form which was shadowed to the mind of a heathen sage, and the very sight of which, if it could plainly reveal itself to the general eye, must take captive the affections of all men,) but standing before us, like the figure of Justice over a market-place or an exchange, with a pair of scales in her hand,—only *not blind*, but with both eyes keen and perfect, and able to discern whether

“ the beam do turn
But in the estimation of a hair !”

Only let us endeavour to realize such a state of things to our own minds. And then let us ask ourselves which we would rather follow,—the bargain-driving Apostles of utility, or the teachers who appeal at once to the law written on our hearts; and who, therefore, simply say unto us, whatsoever things are just, or venerable, or lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or if there be any praise, think of these things? Which would we rather look upon,—the light that issues from the sanctuary within, or the glimmering of a long-snouted candle, much like to that which discloses the darkness of a counting-house in Threadneedle Street, and sheds its dull illumination on the pages of the day-book and the ledger?

It is altogether a marvellous thing, that the men who sit in the chair of knowledge should, in all ages, have been so slow of heart to perceive how much wiser than their own wisdom, is that, which,—to use the language of an Apostle,—we may call the *foolishness of God*. The sages have been eternally busy in seeking for a criterion of virtue; so busy, that they have had but scanty success in their attempts to ascertain the direct and immediate motive for all actions that are called virtuous. The mere *criterion* of virtue was plain enough before their face. It is, in truth, very much like to that which is propounded by the Dilworths and the Cockers of ethical science. All *voluntary* acts which a man can do, are virtuous, in various degrees, if their ultimate tendency is to the general welfare of the human race. But what would become of the human race, if we were doomed

to consult the men of arithmetic, previously to the performance of any moral act? Where should we all be, if a problem was to be solved, every time that a man is called upon for the exercise of temperance, or prudence, or fortitude, or justice, or generosity, or benevolence? How could the business of the world get forward, if the chariot wheels were thus to be taken off, and we were left to drag on heavily without them, through the ruggedness and impediment of doubts, and scruples, and misgivings, and computations? Blessed be God, we are not left to this miserable and lingering process. And in nothing is the wisdom and the beneficence of the Creator more signally manifested, than in the moral constitution of the human mind, which saves us all this ruinous delay and trouble. The thing to be accomplished, was, to furnish man with a power and a capacity which should enable him to co-operate towards the general benefit. The reasoning and calculating faculty alone could never have been sufficient for this purpose. It could never have kept pace with the current business of life. There is, accordingly, found to be *congenital*, or at least *connatural*, with man, a faculty which, for these purposes, does for him that, which intuition sometimes does in intellectual matters, and which appetite does in corporeal matters; something which impels him to what is useful and beneficial, with a promptitude well nigh equal to that of instinct; something whose office it is to be in readiness for the moment of action; something which keeps a simple-minded man in the right way, though he may be unable to speak three intelligible sentences respecting the reasons or the motives which impel him to action. The result of this constitution is, that what is called virtue is pursued purely for its own sake, with scarcely a thought, at the time, of its probable consequences and ultimate effects; and this, just as promptly and naturally as a man eats his dinner for the sake of satisfying the cravings of his appetite. It may be true that in so doing, he is also doing the best possible thing to keep himself in health and strength, and in a condition for the discharge of every active duty. But it is likewise true, that when the viands are before him, his attention to them is not an affair of speculation, but of impulse. If it were otherwise, every meal might involve as much grave and disagreeable deliberation as would be necessary for perseverance in a course of medical discipline, or submission to a painful surgical operation. This illustration may perhaps be thought somewhat undignified. Nevertheless, we apprehend that it may be sufficient for the purpose of doing justice at least to the promptness of the moral powers, and to their entire independence of the mere calculating and estimating faculty. And we repeat, that it is impossible to ima-

gine a provision more beautifully and gloriously adapted to the purpose of securing the welfare of human society, and the moral dignity of its members, than this pre-established harmony between the results of thought and feeling. If man had been merely a creature of intellect, where would have been the glow, and the warmth, of generous emotion, and the almost electrical rapidity of its operation? If man had been *merely* a creature of impulse, where would have been his dignity as a reasonable being? As actually constituted, the nature of a man urges him directly to what is beneficial and useful: and not only so,—but it likewise enables him to verify, when needful, by a distinct and more leisurely process, the result, which the *instinctive* faculty had seized upon in an instant. It is the office of the moral sense to carry him at once to the point. It is the office of the reasoning power to show that the movement has a tendency to good. And in the same proportion that these powers are vigorous and active, each in its appointed sphere, man may be said to approximate to the perfection of his nature.

It is perhaps of little comparative importance, whether the moral sense be a primary or a secondary faculty;—whether it be one simple and underived principle, which is *connate* with man, and which, afterwards, grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength, unless it be distorted or repressed by some injurious treatment;—or, whether it be a power gradually and spontaneously compounded of various other elements. It is sufficient for our purpose that, by virtue of the constitution of our nature, the faculty is one which is sure to develope itself, though with different degrees of energy, according to the difference of circumstances. They who have claimed for it a sovereign and imperative power, have usually considered it as strictly inherent, and underived from other properties or affections of the mind. And this is nearly the essence of the moral system of Kant; of which system, the Speculative Reason, and the Practical Reason, are the *Jachin* and the *Boaz*. These, according to his school, are two distinct faculties; or at least two distinct modes of mental or spiritual action. It is the province of the Speculative Reason or Understanding merely to discover *relations*. It may accordingly discern a connection between motive and volition, similar to the connection between cause and effect. But it can never prove, by any logical process, either the being of a God or the reality of virtue. The Practical Reason, on the contrary, is a supreme intuitive faculty. It speaks, like an oracle, with authority and command, and giveth no account of its matters. It declares the existence of God to be an absolute and primitive verity;

to prove which by argument, is no better than to go about with a torch in search of the sun. Human volition it pronounces to be an ultimate fact, wholly independent of all sentiment and emotion. In short, it has its dominion in a far higher region than that of the mere understanding; a region to which logic can never climb.

Directly opposed to this doctrine, is the system of those who imagine the moral powers to be acquired; and even in their mature and most perfect state, to be nothing more than modifications of self-love. It may probably be known to our readers that a middle course has recently been attempted by a late distinguished master of ethical philosophy.* His object is to show, by an extension and improvement of Hartley's theory of association, that the conscience, or the moral sense, may possibly be the result of a combination of various other feelings and affections, which originate in self, but which coalesce, by a natural and infallible process, into a new faculty or power, entirely free from all mixture of selfish feelings;—much in the same manner, that different substances, when united by chemical affinity, will often combine into a new product, with distinct properties of its own; and these properties sometimes directly opposite to those of the ingredients. It would be utterly impossible to do justice to this ingenious hypothesis in these brief pages. It is, however, but proper to observe that, whether it be right or wrong, there is nothing in it which compromises, in the slightest degree, the supreme authority of conscience. According to the theory in question, the moral power, resulting from this supposed combination, is quite as prompt and imperative in its decisions, as if it were a simple, uncompounded faculty, the germ of which was inherent in our nature from the moment of our birth. The scheme, we believe, has been somewhat sarcastically described as a receipt for making a conscience! The hypothesis is safe enough, if it has nothing more formidable to encounter, than this piece of pleasantry. Suppose some future physiologist should examine cucumbers, till he was able to give a much more clear account, than was ever given before, of the manner and proportion in which the oxygen, and the hydrogen, and the carbon, and perchance the *sunbeams*, entered into the composition of the vegetable,—it would be hardly fair to laugh in his face, and to tell him that he was offering us a receipt for making cucumbers. Why, then, should the moral analyst be told that he affects to teach us how to compound a moral sense, because he endeavours to point out to us the elements which enter into the composition of that faculty?

* Sir J. Mackintosh, in his *Dissertation on the History of Ethical Philosophy*.

But we have been wandering far away from Dr. Abercrombie, though not, we trust, beyond the sphere of the same attraction; round which his own system circulates. We have already seen that he is the decided advocate for certain primary truths and principles; and this notion will be found to pervade his speculations. He further, very justly, maintains, that Conscience holds a place among the moral powers, analogous to that which Reason holds among the intellectual powers. In pursuit of this analogy, he affirms that Conscience, like Reason, may be liable to derangement. When Reason suffers, the man becomes an idiot or a maniac, and, perhaps, fancies himself a king. When the power of Conscience is suspended or controlled, he becomes a maniac after a somewhat different, but still more melancholy fashion: for he fancies himself a wise and happy man, and knows not that his strength and dignity are departing from him. The counsels suggested by Dr. Abercrombie for the purpose of keeping the internal sovereign in full power and prerogative, are altogether admirable. But we are compelled to abstain from any attempt at an abridgment of his work. His Essay is, itself, an abridgment, which condenses, within a manageable space, all the most valuable topics of ethical science, illustrated and enforced by the truths of revelation. It is all that can be desired by the practical moralist and divine: and we apprehend it will be found to approve itself, as worthy of the soundest school of ethical philosophy. We shall cordially rejoice if it should become the *enchiridion* of those youthful candidates for the honours of the medical profession, whose happiness and virtue are so near to the heart of their venerable instructor.

We now come to the admirable work of Mr. Whewell; and it will soon be found that, in so doing, we can hardly be said to be deserting Dr. Abercrombie, for it will appear that, if not pursuing precisely the same path, they are both travelling towards the same object, through a considerable portion of their respective undertakings. Mr. Whewell's volume is the third of a series of treatises now in a course of publication, under the will of the late Earl of Bridgewater, who left the sum of 8000*l.* to be placed at the disposal of the President of the Royal Society, and to be paid by him to such persons as he should appoint; each of such persons being, thereon, bound to write, print, and publish 1000 copies of a work on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Creation. Of course it was to be expected that men of the highest scientific renown would be chosen for this honourable and holy task. For the department of Astronomy and General Physics, Mr. Whewell was selected, on the

recommendation of the Bishop of London; a choice which reflects the highest credit on his Lordship's judgment. The author now before us has not only occupied, for many years, a most exalted place among the cultivators of exact science, but has likewise extended his inquiries nearly over the whole range of Natural Philosophy. His curiosity is well known to be quite indefatigable. He has a keenness of vision, and a strength of opinion, which eminently qualify him for excursions into the most spacious and most elevated regions of knowledge; and it is a subject of high congratulation to the public, that he has now been called upon to dedicate his great and various powers to the noblest subject that can occupy the faculties of man. It is an unhappy and humiliating fact, that physical researches have not always been signally favourable to the development of the moral and religious sensibilities. It is, therefore, impossible to behold, without exultation, this distinguished master of physical science engaged in the glorious office of showing—to use his own words—“how admirably every advance in our knowledge of the Universe harmonizes with the belief of a most wise and gracious God.”

Mr. Whewell's division of his subject is remarkably simple. He begins with what he terms *Terrestrial Adaptations*. He next proceeds to the department of *Cosmical Arrangements*; in other words, to a consideration of the laws which govern the movements of the solar system. And, lastly, he advances to the “*Religious Views*” suggested to every well-regulated mind by the survey of these wonders.

The object pursued in the first of these divisions, is to make it manifest that the laws of inert and inorganic matter are not only admirable in themselves, but that they are still more admirable when contemplated in connexion with the laws which prevail in the organic world. It is overpowering enough to consider the rules and ordinances by which the length of the day and year are rendered unalterable, and the vicissitudes of the seasons secured from irregularity and confusion. But what are these results, as distinctly and separately considered, when compared with their marvellous connexion with a multitude of ulterior phenomena? To exhibit any thing approaching to a satisfactory exhibition of this argument, would be to transcribe the whole of the first book. We must confine ourselves to a single instance. It has been a favorite view with a certain class of philosophers, that the laws of nature in one department have gradually, in the lapse of time, accommodated themselves to the laws of nature in other departments. According to this hypothesis, there has been going on, for countless ages, a process of mutual compromise and adjustment; from which, at last, the phenomena of the material world

have, as it were, come to a sort of agreement, and have ceased to jostle with each other. Thus, our year consists of 365 days, and our day consists of 24 hours. And the distribution and alternation of light and darkness, of cold and heat, resulting from this state of things, has brought into regular and successive developement a certain series of vegetable products. Well, then, let us now suppose that by a change in the existing arrangements, the length of the year were considerably extended or reduced—what would be the result? Undoubtedly nothing short of ruinous disorder throughout the whole of the botanical world; an entire derangement in the functions of plants, and the whole vegetable kingdom involved in instant decay and rapid extinction. But then, it may be alleged, that this would merely be a season of transient confusion; in the course of time, the products of the earth would accommodate themselves to the altered condition of the elements; we should have, in many respects, a very different sort of world; but, nevertheless, a world in which new schemes of alternation and vicissitude would be attended with different but still with regular and appropriate consequences. So that it never can be safely inferred from this consideration, that the phenomena of vegetable life have any pre-ordained connection with the distance of the earth from the sun, or the velocity of its movements round the sun. All this may be said, and all this probably would be said by any one whose face should be set like flint against the admission of a presiding Intelligence. But, assuredly, if he were to venture such an assertion, every botanical writer would mercifully laugh him to scorn; for nothing can be more indisputable than the fact, that the functions of plants have, by their very nature, a periodical character.

“The length of the year is so determined as to be adapted to the constitution of most vegetables; or the construction of vegetables is so adjusted, as to be suited to the length which the year really has, and not suited to a duration longer or shorter by any considerable portion. The vegetable clock-work is so set as to go for a year.”

It is true that the various stages of the period may be somewhat hastened or retarded, by artificial applications of warmth, or light, or soil, or moisture. But it is also certain, that as soon as the plant is relieved from this unnatural treatment, it immediately relapses into its original course of developement. And it must further be remembered, that the capacity of plants to endure any modification of their natural condition, is confined within very inconsiderable limits. If the changes of period were great, nothing could preserve them from destruction. For example, let us imagine the mass of the sun to be quadrupled, and its distance from the earth, and its power of imparting light and heat, all to remain the same; it would then be necessary that the

earth's velocity should be doubled, in order that it might continue to revolve in the same orbit. The length of the year would thus be reduced to six months. And, if this were so, what would be the consequence? Will it be contended, that the actual race of plants could resist the effects of such a revolution for a single season? Or will it be maintained that, somehow or other, a new race of plants, equally useful and ornamental, would promptly start into existence, adapted to the new state of things? If the former, then, we repeat, the botanists would soon hoot the speculator into silence. If the latter, he must be left in possession of a hopeful hypothesis, which virtually assumes every thing in dispute; and which can never hold up its head, for an instant, among reasonable men! The unavoidable result is, not merely that consummate wisdom is displayed in the growth and formation of the vegetable world, but also, that the construction of terrestrial plants has been contrived with express and *premeditated* reference to the terrestrial motions. And a similar conclusion, as Mr. Whewell has most abundantly shewn, may be drawn from the manifest adaptation of numerous vegetables to the earth's diurnal revolution on its axis, in the course of four and twenty hours. A shorter day, or a longer day, would disturb, and sometimes utterly confound, their peculiar habits.

The next department of investigation relates to what the author terms "Cosmical Arrangements;" or what are sometimes denominated the mechanism of the heavens. Reflecting and observant minds have, in all ages, been powerfully arrested by the beauty, order, and harmony of the heavenly movements. But what would the sages of antiquity have said, if they could have had before them the wonders of the Solar System, as now disclosed to us by that gigantic mind, to which alone can properly be applied the encomiums insantly lavished by Lucretius upon his master? We are here in a region, in one respect, perhaps, less fitted to take captive the affections, than the more limited province of "terrestrial adaptations." The latter presents us, at every step, with contrivances or adjustments obviously directed to some beneficial purpose. In the former, the operations of nature are on a scale so vast, as almost to bewilder and oppress our limited faculties. And, besides, a formidable process of investigation must be endured, before we can distinctly perceive the connection between all this stupendous mechanism, and the safety or the comfort of sentient creatures. In another respect, however, the testimony given by the mechanism of the heavens, is more irresistible than that which issues from any one limited province of the creation. For, thanks to the inventive genius of Newton, and to the prodigious sagacity and industry of his

followers—our knowledge of the system is far more complete and exact than that which has hitherto been attainable in any other department of natural philosophy. As exhibiting a collection of simple laws, adapted to the accomplishment of a vast variety of purposes, the science of astronomy stands before us in a state of unrivalled perfection. And the result (as is now well known to every tolerably educated person) is no other than this—that the mechanical problem of constructing a world, whose movements should be regular and permanent, has been performed with the following simple *data*, namely, Matter, the Laws of Motion, and the power of Gravitation between atom and atom, varying according to the inverse square of their distances from each other. And not only so, but it appears that if the laws of motion and gravitation, and the various arrangements of the planetary bodies, with regard to their distances, their positions, and the direction of their movements, had been materially different from what we actually find them, the whole system would have had a tendency to ruinous disorder and confusion.

The conditions, upon which the stability and permanence of the Solar System depend, are the following; first, the variation of gravity, according to the law above stated. But this law, it must always be kept in mind, would be absolutely impotent for the preservation of order and stability, if it were left to itself, without the aid of certain collocations and adjustments. Of such arrangements no less than five are usually enumerated by philosophers.—1st. The enormous mass of the Sun compared with that of all the planetary bodies together. The matter contained in this central mass, is, we believe, about 800 times as great as that of all those masses which circulate round it.* And the consequence is, that the Sun may, without essential error, be regarded as a fixed and stationary body; which could not have been the case if its bulk had not been of overpowering magnitude compared with the rest.—2d. The small degree in which the planetary orbits deviate from the circular form.—3d. The smallness of the inclination of those orbits to each other; in other words, the narrowness of the *belt* or *zone*, within which the planetary revolutions are performed.—4th. The very important circumstance, that all these revolutions are in the same direction; that is, from west to east. (These three last conditions are not exemplified in the comets; that is, in those very bodies in which such conditions are of no sort of importance: for the comets are

* In other words, if all the planets could be kneaded, as it were, into a single ball, of the same density with the sun, the diameter of the globe of the sun would be between nine and ten times as great as the diameter of the ball. For the cube root of 800 is 9.3, &c.

of far too slight a substance, to exercise any perceptible disturbing power over the movements of the other planets).—5th. Lastly, the vast distances of the planets from each other. The beneficial effect of these provisions has been established by the incessant and prodigious labours of a century; which have enabled astronomers rigidly to *demonstrate* three things;—*first*, that all the irregularities observable in the system, instead of being violations of the Newtonian law of gravity, are, in fact, the inevitable consequences of that law; secondly, that these irregularities are periodical, and self-corrective, and confined within such narrow limits, that they never can accumulate to an amount injurious to the permanency and stability of the system; and thirdly, that by no other imaginable assemblage of conditions, but those which have been enumerated above, could permanency, and stability, and general convenience have been secured. To this it may be added, that the sun, which is the grand centre of attraction, is likewise the grand centre of illumination and of heat; an arrangement of which the blessings are far too obvious to need any lengthened exposition.

All these considerations, together with others of equal cogency, are produced by Mr. Whewell with most conspicuous talent, in his second book. And then comes the question,—are there any heads so constructed, or so disciplined, as to *take in* these wondrous manifestations of intelligence, and yet to *keep out* the notion of a presiding and arranging mind? Unhappily it is even so! Some such heads are undoubtedly to be found. And, what is more surprising still, such heads are, occasionally, seen on the shoulders of men, whose whole lives are devoted to the investigation of these matters. Atheism has been sometimes known to steal into the studies and observatories of astronomers; and to look unabashed upon the array of evidence which, before any competent tribunal, must, in a moment, convict it of insanity. How this should ever come to pass, is a matter of very curious import, which has occupied the attention of Mr. Whewell, in the last division of his work, and to which we shall speedily advert. In the mean time, it may be interesting to contemplate certain of the expedients, resorted to by the possessors of these heads, for the purpose of reconciling mankind to the exclusion of the old worn-out hypothesis of the being of a God!

In the first place, then, it has been already stated that the existing law of gravitation is the only law which could possibly have secured the system from destructive inconvenience.* This

* It is not, indeed, the only law which could have secured a regular and orderly revolution of the planets. For it has been shown by Newton in the 64th proposition, that if the force of gravity were to follow the direct ratio of the distance—(that is, if

is not denied by the philosophers of the Atheistic school. But this astonishing result conveys to them no proof whatever of the existence of an intelligent and Supreme Director! They contend, that the law in question is a matter of absolute mechanical necessity; and, consequently, that it cannot have been fixed upon, by selection from an indefinite multitude of other possible laws. It was about the middle of the seventeenth century, that this notable discovery was first introduced to the attention of the scientific world: and the occasion of its introduction is somewhat curious. It is well known that the line of the moon's apsides (that is, the longer axis of the oval in which she revolves) is constantly moving round to different parts of the heavens, so as to complete its revolution in about nine years. Now the calculations of Newton, grounded upon the law of the inverse square of the distance, had produced eighteen years as the period of this revolution. Here, then, was a conflict between the theory and the phenomenon. This conflict, was, indeed, *afterwards* completely put an end to, by more laborious accuracy of calculation; from which it appeared that the result of the theory was precisely co-incident with the fact observed. But, in the interval, it occurred to Clairault—(the very man, who, subsequently, effected this reconciliation)—that Newton must have failed to hit upon the true law of gravity. He, accordingly, resorted to a modification of Newton's hypothesis; and contended that the action of gravity was such, as it would be, if it were compounded of two other forces; one of them very large, and varying according to the Newtonian law; the other, comparatively small, and varying inversely as the fourth power of the distance:* a supposition which, in this instance, would effectually reconcile the theory with observation. Upon this, the celebrated free-thinking naturalist, Buffon, stepped forward in defence of the Newtonian law; which he maintained to be the result, not of any Providential

its intensity were to increase with the distance of the body attracted from the centre of attraction)—the consequence would be, that every body in such a system would describe, or seem to describe, an exact elliptical orbit round every other, and that the time of such revolution would be exactly the same in all. But then, it is demonstrable, that there are other inconveniences attached to this law, which would render it unfit to regulate the movements of an inhabited world. For instance—if this law were to be suddenly substituted for the existing laws of attraction, our globe would have scarcely more coherence than a heap of sand; so that it may be doubted, whether it *even* would have answered the purpose of a huge ant-hill: and the tendency of all bodies downwards would have been so small, that the motion of a falling body would, for a time, be scarcely perceptible.

* That is, that the force of gravity varies as $\frac{A}{D^2} + \frac{B}{D^4}$ where D represents the distance, A and B two fixed and arbitrary quantities, of which the latter is very small compared with the former.

adjustment, but of downright physical necessity. All influences, he contended, which *emanate* from a point, must grow fainter, as the square of the distance increases. This is known to be the case with light; and the same must inevitably be the case with gravitation. The supplementary fraction of force assumed by Clairault, must, therefore, on clear philosophical principles, be wholly inadmissible.

The reply of Clairault to this, was in the form of a question;—who could ever think of considering gravity (which is no other than the tendency of atom towards atom) as a material emanation *from* the attracting body, or the attracting point. We are, however, content, for the moment, to consider gravity in the light of an emanation. It then becomes necessary for us to ask ourselves, what is meant, when we say that luminous emanation diminishes in intensity according to the square of the distance? It is obvious, that when we use such language, we only mean that a pencil, or a cone, of light, becomes more dispersed in that ratio, as it advances in distance from the luminous point or centre. This dispersion must, of course, be in proportion to the extent of *surface* exposed to the action of the luminous emanation. At double the distance, a given quantity of light will spread itself over four times the surface; at treble the distance, over nine times the surface; and so on. But what imaginable resemblance is there between this dispersion of the luminous element, and the diminished intensity of the gravitating influence or quality? In the first place, whether it be an emanation or not, gravity does not act merely upon surfaces. It finds its way into the substance of the most compact and solid masses. Wherever there is an atom, whether superficially placed, or embedded in the recesses of the densest body, there, we find, is a ray, or thread, of the attractive virtue or *emanation* ready to seize upon it. There can, therefore, be nothing in the diminution of this attractive power, which has any sort of resemblance to the fainter action of light, as it issues forth into space from a luminous point. In the second place, there is no phenomenon that we are aware of, which leads us to suppose that the action of any single ray or thread of light, diminishes in intensity at any distance from the centre which sends it forth. A single luminous particle, or vibration, or a rectilinear succession of such particles or vibrations, is just as powerful in its effect upon the eye at the distance of the fixed stars, as it is at the distance of a yard or a foot. At least, we have never heard of a fact which renders this questionable; and we believe that there never has been an experiment which warrants us in admitting that the action of single particles, or rays, varies inversely with the square of the distance. Now if there be any one thing

more certain than another, with respect to gravitation, it is, that every single ray or thread of it follows this very law. The whole Newtonian theory proceeds upon the supposition that, from atom to atom,—from point to point—the attractive power diminishes as the square of the distance increases. And by virtue of this hypothesis, it is, that Newton, and his disciples, have been enabled to unlock the grandest secrets of the universe.

If it should still be contended that gravity is an emanation, in precisely the same sense that light is an emanation, we then, on the other hand contend, that the law of the inverse square of the distance is *not* the law according to which gravity ought to vary in its action upon *solid* masses. If light *could* be dispersed, not merely over increasing surfaces, but amongst increasing and similar masses, as it receded from its centre, what is called its *intensity* would unquestionably diminish as the *cube* of the distance increased, and *not* as the *square*. And it is purely when its illuminating power acts upon surfaces only, that this power can be said to decrease according to the square of the distance. Now the action of gravity,—as we have stated before,—is not superficial. It penetrates into the very bowels of every portion of matter. If, therefore, it were dispersed, as light is dispersed, its dispersion must inevitably follow the law which would attach to all dispersion similarly circumstanced; that is, it would vary inversely, not as the square, but inversely as the cube of the distance, wherever it had solid bodies to act upon.* We therefore, most confidently conclude, that the Newtonian law of gravitation is *not* a law resulting from blind mechanical necessity; but a law impressed upon matter by that Mind, which had before it a multitude of other laws, from which to make its selection. And we may add, by the way, that even if it were a law mechanically necessary, it would do nothing to explain the order and stability of the system, without a vast apparatus of subsidiary arrangements. A congeries of atoms, endowed with Newtonian gravitation, could never form themselves into a world!

If we have been something more copious in our exposition of this matter than Mr. Whewell has deemed it necessary to be, our tediousness must be ascribed to our persuasion of the necessity of cutting away every plausible support from under the cause of *mechanical* philosophism. At the same time, we wish to have it understood that we offer our speculations on this subject with

* Thus, suppose a pencil, or cone, of emanative gravitation to act upon the particles of a globe, at a given distance; then, if a globe of double the diameter were placed at double the distance, the *same quantity* of gravitation would have to distribute, or disperse, itself among the particles of the latter globe; that is, there would be only the same moving force applied to eight times the mass. And so on.

extreme and unfeigned diffidence. For we feel that we are standing before a mighty master, from whom it would become us to learn; rather than to intrude upon him our unworthy suggestions. We beg to assure Mr. Whewell, that, in what we have said, we have not been unmindful of the fate of him, who ventured to discourse of the art of war in the presence of Hannibal.

So much, then, for the speculations of Buffon and his school. The language of the great modern astronomer and analyst, La Place, is, seemingly, of a somewhat more moderate and reverential cast. He professes his belief that the Solar System is *not* the work of chance; but, that a "*primitive cause*" has directed the planetary motions. This sounds well. It might almost lead us to expect that the Great First Cause was in the mind of the wise man, when he spake thus. But it has been said that mischief is often to be suspected, when a philosopher falleth down and humbleth himself. And something like this is, verily, the case in the present instance. For the *primitive cause* turns out, after all, to be nothing more than a supposed *primitive fact*; which primitive fact it hath been the pleasure of the philosopher almost to deify! Newton had said that "the admirable arrangement of the solar system cannot but be the work of an intelligent and most powerful being." But herein, it seems, he deviated from the true method of philosophy; which true method, it further appeareth, requires the substitution of an omnipotent hypothesis, in the place of a sovereign and designing agent. The attributes and powers of this *primitive cause* shall be described to us by Mr. Whewell himself.

"Laplace conjectures that, in the original condition of the solar system, the sun revolved upon his axis, surrounded by an atmosphere, which, in virtue of an excessive heat, extended far beyond the orbits of all the planets, the planets as yet having no existence. The heat gradually diminished, and as the solar atmosphere contracted by cooling, the rapidity of its rotation increased by the laws of rotatory motion, and an exterior zone of vapour was detached from the rest, the central attraction being no longer able to overcome the increased centrifugal force. This zone of vapour might in some cases retain its form, as we see it in Saturn's ring; but more usually the ring of vapour would break into several masses, and these would generally coalesce into one mass, which would revolve about the sun. Such portions of the solar atmosphere, abandoned successively at different distances, would form 'planets in the state of vapour.' These planets, it appears from mechanical considerations, would have each its rotatory motion, and as the cooling of the vapour still went on, would each produce a planet, which might have satellites and rings, formed from the planet in the same manner as the planets were formed from the atmosphere of the sun.

"It may easily be conceived that all the primary motions of a system

is produced would be nearly circular, nearly in the plane of the original equator of the solar rotation, and in the direction of that rotation.

"Reasons are offered also to show that the motions of the satellites thus produced, and the motions of rotation of the planets must be in the same direction. And thus it is held that the hypothesis accounts for the most remarkable circumstances in the structure of the solar system, namely the motions of the planets in the same direction, and almost in the same plane; the motions of the satellites in the same direction as those of the planets; the motions of rotation of these different bodies still in the same direction as the other motions, and in planes not much different; the small eccentricity of the orbits of the planets, upon which condition, along with some of the preceding ones, the stability of the system depends; and the position of the source of light and heat in the centre of the system."—pp. 181—183.

Now, we suppose that, on listening to this hypothesis, one question will naturally occur to any simple-minded, and tolerably sagacious person; how does all this differ essentially from that unconscious plastic Nature,—working independently of all intelligent direction,—which was tasked by the ancient sages with the construction of the universe? Whether all this ingenious affair, of the revolving sun, and the heated atmosphere, and the process of cooling, and the throwing off of the planetary masses,—whether all this be adequate to the achievement of the work which has actually been accomplished, is a question which it is absolutely needless to consider. Let us grant that this *primitive cause* is sufficient for the explanation of the phenomena. And, this being granted, it might surely have occurred to the projector, in the first place, that the true method of philosophy requires that a cause should be *true*, as well as *sufficient*; that is, that, like gravitation, it should be known to exist. In the second place, however, let us grant the cause to be both sufficient and true. The question will still eternally recur, What is the *origin of this origin* of all things? What is the explanation of this explanation? When Buffon had established, as he thought, that the law of emanative gravitation was a matter of mechanical necessity, it still remained incumbent on him to show in whom, or in what, the emanation itself originated. In the same manner it, undoubtedly, was incumbent on La Place to show where he provided himself with his whirling central body, and his hot and subtle vapour, and all the rest of it. "How,"—asks Mr. Whewell, *unanswerably*—"how came the sun and its atmosphere to have such materials, such motions, such a constitution, that these consequences followed from their primordial condition? How came the parent-vapour to be thus capable of coherence, separation, contraction, solidification? How came the laws of its

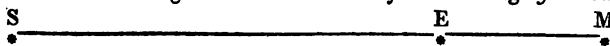
motion, attraction, repulsion, condensation, so fixed, as to lead to a beautiful and harmonious system in the end?"—And, above all, how came any part of this material assemblage to exalt and refine itself into organization, into life, into sense, into intellect? What *primitive cause* was it which stocked a huge meteoric stone "with plants and animals; and produced all the wonderful contrivances which we find in their structure, all the wide and profound mutual dependencies which we trace in their economy? Was man,—with his thought and feeling, his powers and hopes, his will and conscience,—also produced as an ultimate result of the condensation of the solar atmosphere?" We are here bound to recall the temporary concession made above. The hypothesis is not sufficient to account for the phenomena,—nor for a thousandth part of them. Let the elemental laws of nature be what they may, or derived whence they may, it is mere bubble to talk of their producing a mental world, or even an orderly physical world, without the aid of some arranging and collocating power.

We have said that La Place had taken his stand upon a certain primitive state of things. And so he does, for the more immediate purpose of accounting for the present celestial mechanism. But he seems conscious that he cannot remain stationary there, if an attempt be made to drive him from it. He accordingly provides himself with a very commodious retreat, in the supposition that the matter of the sun existed, aboriginally, in a state of *nebulous diffusion*; that is, in a state of such extreme rarity, that its existence could scarcely be suspected: and he derives confidence in this strong-hold, from certain discoveries made, in the region of the fixed stars, by the powerful telescopes of Herschel. But into this retreat he is mercilessly pursued by Mr. Whewell, who (though with the greatest good-humour and civility imaginable) makes sad havoc with the philosopher's primordial elements! These elements must either have been, originally, in a state of perfect equilibrium and stagnation—or they must not. If they were ever in such a state, what was it that threw them into such wonder-working commotion? If they were not in such a state; but had a tendency to run into *patches*,—how came these patches to be endowed with such peculiar powers of self-movement, and self-arrangement, and pregnant with such marvellous and varied energies of production? How came they to be nuclei, containing within themselves the ingredients of the earth and "all which it inherit?" Whence did they derive the light, the heat, the capacity of expansion and condensation, and, more than all, how was the unconscious matter touched with that "Promethean fire" which called forth the miracles of consciousness and intelligence? These and a multitude of other inconvenient questions are put to

the hierophant of the mysteries of Nebulosity: all which questions force us back towards some anterior agency; all drive onward, irresistibly to this conclusion, that, "if we establish, by physical proofs, that the first fact which can be traced in the history of the world is, that *there was light*, we shall still be led, even by our natural reason, to suppose, that, before this could occur, *God said, let there be light*."

But it seems that the great mathematician in question is not content with fortifying himself against the evidences of design scattered through the universe. He is prepared to carry the war into the enemy's country. He roundly maintains that things are not quite so admirably adjusted, as many people imagine; that an omnipotent contriver would have done his work more effectually; nay, that he, the astronomer, can point out, how matters might, in some respects, have been much more usefully and beneficially arranged. For example, the inhabitants of the earth enjoy, it is true, the benefits of moonlight. But this accommodation is, at present, but miserably ill-administered to us. We have the advantage of the full-moon during only a small part of the month; for a considerable portion of it, the illumination is but partial; and, for the remainder, none, or next to none at all. And yet, see by what a simple change all this inconvenience might have been obviated! We have only to imagine the Moon removed to about four times its present distance from the earth, and placed exactly opposite to the Sun; her revolution round the earth would, then, have been of exactly the same duration as the earth's revolution in her orbit, -(in other words our month and our year would have been one and the same thing); the moon would have shone constantly upon us with her whole disk; and we should have had the full benefit of moonlight all the year round.* If, therefore, the existing order of things *be*

* The mode of arriving at this conclusion may be thus *roughly* stated.



Suppose the Sun to be at S, the Earth at E, the Moon at M; the distance E M being such, that the Earth at E, and the Moon at M, would both revolve round S in the same time. The Moon would then be attracted both by the Sun and by the Earth, each acting constantly in the same line M E S. Now let Q = the quantity of matter in the Sun; q = a quantity of matter, which, placed at S, would exert upon M an attractive force equal to that which is exerted upon it by the Earth at E. The Moon may, then, be considered as acted upon by a mass, (at S) = $Q + q$. The case would then stand thus: a body at E, acted upon by Q *only*, revolves round S in the same time as a body at M, acted upon by $Q + q$; viz. in one year. Now it is known, from the doctrine of central forces, that, when the force varies $\frac{1}{(\text{distance})^2}$ and the time of revolution is the same, the attracting masses vary as the cubes of

the result of contrivance, what shall we say to the contriver, but what Amphitryon says to Jove?—

Ἀμαθὴς τις ἔῃ θεός, ἢ δίκαιος οὐκ ἔφους.—Eurip. *Herc. Fur.*

In spite, however, of this very ingenious suggestion for the improvement of the system, we must venture to remind the admirers of the proposal, that there is, after all, a word or two to be said for the contriver! In the first place, if the moon were removed to four times her present distance from us, though we should have constantly seen her full face, that face would to our eye, have been no larger than a sixteenth part of the disk we now look upon: so that, upon the whole, our gain in the article of moonlight, would have been very questionable indeed. In the second place, as Mr. Whewell remarks, we are by no means certain that such an arrangement would have had any stability under the influence of disturbing forces.* It is true that this matter has not been made a subject of calculation, and probably never will be. Such a calculation is no trifling affair; and it is rather too much to expect that astronomers will undergo the labour of it, even in compliment to an hypothesis of La Place. For

“We may add,” says Mr. Whewell, “that an arrangement, in which the motion of one body has a *co-ordinate* reference to two others, (as the motion of the moon, on this hypothesis, would have to the sun and

the distance. Therefore, $Q + q : Q :: SM^3 : SE^3$. Whence $q = Q \times \frac{SM^3 - SE^3}{SE^3}$. Also,—(if $T =$ quantity of matter in the Earth),—since the

attractive force of the Earth at E , is the same as that of q at S , $\frac{q}{SM^2} =$

$\frac{T}{EM^2}$; and $q = T \times \frac{SM^3}{EM^2}$. Therefore, also, $Q \times \frac{SM^3 - SE^3}{SE^3} = T \times \frac{SM^3}{EM^2}$;

from which equation EM might be found. As this, however, is rather a formidable equation to deal with, let us proceed in the reverse order, and *assume* the distance EM to be four times as great as the *actual* distance of the Moon; that is, let us suppose it to be 960,000 miles, instead of 240,000. Then, if the Sun's distance, SE , be 96 millions of miles, $SE : EM :: 100 : 1$. If, therefore, we take $EM = 1$, SE will = 100, and $SM = 101$; and the

equation will be $Q \times \frac{101^3 - 100^3}{100^3} = T \times \frac{101^3}{1^3}$: and, if T be taken = 1, $Q =$

$\frac{101^3 \times 100^3}{101^3 - 100^3} = 336666$, + &c. nearly; which is known to be, *about*, the mass

of the Sun, as compared with that of the Earth, from a comparison of the Earth's periodic time, and its distance from the Sun, with the Moon's *actual* period round the Earth and her *actual* distance from the Earth. We may, therefore, conclude that EM is correctly assumed to be about four times the present distance of the Moon.

* If the moon were removed to four times her present distance, the action of the earth upon it, would be no more than one sixteenth part of what it now is. And, in that case, if the disturbing forces of the other planets were once to alter her distance, or to drag her out of the exact line of the Sun and Earth, there is no telling, without computation, what the consequences might be. *Possibly*, the disturbances thus produced, might be periodical, and confined within moderate limits. *Possibly*, they might accumulate to an amount far beyond all power of self-correction.

the earth, neither motion being *subordinate* to the other,) is contrary to the whole known analogy of cosmical phenomena; and therefore has no claim to our notice as a subject of discussion."

It should, lastly, be remembered, that if we are once to begin *mending* the universe, there literally will be no end of the business! It was said by a celebrated Philosopher-King, that he thought he could contrive a better world than that which astronomy disclosed to him. But this was said when the Ptolemaic system was in fashion; and it might, possibly, be little more than a sarcastic intimation, that the Ptolemaic hypothesis was abominably clumsy and complicated. If Alphonso had lived subsequently to the days of Newton, it may be doubted whether the saying would ever have escaped his lips. If it had, he, most assuredly, would have forfeited all title to the Epithet of the *Wise*.

The most important and interesting part of Mr. Whewell's work, is the third division of it, which relates more particularly to the various religious views connected with his subject. And yet we have scarcely left ourselves room for any thing approaching to a worthy notice of it. This, however, is the less to be regretted, as the most skilful abridgment could convey no adequate conception of its irresistible cogency. Nothing can well be more admirable than the chapter in which it is shown that the Creator of the physical world is, likewise, the Governor of the moral world. We must, reluctantly, confine ourselves to the concluding passage of it.

"We appear then to be using only language which is well capable of being justified, when we speak of this irresistible esteem for what is right, this conviction of a rule of action, extending beyond the gratification of our irreflective impulses, as an impress stamped upon the human mind by the Deity himself, a trace of his nature, an indication of his will; an announcement of his purpose, a promise of his favour; and though this faculty may need to be confirmed and unfolded, instructed and assisted by other aids, it still seems to contain in itself a sufficient intimation that the highest objects of man's existence are to be attained, by means of a direct and intimate reference of his thoughts and actions to the Divine Author of his being.

"Such then is the Deity to which the researches of natural theology point; and so far is the train of reflections in which we have engaged, from being merely speculative and barren. With the material world we cannot stop. If a superior intelligence have ordered and adjusted the succession of seasons, and the structure of the plants of the field, we must allow far more than this at first sight would seem to imply. We must admit still greater powers, still higher wisdom, for the creation of the beasts of the forest, with their faculties; and higher wisdom still, and more transcendent attributes, for the creation of man. And when we reach this point, we find that it is not knowledge only, not power

only, not foresight and beneficence alone, which we must attribute to the Maker of the world; but that we must consider him as the Author, in us, of a reverence for moral parity and rectitude; and if the Author of such emotions in us, how can we conceive of Him otherwise, than that these qualities are parts of his nature; and that he is not only wise and great, and good incomparably beyond our highest expectations, but also conformed in his purposes to the rule which he thus impresses upon us, that is, Holy in the highest degree which we can image to ourselves as possible."—pp. 266—268.

Perhaps, the two most powerful and original chapters of the book, are those which exhibit a comparison between the Inductive and Deductive habits; that is, between the habits of those who are engaged in resolving a variety of entangled phenomena into the agency of certain simple laws; and the habits of those, who, when once such laws are established, are occupied in tracing them downwards to their most complicated and remote effects. The different tendency of these habits is exhibited by Mr. Whewell in a course of masterly and luminous exposition. Let us consider, for a moment, what is the occupation of the discoverer? He finds himself, at first, in the midst of disorder, He, nevertheless, fixes an intent and almost impassioned gaze on the chaos of appearances before him. Gradually, the confused, and nearly illegible characters, stamped on the face of the creation, begin to take an orderly arrangement. In process of time, the contents of the dark volume come out into clearer development; till at last, it is found to be written, within and without, with miracles of intelligence and goodness, fitted to satisfy the highest and holiest longings of his nature; so that, like the mystic roll presented to the prophet, *it is in his mouth as honey, for sweetness*.* Such was the sanctifying process undergone by the spirit of Kepler and of Newton; of Pascal and of Boyle. Now, mark the tendency of that process, which is precisely the reverse of this. The *inductive* philosopher is constantly advancing upwards, through Nature unto Nature's God. The spectacle of symmetry and beauty majestically emerging from that which appeared, comparatively, without form and void, has no tendency whatever to familiarize the mind with the thoughts of chance; nothing which tempts the inquirer to place an inert and lifeless mechanic cause on the throne of the Almighty. Not so with the man of *deduction*. He does not begin his work in the midst of darkness and confusion. At the very outset of his career, he is surrounded with a retinue of great and imperishable *certainties*. The laws which produce the grandest movements of the universe are already established to his hand. They form the resources

* Ezek. iii. 3.

with which he is armed at the commencement of his labours. He has, moreover, at his command, an apparatus of prodigious power, in the Analytic Art; he, perhaps, has the consciousness of most consummate mastery in the use of this implement, and of vast inventive faculties for improvement of it; and hence a feeling gradually steals upon him, which, if audibly expressed, would sound nearly like the impious words of Mezentius;

“Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile vibro!”

or, if ever he looks higher for a Deity, whither will he turn, but to the infallible Postulates and Axioms, under whose guidance and protection he placed himself at the beginning of his pursuit. To him, these will be in the place of gods. In company with these, he will be prepared to rush in, boldly, where angels fear to tread; and to look, with steady and unimpassioned glare, on things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. He has his business, it is true, in the great and deep waters of physical phenomena. But mathematical science is a stout-ribbed ark; and, therein he floats securely over the abyss; and so, his eye is never turned towards the brightness which cometh from the upper sanctuary, to direct his navigation. His gaze is always downward. His thoughts are perpetually diving below. He is bent upon *fishing* up, and bringing to light, *residual* difficulties and wonders: and what is it to him, whether or not there be an Ararat on which his vessel may eventually rest?

To adopt the somewhat different, and far better imagery of Mr. Whewell, the mere analyst “may dwell in his bright and pleasant land of deductive reasoning;” but this bright and pleasant land is often the veriest “land of drowsy-head” to the moral powers, or to the capacity of estimating moral probability, or religious truth. It is well known that the men, who have long wandered in that pleasant land, are sometimes found to be absolutely good for nothing, when removed to any other region. For instance,—in a luckless hour, La Place was made a public functionary by Napoleon. But Napoleon soon found that La Place brought with him, into his department, only “*the spirit of infinitely small quantities*,” and he, very wisely, removed the philosopher to the Institute. Now, most certainly, mathematics have, *of themselves*, as little tendency to make a man moral or religious, as they have to make him an able minister, or a profound statesman. We are not, therefore, to wonder, however we may deplore, that philosophers of this stamp are, too often, content to entrench themselves in their miserable stockade of mere mechanical causation. And, when they do this, it is the idlest of all poetical compliments to talk of such men as passing, or even approaching, the *flammantia mænia mundi*. They are never near

to the realms of empyrean splendour. Their "bright and pleasant land," alas, is lighted by far other fires, than those which gladden the dwelling places of the Seraphim!

Mr. Whewell's chapter on Final Causes, is likewise a very glorious chapter. The philosophy which is opposed to final causes, speaketh on this wise,—“It must be allowed that the eyes, and the ears, do, somehow or other, most strangely answer the purposes of seeing and of hearing; but to suppose they were made to see and hear with, is of all vulgar errors the most stupid and childish.” And the great hierophant* of this magnanimous wisdom tells us expressly, that we must use the most “*vehement*” caution against the inroads of such folly. From all which we may learn what a spirit of martyrdom there is, even in the Church of Epicurus! There is no painful distortion of their faculties, no smarting amputation of a part of their very nature, that they will not undergo, in defence of their unbelief. To pluck out an eye, or cut off an offending limb, is nothing, when the sacred cause of atheism is at stake. The sayings of this school, however, will be always found much too hard for those ignorant and cowardly persons, who are yet strangers to its awful discipline! It will far exceed the heroism of the uninitiated, to tear out from their bosoms their natural convictions; and to substitute for those convictions a perverse belief that things exist to no end or purpose. Still less will they be equal to the exploit of forcibly extirpating all notions of a designing agent, merely because the agency is superhuman and invisible. It is when man feels himself overpowered with the grandeur and harmony of the universe, that he likewise feels himself irresistibly impelled (as Mr. Dupuis is pleased to phrase it) to set about *creating his gods*. It is then, too, that even the philosopher finds his tongue almost constrained to utter the words of blessing, though something very different may be lurking in his heart. La Place himself has said such things of *Nature*, as amount to downright nonsense, if the notion of purpose or design is to be excluded from their meaning. Let the unsophisticated man only substitute *God for Nature*, and all is, in a moment, clear and luminous. He will then walk in the light; and may quietly leave the worshippers of *Nature* to grope their way through the difficulties of their *Creed* as they best may. Among which difficulties, we recommend the following to the grave consideration of the doctors of their Sorbonne: “What is it,” say they, “but *Nature* which regulates the world?” And “what is it,” we ask, “but *Nature* which prompts us to refer the wonders of this regulation to an *Intelligent Cause*? And how are we to escape the conclusion that *Nature*, and *Intelligent Cause* are one and the same?” We should be glad to

* Lucret. B. iv.

see how they would propose to extricate themselves from this difficulty?

But then, we have been told by Bacon himself, that final causes are barren! Barren undoubtedly they are, in one sense; for they bring forth no physical discovery. If men, in all ages of the world, had contented themselves with saying that feet were made to walk—and eyes to see—and the sun and moon to give light—and that we need inquire no further than this into the causes of their existence and operation,—there would have been an end, or rather there never would have been a beginning, of physical science. And if, at this moment, we were to stop where we are, and spring upwards, from our present position, at once to final causes,—of course, all further progress in physical discovery would, at once, be stopped: and thus the censure of Bacon would be verified, namely, that “the handling of final causes may intercept and arrest the severe and diligent inquiry of all real and physical causes.” But who is there among the rational champions of final causes, that ever dreams of arresting the career of discovery? Let final causes be placed at any convenient distance, that may be necessary to deprive them of power to disturb the free course of inquiry, in its progress along the whole series of physical causation—nothing more is contended for than this—that the series of physical causation must not be supposed to run on indefinitely, and to stop nowhere! The words of Bacon are, that “final causes are *dedicated to God*, and are barren.” But the following qualification of these words is forgotten, or sunk, by the despisers of this unfruitful sisterhood—viz. “not that final causes are not true, and worthy to be inquired, being kept within their own provinces.” Mr. Whewell, however, as might have been expected, has caught the true spirit of Bacon, and has thus, most justly and eloquently, expanded his meaning—“To final causes, their barrenness is no reproach; seeing that they ought to be, not the mothers, but the daughters, of our natural sciences; and that they are barren, not by natural imperfection, but, in order that they might be kept, pure and undefiled, in the temple of God.”

One word more, in illustration of the capacity, which a philosopher sometimes possesseth, of digesting the east wind! It is affirmed by Laplace, that in order to frame some notion of the attribute of Omniscience, we have only to figure to ourselves an Intelligence, sufficiently comprehensive to have before it all the elementary *data* of the universe, so distinctly, as to make them the subject of *calculation*; and, at the same time, to be in possession of an *analytical Formula* so complete and universal, as to include every possible variety of *movement*. To such an intelligence, he says, nothing would be uncertain. Past, present, and future, would be clearly spread out before it. According to this

view of the matter, the highest being in the world might be only a prodigiously great philosopher—the mightiest of analysts and calculators—a La Place, in short, in a state of apotheosis. There would be no necessity to invest him with those powers of intuition, with which the undisciplined herd of mankind are silly enough to invest their Deity. He would require nothing more than the faculty of wielding the complicated apparatus of computation with a rapidity quite inconceivable to mortals of ordinary stamp. There is one rather serious difficulty, to be sure, in the way of this magnificent speculation. Let it be granted that an algebraical *Formula* might be so constructed as to comprehend all the possible mechanical *movements* of atoms or of masses: we, then, still further, have to imagine this stupendous *equation* to be made so completely universal, that it should be sufficient to determine the mental trajectory of every voluntary, intelligent, and moral being in the world! This, however, is a difficulty that vanishes before a mind which has penetrated the interior mysteries of science. What is such a difficulty to one who has delivered himself from the obsolete folly of final causes, or a creative and designing agency? How do we know that all the phenomena of thought and will are not the results of matter and of motion, variously modified? How do we know, therefore, that the actions or the *movements* of a hero or a coward—of a patriot or a traitor—of an aristocrat or a jacobin—of a doctor of the Sorbonne, or a sage of the Encyclopédie,—how do we know that all these *movements* are anything more than the result of certain evolutions performed by material *molecules*? And, if so, why should they not be ascertained by the same *omnipotent equation*, which involves the complicated *movements* of the moon, or the various results of chemical or galvanic action? Nay, more—who shall presume to fix *any* limit to the powers and resources of pure symbolical algebra? Who shall dare to pronounce that the agency even of an immaterial and spiritual principle may not be brought within the dominion of computation? We leave our readers to meditate on this sublime imagining; confident that they will pronounce it worthy of him, who—carried the spirit of the infinitesimal analysis with him, from his study to his bureau! For ourselves, we can imagine no promotion adequate to the merits of such a projector; unless it be the post of prime minister in the empire of Laputa.

Surely it may be said, of all such fancies as this, that they who make them are like unto them! La Place himself was a sort of walking *Formula*: and what was his goddess, Nature, but a *Formula*, likewise? a *Formula* infinitely more complex, indeed, more potent, and more comprehensive than himself; but still, only a *Formula*. We have, in short, little more to do, than to

imagine an immense improvement in the great mystery of analysis; and then, we approach to the solution of all the phænomena of the world,—mechanical, vital, intellectual, and moral. We shall then have made one great *movement* towards the work of *creating our deities*: and we may, at length, be in a condition to exclaim, *these be thy gods, O Israel!*

To be serious—what can remain for any reasonable man, but to toss to the winds these prodigies of infatuation; (which, if found in the pages of Gulliver would look like burlesque out-travestied)—and to conclude, with Mr. Whewell,

“ that the Creator, (who, for purposes that even we can see to be wise and good, has impressed upon man this tendency to look to him for support, for advancement, for such happiness as is reconcileable with holiness;—to believe him to be the union of all perfection, the highest point of all intellectual and moral excellence;)—is in reality such a guardian and judge, such a good and wise and perfect Being, as we thus irresistibly conceive him. It would indeed be extravagant to assert that the imagination of the creature, itself the work of God, can invent a higher point of goodness, of justice, of holiness, than the Creator himself possesses: that the Eternal Mind, from whom our notions of good and right are derived, is not himself directed by the rules which these notions imply.

“ It is difficult to dwell steadily on such thoughts. But they will at least serve to confirm the view which it was our object to illustrate; namely, how incomparably the nature of God must be elevated above any conceptions which our natural reason enables us to form; and we have been led to these reflections, it will be recollected, by following the clue of which science gave us the beginning. The Divine Mind must be conceived by us as the seat of those laws of nature which we have discovered. It must be no less the seat of those laws which we have not yet discovered, though these may, and must be of a character far different from any thing we can guess. The Supreme Intelligence must therefore contain the laws, each according to their true dependence, of organic life, of sense of animal impulse, and must contain also the purpose and intent for which these powers were put in play. But the Governing Mind must comprehend also the laws of the responsible creatures which the world contains, and must entertain the purposes for which their responsible agency was given them. It must include these laws and purposes, connected by means of the notions which responsibility implies, of desert and reward, of moral excellence, in various degrees, and of well-being, as associated with right-doing. All the laws which govern the moral world are expressions of the thought and intentions of our Supreme Ruler. All the contrivances for moral no less than for physical good; for the peace of mind, and other rewards of virtue; for the elevation and purification of individual character; for the civilization and refinement of states, their advancement in intellect and virtue; for the diffusion of good, and the repression of evil; all the blessings that wait on perseverance and energy in a good cause; on unquenchable love of mankind, and unconquerable devotedness to truth;

on purity and self-denial ; on faith, hope, and charity ; all these things are indications of the character, will, and future intentions of that God of whom we have endeavoured to track the footsteps upon earth, and to shew his handywork in the heavens. ' This God is our God for ever and ever.' And if in endeavouring to trace the tendencies of the vast labyrinth of laws by which the universe is governed, we are sometimes lost and bewildered, and can scarcely, or not at all, discern the line by which pain and sorrow and vice fall in with a scheme directed to the strictest right and greatest good, yet we find no room to faint or falter ; knowing that these are the darkest and most tangled recesses of our knowledge ; that into them science has as yet cast no ray of light ; that in them reason has as yet caught sight of no general law by which we may securely hold : while in those regions where we can see clearly, where science has thrown her strongest illumination upon the scheme of creation ; where we have had displayed to us the general laws which give rise to all the multifarious variety of particular facts ;—we find all full of wisdom, and harmony, and beauty, and all this wise selection of means, this harmonious combination of laws, this beautiful symmetry of relations, directed, with no exception which human investigation has yet discovered, to the preservation, the diffusion, the well-being of those living things, which, though of their nature we know so little, we cannot doubt to be the worthiest objects of the Creator's care."—pp. 378—381.

ART. VI.—*Narrative of a Residence at the Court of London.*

By Richard Rush, Esq., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of America, from 1817 to 1825. London. Bentley. 1833.

THIS volume is doubtless far less piquant than many contemporary Works professing to describe the habits and manners of England ; nevertheless it possesses a certain portion of flavour as well as of nutriment. It is written by a gentleman apparently not of *very* enlarged views, nor of *very* cultivated mind, nor of *very* refined feelings ; nevertheless he is simple in speech, upright in principles, and honourable in conduct. Europe was altogether new to him ; and after due allowances have been made for the overpowering astonishment with which he was impressed by the magnitude of the gigantic machinery which he inspected for the first time ; and for the not unnatural credulity with which he listened to every thing which was told him ; there is a freshness in his representations, and occasionally a justness in his comments, which it would be vain to look for on this side of the Atlantic.

Our course in examining his pages will be guided very much by himself ; and, as much as in us lies, we shall forbear from any interference with his own manner of telling his own story. Mr.

Rush, accompanied by his wife, four small children, and young Mr. Taylor of Washington" attached to his Legation, arrived in London as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, on the evening of December, 21, 1817. Within ten days after his lodgement in Conduit Street, a fog, which rendered the use of candles necessary at noon, made him ask a very reasonable question, "How the English became great with so little daylight?" and Lord Castlereagh, who appears to have been fully aware of the sensation likely to be excited in a foreigner by this "darkness visible," courteously expressed a hope in his next official interview that no alarm had been occasioned by this most un-American novelty of climate.

The peculiar happiness of Lord Castlereagh's manner impressed Mr. Rush most favourably, when on one of his earliest visits, the noble Secretary stated his desire to follow his usual habit with foreign Ministers; namely, to treat business in frank conversations rather than in official Notes. The first dinner in St. James's Square must be told more at length.

"January 20, 1818. Dined at Lord Castlereagh's. The company consisted of Lord and Lady Castlereagh, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Melville, Lord Mulgrave, Mr. Wellesley Pole, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Burghersh, the Ambassador of France and his Marchioness, the Austrian Ambassador, the Portuguese Ambassador and his Countess, the Minister Plenipotentiary from Bavaria, the Marquis Grimaldi of Sardinia, and a few others. Of the foregoing, some were strangers, to whom, as to myself, it was a first dinner.

"The invitation was for seven o'clock. Our names were announced by servants in the hall, and on the landings. The company had chiefly assembled when we arrived. All were in full black, under the court mourning for the Princess Charlotte. I am wrong—one lady was in white satin! It would have been painfully embarrassing, but that her union of ease and dignity enabled her, after the first suffusion, to turn her misfortune into a grace. Salutations were in subdued tones, but cordial, and the hand given. Introductions took place at convenient moments. Before eight, dinner was announced. The dining-room was on the floor with the drawing-rooms. As we entered it through a door-way surrounded by a hanging curtain that drew aside, the effect was beautiful. A profusion of light fell upon the cloth, and as every thing else was of silver, the dishes covered, and wines hidden in ranges of silver coolers, the whole had an aspect of pure white. Lord Castlereagh sat at the head. On his right was the lady of the French Ambassador, with whom, in going in, he had led the way. Lady Castlereagh was on the side, half way down. On her left, was the Duke of Wellington, with whom she came in. Between the Duke and the Earl of Westmoreland, was my wife, who came in upon the arm of the latter. Opposite, was the lady of the Portuguese Ambassador. She entered with the French Ambassador, and sat next to him. I was

between Lords Melville and Mulgrave. The former gratified me by the manner in which he spoke of the United States; the latter by what he said of President Monroe, who was Minister in England when he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He had ever found him, he said, conciliatory in business, while steadfast in his duty. Being near to these two noblemen in coming in, I paused to give place, having understood that Cabinet Ministers preceded Ministers Plenipotentiary on these occasions; but they declined it, and I went first; Lord Melville remarking, "We are at home." There were twelve servants; the superior ones not in livery."—pp. 57—59.

The presentation at Carlton House was a much more formidable event than this introduction to a diplomatic dinner party. Mr. Rush very naturally felt that there were numerous conventional matters in the etiquette of a Court which it was little possible that he should ascertain beforehand; and lapses in which assume an undue importance. His good sense, however, supplied him with some golden rules of conduct. He had been told that the Prince Regent was not thought to be fond of set speeches, and he resolved therefore not to deviate from simplicity; he knew also that notwithstanding the variation of outward forms in different Countries, there existed every where a cardinal maxim of good breeding; and that no one could fail beyond redemption in *any* society, (even if he were to keep on his slippers in the Divan at Constantinople or his cocked hat in the Presence Chamber at the Tuilleries; for the respect demanded by sovereignty traverses the whole man from head to foot,) provided he be fore-armed with "a wish to please and an unwillingness to offend." The Court scene is admirably described.

"I arrived before the hour appointed. My carriage having the *entrée*, or right to the private entrance, I went through St. James's Park and got to Carlton House by the paved way, through the gardens. Even this approach was already filled. I was set down at a side-door, where stood servants in the Prince's livery. Gaining the hall, persons were seen in different costumes. Among them yeomen of the guard, with halberds. They had hats of velvet, with wreaths round them, and rosettes in their shoes. In the court-yard, which opened through the columns of the portico, bands of music were heard. Carriages, in a stream, were approaching by this access, through the double gates that separate the royal residence from the street. The company arriving this way, entered through the portico, and turned off to the right. I went to the left, through a vestibule, leading to other rooms, into which none went but those having the *entrée*. They consisted of cabinet ministers, the diplomatic corps, persons in chief employment about the court, and a few others, the privilege being in high esteem. Knights of the Garter appeared to have it, for I observed their *insignum* round the knee of several. There was the Lord Steward with his badge of office; the Lord Chamberlain with his; also, gold *stick*,

and silver *stick*. The foreign ambassadors and ministers wore their national costumes; the cabinet ministers, such as we see in old portraits, with bag and sword. The Lord Chancellor, and other functionaries of the Law, had black silk gowns, with full wigs. The bishops and dignitaries of the Church, had aprons of black silk. The walls were covered with paintings. If these were historical, so were the rooms. As I looked through them, I thought of the scenes in Doddington; of the Pelhams, the Bolingbrokes, the Hillsboroughs. The Prince had not left his apartment. Half-an-hour went by, when Sir Robert Chester, Master of Ceremonies, said to me, that in a few minutes he would conduct me to the Prince. The Spanish Ambassador had gone in, and I was next in turn. When he came out, the Master of the Ceremonies advanced with me to the door.

"Opening it, he left me. I entered alone. The Prince was standing; Lord Castlereagh by him. No one else was in the room. Holding in my hand the letter of credence, I approached, as to a private gentleman, and said, that it was 'from the President of the United States, appointing me their Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of his Royal Highness; and that I had been directed by the President to say, that I could in no way better serve the United States, or gain his approbation, than by using all my endeavours to strengthen and prolong the good understanding that happily subsisted between the two Countries.' The Prince took the letter, and handed it to Lord Castlereagh. He then said, that he would 'ever be ready on his part to act upon the sentiments I had expressed; that I might assure the President of this, for that he sincerely desired to keep up and improve the friendly relations subsisting between the two nations, which he regarded as so much to the advantage of both.' I replied, that I would not fail to do so.

"The purpose of the interview seeming to be accomplished, I had supposed it would here end, and was about to withdraw; but the Prince prolonged it. He congratulated me on my arrival. He inquired for the health of Mr. Adams, and spoke of others who had preceded me in the mission, going back as far as the first Mr. Pinckney. Of him, and Mr. King, his inquiries were minute. He made others, which it gave me still more pleasure to answer—he asked if I knew the ladies from my country, then in England, who had made such favourable impressions, naming Mrs. Patterson, and the Miss Catons. I replied that I did, and responded to his gratifying notice of these my fair countrywomen. A few more remarks on the climate of the two countries closed the audience.

"It would be out of place in me to portray the exterior qualities of this monarch. The commanding union of them has often been a theme in his own dominions. He was then in his 56th year; but in fine health, and maintaining the erect, ambitious, carriage of early life. The Envoy extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary from Sicily and Naples, had his reception immediately afterwards.

"When the Prince came from his apartment, called in the language of palaces his *closet*, into the *entrée* rooms, I presented to him Mr.

John Adams Smith, as public secretary of the legation, and Mr. Ogle Taylor, as attached to it personally. Other special presentations took place; amongst them, that of the Prince of Hesse Homberg, by Lord Stewart, both distinguished in the then recent battles of the Continent. The Prince Regent moved about these rooms, until he had addressed everybody; all waiting his salutation. Doors hitherto shut, now opened, when a new scene appeared. You beheld in other rooms the company that had turned off to the right. The opening of the doors was the signal for the commencement of the general levee. I remained with others to see it. All passed, one by one, before the Prince, each receiving a momentary salutation. To a few he addressed conversation, but briefly; as it stopped the line. All were in rich costume. Men of genius and science were there. The nobility were numerous; so were the military. There were from forty to fifty generals; perhaps as many admirals, with throngs of officers of rank inferior. I remarked upon the number of wounded. Who is that, I asked, pallid but with a countenance so animated? '*That's General Walker*,' I was told, '*pierced with bayonets, leading on the assault of Badajoz*.' And he, close by, tall but limping? '*Colonel Ponsonby*; *he was left for dead at Waterloo*; *the cavalry it was thought had trampled upon him*.' Then came one of like port, but deprived of a leg, slowly moving; and the whisper went, '*That's Lord Anglesea*.' A fourth had been wounded at Seringapatam; a fifth at Talavera; some had suffered in Egypt; some in America. There were those who had received scars on the deck with Nelson; others who carried them from the days of Howe. One, yes one, had fought at Saratoga. It was so that my inquiries were answered. All had '*done their duty*;' this was the favourite praise bestowed. The great number of wounded was accounted for by recollecting, that little more than two years had elapsed since the armies and fleets of Britain had been liberated from wars of extraordinary fierceness and duration in all parts of the globe. For, so it is, other nations chiefly fight on or near their own territory; the English everywhere.

"Taking the whole line, perhaps a thousand must have passed. Its current flowed through the entrée rooms, got onward to the vestibule, and was finally dispersed in the great hall. Those who composed it, found themselves there, by a course reverse to that of their entrance; and went away through the portico, as their carriages came up."—pp. 81—87.

One word will probably have struck every reader of the above paragraph as not strictly in accordance with classical Latinity, freely as it may pass current in the Lyceum or Gymnasium, whichever it may be, under whose maternal care Mr. Rush's earlier years were fostered—*quæ lucem et pocula sacra*. To make amends for the heterodox singular "*insignium*," he in another place, however, informs us that he saw at Messrs. Rundell and Bridge's "*a candelabra*." Even the *English*, which Mr. Rush adopts, is sometimes peculiar; whether it be his own, or

whether it be correct *Anglo-American*, we are not sufficiently versed in Dialects to pronounce. In his very first page we find "startle" employed as a neuter verb; and in three lines afterwards we meet with a sentence, which, if it had been read to us without the annexation of its author's name, we should have fearlessly pronounced to be an extract from the "London Price Current." "I flatter myself that what I have said in *this connection* will be clear of all exception." "*Comity*," no doubt, is a word of excellent parentage, but we do not recollect any authority for its use—"to profit of these invitations," "residents of London," and "something remarkable for number," are manifestly *præva monete*. These are blemishes which ought to have been removed in the passage of the volume through the Press; and they are more discreditable to the judgment of Mr. Bentley's Reviser, than to the pen of Mr. Rush.

The candour with which Mr. Rush throughout his volume avows the favourable impressions derived from his intercourse with Royalty, does him no small honour. The narratives of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, of his private introduction to Queen Charlotte, and of his attendance at her birthday drawing room, bear this agreeable stamp; and the latter, (even if it were devoid of the animating passage on hoops,) we are bound to extract as a companion piece to the Prince Regent's Levee.

"Going through Hyde Park, I found the whole way from Tyburn to Piccadilly (about a mile) filled with private carriages, standing still. Persons were in them who had adopted this mode of seeing those who went to court. Tenfold the number went by other approaches, and every approach, I was told, was thronged with double rows of equipages, filled with spectators. I was to be set down with the rest of the diplomatic corps, and others having the entrée, at a door assigned, within the court-yard of the palace. Arrived in its vicinity, my carriage was stopped by those before it. Here we saw, through the trees and avenues of the Park, other carriages rapidly coming up, in two regular lines from the Horse Guards and St. James's. Another line, that had been up, was turning slowly off, towards the Birdcage Walk. Foreigners agreed, that the united capitals of Europe could not match the sight. The horses were all in the highest condition; and, under heavy emblazoned harness, seemed, like war-horses, to move proudly. Trumpets were sounding, and the Park and Tower guns firing. There were ranks of cavalry in scarlet, with their bright helmets, and jet black horses; the same we were told, men and horses, that had been at Waterloo.

We were soon set down, and entered the great hall. What a contrast! The day before, I had gone up the staircase alone. Now, what did I see? We were not out of time, for, by appointment, my carriage reached the palace with Lord Castlereagh's; but whilst hundreds were still arriving, hundreds were endeavouring to come away. The

staircase branched off at the first landing, into two arms. It was wide enough to admit a partition, which was let in. The company ascending, took one channel; those descending, the other; and both were full. The whole group stood motionless. The openings through the carved balusters, brought all under view at once, whilst the paintings on the walls heightened the effect. The hoop dresses of the ladies, sparkling with lama; their plumes; their lappets; the fanciful attitudes which the hoops occasioned, some getting out of position as when in Addison's time they were adjusted to shoot a door; the various costumes of the gentlemen as they stood pinioning their elbows, and holding in their swords; the common hilarity, from the common dilemma; the bland recognitions passing between those above and below, made up, altogether, an exhibition so picturesque, that a painter might give it as illustrative, so far, of the court of that æra. Without pausing to describe the incidents during our progress upwards, it may be sufficient to say, that the party to which I was attached, and of which Lady Castlereagh, towering in her bloom, was the pioneer, reached the summit of the staircase in about three quarters of an hour.

Four rooms were allotted to the ceremony. In the second was the Queen. She sat on a velvet chair and cushion, a little raised up. Near her were the Princesses, and ladies in waiting. The general company, as they reached the corridor by one arm of the staircase, passed on to the Queen. Bowing to her, they regained it, after passing through all the rooms, by an outlet that led to the other arm; which they descended. When my wife was presented, her Majesty addressed some conversation to her, as a stranger. This she could not do to all, time not permitting. The Regent was there, and the Royal Family; cabinet ministers and their ladies; foreign ambassadors and ministers with theirs. These, having the entrée remained, if they chose, in the room with the Queen. A numerous portion of the nobility were present, their wives and daughters; with others distinguished in life, though bearing neither title nor station. Conversation you got as you could, in so great and rich a throng.

If the scene in the hall was picturesque, the one upstairs transcended it. The doors of the rooms were all open. You saw in them a thousand ladies richly dressed. All the colours of nature were mingling their rays together. It was the first occasion of laying by mourning for the Princess Charlotte; so that it was like the bursting out of spring. No lady was without her plume. The whole was a waving field of feathers. Some were blue, like the sky; some tinged with red; here you saw violet and yellow; there, shades of green. But the most were like tufts of snow. The diamonds encircling them, caught the sun through the windows, and threw dazzling beams around. Then the hoops! I cannot describe these. They should be seen. To see one is nothing. But to see a thousand—and their thousand wearers! I afterwards sat in the Ambassadors' box at a coronation. That sight faded before this. Each lady seemed to rise out of a gilded little barricade; or one of silvery texture. This, topped by her plume, and the "face divine" interposing, gave to the whole an effect so

unique, so fraught with feminine grace and grandeur, that it seemed as if a curtain had risen to show a pageant in another sphere. It was brilliant and joyous. Those to whom it was not new, stood at gaze as I did. Canning for one. His fine eye took it all in. You saw admiration in the gravest statesmen; Lord Liverpool, Huskisson, the Lord Chancellor, everybody. I had already seen in England signs enough of opulence and power. Now I saw, radiating on all sides British beauty. My own country I believed was destined to a just measure of the two first; and I had the inward assurance that my countrywomen were the inheritresses of the last. *Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior*. So appeared the drawing-room of Queen Charlotte.

The ceremonies of the day being ended, as far as myself and suite were concerned, we sought the corridor to come away. In good time we reached the head of the descending channel. Will it be believed? both channels were full as ever of hoops and plumes. There was something in the spectacle from this position that presented a new image. Positively, it came over the eye like beautiful architecture; the hoops the base, the plume the pinnacle! The parts of this dress may have been incongruous; but the whole was harmony. Like Old English buildings, and Shakespeare, it carried the feelings with it. It triumphed over criticism. We got down stairs in about the same time it took to get up. As we waited in the hall for our carriage, military bands were playing in the court-yard, some mounted, some on foot; amidst the strains of which we drove off.

In an evening party at the Duke of Cumberland's, the only persons who remained seated were the Prince Regent, with the Duchess of Cumberland on one side, on the other the Marchioness of Hertford. The rest of the Company stood. The good-humoured garrulity with which a stranger introduced himself on this occasion to Mr. Rush, is painted *ad vivum*; and we doubt not the very words are those which were really uttered. A gentleman came up and addressed him abruptly—"I'm going to bring a Bill into Parliament, making it indictable in any stranger, whether Ambassador from a Republic, Kingdom or Popedom, ever to leave his card without his address upon it: how do you do, Mr. Rush, how do you do? I've been trying to find you every where. I'm Lord Erskine."

cætera norunt

Susquehanah, Hudson, Connecticut, et Mississippi.

The monologue continued as follows. "I had a letter for you from my brother the Earl of Buchan, but you made me carry it so long in my pocket that I lost it; it had no secrets: it was only to congratulate you on your arrival; he was long a correspondent and friend of your father's, and wants to transfer his feelings to you, that's all; so you can write to him as if you had received it." His Lordship added that he had always loved the

United States, and hoped to visit them yet, as he was an old sailor and cared nothing for storms.

A second notice is equally characteristic.

"June 7. Lord Erskine called upon me according to promise. First he spoke of the bill he lately brought into the House of Lords, to prevent arrest in cases of libel until after indictment, regretting its loss.

"He touched on other topics. I pass by all to come to what he said of Burke. My boys being in the room, he asked if I had found a good school for them. I said they were at present with Mr. Foothead, in my neighbourhood. 'You are lucky,' he said, 'if Burke's recommendation goes for anything, for he thought well of him as a teacher of the classics. What a prodigy Burke was!' he exclaimed. 'He came to see me not long before he died. I then lived on Hampstead hill. 'Come, Erskine,' said he, holding out his hand, 'let us forget all; I shall soon quit this stage, and wish to die in peace with every body, especially you.' I reciprocated the sentiment, and we took a turn round the grounds. Suddenly he stopped. An extensive prospect broke upon him. He stood, rapt in thought. Gazing on the sky, as the sun was setting, 'Ah! Erskine," he said, pointing towards it, "you cannot spoil *that* because you cannot *reach* it; it would otherwise go; yes, the firmament itself—you and your reformers would tear it all down." I was much pleased with his friendly familiarity, and we went into the house, where kind feelings between us were further improved. A short time afterwards he wrote that attack upon the Duke of Devonshire, Fox and myself, which flew all over England, and perhaps the United States.' All this his lordship told in the best manner. In my form of repeating it I cannot do him justice.

"Desiring to hear something of Burke's delivery from so high a source, I asked him about it. 'It was execrable,' said he. 'I was in the House of Commons when he made his great speech on American conciliation, the greatest he ever made. He drove everybody away. I wanted to go out with the rest, but was near him and afraid to get up; so I squeezed myself down, and crawled under the benches like a dog, until I got to the door, without his seeing me, rejoicing in my escape. Next day I went to the Isle of Wight. When the speech followed me there, I read it over and over again; I could hardly think of anything else; I carried it about me, thumbed it, until it got like wadding for my gun.' Here he broke out with a quotation from the passage beginning, 'But what, says the financier, is peace without money?' which he gave with a fervour, showing how he felt it. He said that he was in the House when he threw a dagger on the floor, in his speech on the French Revolution, and it '*had liked to have hit my foot.*' 'It was a sad failure,' he added, 'but Burke could bear it.'

"He sat upwards of an hour, leaving me to regret his departure."—pp. 236—238.

At the late Mr. Bentham's, Mr. Rush met Sir Samuel Romilly, Messrs. Mill, Dumont, and Brougham; and the rapid, brilliant, and energetic conversation of the last-named seems to have produced a strong sentiment of admiration.

"There was a quickness in his bodily movements indicative of the quickness of his thoughts. He showed in conversation the universality and discipline that he exhibits in parliament and the courts of law. The affairs of South America, English authors, Johnson, Pope, Swift, Milton, Dryden, Addison, (the criticisms of the last on *Paradise Lost* he thought poor things); anecdotes of the living judges of England; of lord chancellors, living and dead; the errors in Burrow's Reports, not always those of the reporter, he said; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the constitution of the United States—these were topics that he touched with the promptitude and power of a master. He quoted from the ancient classics, and poets of modern Italy, (the latter in the original also,) not with the ostentation of scholarship, which he is above, but as if they came out whether he would or no amidst the multitude of his ideas and illustrations. He handled nothing at length, but with a happy brevity; the rarest art in conversation when loaded with matter like his. Sometimes he despatched a subject in a parenthesis, sometimes by a word, that told like a blow. Not long after this my first meeting with him, one of his friends informed me that a gentleman whose son was about to study law, asked him what books he ought to read. 'Tell him to begin with Demosthenes and Dante.'—'What to make a lawyer?' said the father.—'Yes,' he replied, and 'if you don't take, we won't argue about it.'"—pp. 288, 289.

The depopulation of the West End of London during the autumnal months must be sensibly felt by an Ambassador, whose duties compel him to be an almost stationary Metropolitan. Mr. Rush describes the first outbreak on the rising of Parliament; and the second on the approach of September; when "even the Lord Chancellor can hardly be kept from going a field." The American Ministers were engaged in an important series of Conferences with Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, in adjustment of the international commerce. When parting on the 29th of August, Mr. Rush unthinkingly named the third day following for the next meeting. "Spare us," said one of the British Plenipotentiaries; "it is the first day of Partridge shooting!"

Our last extract will convey Mr. Rush's judgment on the English Public Press.

"One of the things that strike me most, is their press. I live north of Portman Square, nearly three miles from the House of Commons. By nine in the morning, the newspapers are on my breakfast table containing the debate of the preceding night. This is the case though it may have lasted until one, two, or three in the morning. There is no disappointment; hardly a typographical error. The speeches on both sides are given with like care; a mere rule of justice, to be sure, without which the paper would have no credit, but fit to be mentioned where party feeling always runs as high as in England.

This promptitude is the result of what alone could produce it; an unlimited command of subdivided labour of the hand and mind. The

proprietors of the great newspapers employ as many stenographers as they want. One stays until his sheet is full. He proceeds with it to the printing-office, where he is soon followed by another with his; and so on, until the last arrives. Thus the debate as it advances is in progress of printing, and when finished, is all in type but the last part. Sometimes it will occupy twelve and fourteen broad closely printed columns. The proprietors enlist the most able pens for editorial articles; and as correspondents, from different parts of Europe. Their ability to do so, may be judged of from the fact, that the leading papers pay to the Government an annual tax in stamps, of from twenty to fifty thousand pounds sterling. I have been told that some of them yield a profit of fifteen thousand sterling a-year, after paying this tax, and all expenses. The profits of "The Times" are said to have exceeded eighteen thousand a year. The cost of a daily paper to a regular subscriber is about ten pounds sterling a-year. But subdivision comes in to make them cheap. They are circulated by agents at a penny an hour in London. When a few days old, they are sent to the provincial towns, and through the country at reduced prices. In this manner, the parliamentary debates and proceedings, impartially and fully reported, go through the nation. The newspaper sheet is suited to all this service, being substantial, and the type good. Nothing can exceed the dispatch with which the numerous impressions are worked off, the mechanical operations having reached a perfection calculated to astonish those who would examine them.

What is done in the courts of law, is disseminated in the same way. Every argument, trial, and decision, of whatever nature or before whatever court, goes immediately into the newspapers. There is no delay. The following morning ushers it forth. I took the liberty of remarking to one of the judges, upon the smallness of the rooms in which the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery sit, when the proceedings were so interesting that great numbers of the public would like to hear them. '*We sit,*' said he '*every day in the newspapers.*' How much did that answer comprehend! What an increase of responsibility in the Judge! I understood from a source not less high, that the newspapers are to be as much relied upon, as the books of law reports in which the cases are afterwards published; that in fact the newspaper report is apt to be the best, being generally the most full, as well as quite accurate. If not accurate the newspaper giving it would soon fall before competitors. Hence, he who keeps his daily London paper, has, at the year's end, a volume of the annual law reports of the kingdom, besides all other matter.

In the discussions of the journals, editorial or otherwise, there is a remarkable fearlessness. Things that in Junius's time would have put London in a flame, pass almost daily without notice. Neither the sovereign nor his family are spared. Parliament sets the example, and the newspapers follow. Of this, the debates on the royal marriages in the course of the present month, give illustrations. There are countries in which the press is more free by law, than with the English; for although they impose no previous restraints, their definition of libel is

inherently vague. But perhaps nowhere has the press so much latitude.

Every thing goes into the newspapers. In other countries, matter of a public nature may be seen in them ; here, in addition, you see perpetually even the concerns of individuals. Does a private gentleman come to town ? you hear it in the newspapers ; does he build a house or buy an estate ? they give the information ; does he entertain his friends ? you have all their names next day in type ; is the drapery of a lady's drawing room changed from red damask and gold to white satin and silver ? the fact is publicly announced. So of a thousand other things. The first burst of it all upon Madame de Staël, led her to remark that the English had realized the fable of living with a window in their bosoms. It may be thought that this is confined to a class, who, surrounded by the allurements of wealth, seek emblazonment. If it were only so, the class is immense. But its influence affects other classes, giving each in their way the habit of allowing their personal inclinations and objects to be dealt with in print ; so that, altogether, these are thrown upon the public in England to an extent without parallel in any country, ancient or modern. When the drama at Athens took cognizance of private life, what was said became known first to a few listeners ; then to a small town ; but in three days, a London newspaper reaches every part of the kingdom, and in three months, every part of the globe.

Some will suppose that the newspapers govern the country. Nothing would be more unfounded. There is a power not only in the Government, but in the country itself, far above them. It lies in the educated classes. True, the daily press is of the educated class. Its conductors hold the pens of scholars, often of statesmen. Hence you see no editorial personalities ; which, moreover, the public would not bear. But what goes into the columns of newspapers, no matter from what sources, comes into contact with equals at least in mind among readers, and a thousand to one in number. The bulk of these are unmoved by what newspapers say, if opposite to their own opinions ; which, passing quickly from one to another in a society where population is dense, make head against the daily press, after its first efforts are spent upon classes less enlightened. Half the people of England live in towns. This augments moral as physical power ; the last, by strengthening rural parts through demand for their products—the first by sharpening intellect through opportunities of collision. The daily press could master opposing mental forces, if scattered ; but not when they can combine. Then the general literature of the country reacts against newspapers. The permanent press, as distinct from the daily, teems with productions of a commanding character. There is a great class of authors always existent in England, whose sway exceeds that of the newspapers, as the main body the pioneers. Periodical literature is also effective. It is a match at least for the newspapers, when its time arrives. It is more elementary ; less hasty. In a word the daily press in England, with its floating capital, in talents, zeal, and money, can do much at an onset. It is an organized corps, full of spirit and always ready ; but there is a higher power of mind and influence behind, that.

can rally and defeat it. From the latter source it may also be presumed, that a more deliberate judgment will in the end be formed on difficult questions, than from the first impulses and more premature discussions of the daily journals. The latter move in their orbit by reflecting also, in the end, the higher judgment by which they have been controlled. Such are some of the considerations that strike the stranger, reading their daily newspapers. They make a wonderful part of the social system in England."—pp. 197—203

Many of the facts mentioned in the above statement are verified by the minuter inquiries of Mr. Babbage. The deductions from them, albeit not very distinctly elaborated, touch the key-notes, as it were, of much reflection: and we are inclined to assent to Mr. Rush's opinions, so far as we can elicit them. From the kindly feeling with which his volume is written, and from the numerous subjects which are left untouched in it, we look forward with pleasure to the realization of a hope which the author holds forth, that he will continue his narrative through the remaining period of his diplomacy. The pages now before us contain the particulars of a single year only, and Mr. Rush altogether has spent nearly eight years of residence in England.

ART. VII.—*The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology, in a course of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1832, at the Lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury.* By Renn Dickson Hampden, M.A., Late Fellow of Oriel College. Oxford, 1833. 8vo. pp. 548.

WE had the volume before us as a new proof of the revival of the study of the Greek and Latin Fathers. If they were for centuries the exclusive objects of men's attention, they have now long enough been equally the objects of their neglect; and the period is at length arrived, when we may hope that men, no longer blinded by prejudice, will appreciate them fairly, without exaggerating either their merits or their defects: *inde, quod imitentur, capiant; inde, quod vitent.* It was naturally to be expected that men, suddenly emancipated from their ancient thralldom, would abuse a liberty so unexpectedly acquired, of which, though they had long secretly sighed for it in vain, they as yet knew little more than the name; "it was no desire," says Mr. Hampden, "of what we now understand by liberty, which actuated the struggles of human reason: the licence of the times afforded a sort of compensation for the miseries of social tyranny: but it was

a resistance to the internal spell which bound the faculties." They had been taught to regard the Fathers with a reverence scarcely inferior to that in which they held the Sacred Writings themselves. The distinction, if distinction there was, might indeed be logically true, but it was practically false; like that which the Romanists now draw between the honour which they pay to the Saints, and the adoration with which they worship God. Peter Lombard, who flourished in the middle of the 12th century, declares that the words of Augustine, of Hilary, and of Ambrose, were the words of the Holy Ghost speaking in them. Instead of explaining the Holy Scriptures by reference to the Fathers, the natural course of reasoning was so utterly perverted, that they made the Fathers their text book, and searched the Scriptures, as they searched the heathen poets, for detached illustrations of Jerome; of Augustine; or of any other favourite of the day. "Nihil potui invenire me dixisse," says Anselm, in the 11th century, "quod non Catholicorum Patrum, et maxime Beati Augustini scriptis cohæreat." But amidst all this polytheism the mind of man had reared in secret an altar to "the unknown God;"—it panted for something whereon it might confidently rely, something less fallible than itself, something not human but divine.

We refer our readers to Mr. Hampden's first Lecture for an account of the rise and progress of intellectual freedom. In speaking of the "Book of Sentences" by P. Lombard, he says:

"The 11th and 12th centuries had evinced extraordinary activity in the exercise of the human intellect. But the efforts then put forth were desultory and irregular. They were the results of individual enterprise and courage:* like the voyages of mariners pushing out to sea, not knowing where the tide and winds might drive them. Now a principle was established, according to which human reason might freely expatiate. The liberty of commenting and discussing without limit might be indulged, provided the intellect confined itself within the range of established authorities.—What the speculator had to guard against was, the appearance of proposing any thing new, any thing that did not admit of being traced up to some received opinion. The suspicion of originality was fatal to the reputation of the Scholastic Divine."—p. 46.

Little did the Church suspect how mighty an enemy she was ignorantly cherishing in her bosom. It was folly enough to suppose that the voice of reason, silently though it speak in us, could be stifled by human means;—that the only divine part of our

* Madame de Stael has not failed to observe this step in the progress of civilization. "On a besoin pour conquérir les empires, que les armées disciplinées reconnoissent le pouvoir d'un chef; mais pour faire des progrès dans la carrière de la vérité, il faut que chaque homme y marche de lui-même, guidé par les lumières de son siècle, et non par les documens de tel parti."—*M. de Stael, De la Littérature*,—vol. i. p. 330.

nature could be enchained in fetters made by men's hands, and that the spirit of man could be for ever enslaved; but to lay open the spacious fields of religious controversy, to invite the mind to go forth in search of those truths which most nearly concern its endless happiness or misery, and then to say to it, "Hitherto mayest thou come, and no further," was a shortsighted policy, which even the ignorance of those early ages would hardly have led us to expect. But although many champions were thus educated for the conflict, and, when they came forth, came fully armed for the battle, still the multitude were not so prepared, and to them in the 12th century, and in centuries much later than the 12th, may be applied the description which Mr. Hampden has given of the 9th, when relating the effects of the Predestinarian controversy.

"From this period we may notice a continued struggle in the Latin Church, between the advocates of Reason and the advocates of Authority. All these disputes, in fact, were in principle the same. They were only varied forms of rationalism, the pure exertions of the mind within itself, conscious of its own powers, and struggling to push itself forth against the constringent force of the Spiritual Government. The mind sought no diversion into the paths of general literature;—there was no study of history or natural science;—none of these could afford it that relief which it demanded, if even opportunities had existed for the prosecution of such studies. An effort was required, that immediately bore against the pressure by which it was distressed. The reaction must be, where the force had been directed. The spiritual power forbade the mind to think for itself, to use its own faculties, to examine, to discuss, to object. Obedience was become another word for religion. It was no wonder, then, that some more liberal spirits essayed those natural exertions of their faculties on which the painful prohibition lay. It was like one who had been bound hand and foot, feeling the luxury of the limbs once more free, and enjoying the perception that he yet has strength and energy. It is enough for such an one, to feel the play of his muscles, to exult that he has broken the bands in sunder, and cast away the cords from him. We can sympathize with the wildness of his gesticulations, however distorting and fantastic. So we may appreciate the efforts of the Rationalists of the middle ages. Their mind exulted in the simple perception that it still was free."^{*}

In continuing the inquiry down to our own times, we find the same feelings producing the same effects at the period of the Reformation. The feeling of sanctity which commonly attaches itself to every thing that is old was extinguished;—the antiquity of any thing was an evidence of its corruption;—the merits of any article, either of belief or of practice, were determined, like the fate of the Platæans of old, by one short question: men asked not whether it was right or whether it was wrong, *κατηγορία μὲν*

^{*} Lect. i. p. 37.

οὐδὲν ἀπορίῃ, but they asked merely whether or not it was Popish. Nor was this a transient feeling; for more than a century it silently but steadily increased, till its final victory was won on the scaffold of Charles I. Men were not yet satisfied: for ten years the mania of innovation continued at its height; nor did it subside till it had swept away every thing from before it, and had left to posterity a frightful lesson of the horrors which may be committed under the mask of liberty, and of the despotism which may flourish under the name of a Commonwealth. We are not here alluding to the Fathers of the English Church. It is their glory to have been free from this fanaticism. But we are comparing the multitude of the 17th century with that of the 12th and 9th centuries, and no one, we are sure, who is at all acquainted with our ecclesiastical history, will think the picture overcharged. The Church was restored to all her privileges. Hypocrisy produced its natural reaction, and licentiousness prevailed in its stead. The clergy, like all other bodies of men, suffered from this contamination; and for the greater part of the last century the effects of this contagion were still too manifest in the uneducated state of our clergy. A second reaction has taken place; and education has spread among all classes with a rapidity almost incredible. The clergy have not been behind in this intellectual race: but the number of objects being infinitely multiplied, the attention must become proportionally distracted, and education cannot but be comparatively superficial. And when in addition to this we remember how much it is the fashion to extol this Augustan age of English literature and science, we cannot be surprised at the contempt which has been heaped upon such antiquated authors as the Greek and Latin Fathers.

For the revival of this study we are chiefly indebted to the personal exertions of the present Regius Professors of Divinity at both our universities, and of their predecessors Bishops Lloyd and Kaye.* We allude not to their writings only connected with the Fathers, (for in this respect they by no means stand alone,) but to their private lectures, which have done more than books ever could do to excite in many of our younger clergy a desire to search for themselves those rich stores of theological learning. We repeat that we rejoice at this change. Disclaiming any wish to depreciate the efforts of our cotemporaries, we do not understand how the most profound learning or the most brilliant talents

* We are glad to find our opinion confirmed by Mr. Chevallier in the introduction to his recent translation of the Epistles of Clement, &c. "Of late years a considerable impulse has been given among ourselves to the study of the early Christian writers. The labours of the learned Bishop of Lincoln in elucidating the works of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and those of Dr. Burton, are specimens of the valuable matter which is yet to be extracted from the stores of Christian antiquity."—p. iv.

of any modern age can at all be put in competition with the historical testimony of the early Fathers. If the Presbyterian assail our form of church government, where shall we find a champion like Clemens or Ignatius? If the Romanist assert his claim to supremacy, and bid all Christendom bow before the chair of St. Peter, what answer shall we find so forcible as the remonstrance sent by Irenæus to Victor, Bishop of Rome, concerning the paschal controversy at the close of the second century, or as the speech of Cyprian at the opening of the Council of Carthage in the middle of the third century? * If the Unitarian impeach the doctrine of the Trinity as an invention of Justin Martyr, no where received in the Church before the Council of Nice, what intellectual acuteness can we substitute for the laborious research which has collected into one volume all the testimonies of all the Antenicene Fathers in support of that doctrine? We admit that Unitarianism is a puny heresy, we know that Unitarians have themselves publicly complained of their diminished number, and we are well aware that its modern advocates have added nothing to the arguments advanced by its first inventors; and it is for this very reason that we would encourage the study of the early Fathers. So long as their assailants are not ashamed to repeat sophistries so often refuted, and misrepresentations so often exposed, let not the defenders of the faith be ashamed to have recourse again and again to the sources whence those refutations and exposures have been drawn—to the historical testimony of the Apostolical Fathers, and to the argumentative writings of Athanasius and Basil. It is asked why, when we have the word of God for our guide, should we consume our time upon the Fathers? But has it never occurred to these objectors to ask what proof have we of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament? How do we know that these Scriptures are the word of God?

It is not, indeed, common to deny the value of the historical testimony borne by the Fathers to the doctrines of the Primitive Church, although we shall presently see that Mr. Hampden is among the few instances of those who do. But this commendation is very generally met by an enumeration of some minor objections, founded on the laxity of their scriptural interpretation, on the disagreement on questions both of doctrine and practice which existed between the eastern and western churches, and on the different and even opposite opinions which at different times the same writers have expressed on the same subjects. It cannot be

* Those of our readers who desire to see a good specimen of ingenious distortion of facts will do well to turn to Dr. Milner's *End of Religious Controversy*, Letter 46, "On the Pope's Supremacy."

denied that the Fathers did indulge to an unnecessary and unwarrantable extent in the figurative interpretation of Scripture; at the same time, however, it must not be forgotten that later ages have furnished us with commentaries, which forbid us to apply this censure exclusively to the authors of the earlier ages. This subject has been amply discussed by Mr. Conybeare in the *Bampton Lectures* of 1824. In speaking of the advancement of sound criticism at the Reformation, he says—"La Place (Placcæus), on the contrary, (better known, perhaps, from his opinions concerning original sin,) has left us a typical exposition of part of the Book of Genesis, which for unrestrained licence of allegory is fully equal to any part of the patristical commentaries,"* He describes the system of interpretation adopted by Cocceius in opposition to Grotius as "a system of mystical and spiritual exposition and application, almost equally vague and licentious, if not equally mischievous, with that of Origen and his wildest followers."† He speaks of the partiality which this system experienced during the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and adds—"It is certainly among the leading, though not perhaps altogether the most valuable characteristics of Vitringa, of Lampe and of Venema, that they adhere closely on this point to the spirit of Cocceius."‡ He traces the continuation of this practice in the writings of the puritans at the time of the Rebellion, whose "abuse of the sacred text became as it were a by-word and a proverb,"§—in "the habit of unrestrained indulgence in spiritual and mystical exposition,"|| retained by the later advocates of Calvinism or Independency,—and in "the most liberal and most uncritical profusion of mystical and spiritual meanings affixed to the general text by the pious and ingenious, though highly fanciful supporters of the Hutchinsonian tenets."¶ It is, we think, clearly established by Mr. Conybeare's able work that this licentious interpretation of Scripture is not so peculiarly the characteristic of the Fathers as is too commonly supposed; and that "it is the grossest want of candour and truth to affirm or insinuate that the early Fathers always argue in this lax and inconsiderate manner." We moreover maintain that this laxity is not in inquiring into the belief of the Primitive Church of that vital importance assigned to it, "Although in these expositions of Holy Writ we condemn the want of judgment and sobriety, though we regret the handle which has thus been given to the attacks of the infidel and the scoffer, we should not forget that the passages thus perverted are in scarcely a single instance applied to the illustration of any doctrines but those which were

* Page 251, note.

§ Page 286.

† Page 264.

|| Page 290.

‡ Page 267.

¶ Page 291.

*held by the Universal Church, and which are capable of most ample and demonstrative proof from other sources."**

Again, it is frequently alleged that the eastern and western churches disagreed very materially on questions both of doctrine and of practice. Neither do we altogether deny this charge; we have already referred to the Paschal controversy at the close of the third century. In this we have an instance of a disagreement in the practice of the two Churches, which had been continually growing from the time that Polycarp had discussed the question at Rome in the middle of the second century, till it was finally settled at the Council of Nice, at the beginning of the fourth. That they differed on points of doctrine is proved by the contest which arose in the third century between the Roman and African Churches, concerning the validity of baptism administered by heretics. It is also true that some of the Fathers have, at different times, expressed different opinions on the same subjects. Thus Jerome declares that Origen, in a letter to Fabianus, expressed his regret at some of his former writings. "*Ipse Origenes in Epistola quam scribit ad Fabianum Romanæ urbis Episcopum, pœnitentiam agit cur talia scripserit;*"† and Augustine has left an example of modesty which might have been well followed in later times, in his *Retractations*, written in his old age, in which he has collected and confessed all his early errors. Nor is this the utmost extent to which this objection may be pressed. The instance of Tertullian may be cited to prove that some of the greatest Fathers have not been free from the taint of heresy. "What reliance, it may be asked, can we place upon the judgment, or even upon the testimony, of Tertullian, who could be deluded into a belief of the extravagant pretensions of Montanus? or what advantage can the theological student derive from reading the works of so credulous and superstitious an author?" "These are questions," says Bishop Kaye, "easily asked and answered without hesitation by men who take the royal road to theological knowledge; who, either through want of the leisure, or impatience of the labour, requisite for the examination of the writings of the Fathers, find it convenient to conceal their ignorance under an air of contempt. . . . The assertion may appear paradoxical, but is nevertheless true, that the value of Tertullian's writings to the theological student arises, in a great measure, from his errors. When he became a Montanist, he set himself to expose what he deemed faulty in the practice and discipline of the Church: thus we are told indirectly what that practice and that discipline were;

* Page 100.

† Quoted in *Dallæus de Vero Usu Patrum*, cap. 7, lib. 1.

and we obtain information which, but for his secession from the Church, his works would scarcely have supplied.*

It may be urged that the Fathers advocated doctrines which we expressly repudiate; that Tertullian declared the profession of a military life incompatible with the duties of a Christian; that Justin Martyr and others of the Fathers believed in the inspiration of the Sibylline oracles; that the doctrine of a millennium was received by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian. But to what do all these objections amount? To the simple proof that the Fathers were not infallible. Are therefore all books except the Bible to be forbidden, because the Bible alone is infallible? "*Veterum librorum quod summam esse et infallibilem auctoritatem negavimus, non ideo nullum esse usum negavimus. Si id solum in religione conduceret quod est infallibile, nullius scripti humani ullus esset usus. Auctorum qui nostro seculo, aut paulo ante, scripserunt nulla est apud utroque auctoritas. Leguntur tamen eorum opera et quidem magno cum fructu. Quanto utilior erit Patrum lectio, quorum multo quam recentium major plerumque est, certe testatior et manifestior, pietas atque eruditio.*"† In addition to this it may be observed, that these very discrepancies furnish us with the most undeniable proof of the independence of the Fathers; and in proportion as the instances of their disagreement on minor points are multiplied, so is the weight of the concurrent testimony which they bear to the fundamental articles of our faith increased. "The great profit which may arise from the study of their works, is rather that we may gather from them what were the opinions and the practice of the whole body of the Church, in the times wherein they lived; than that any one of these writers is safely to be followed in all his assertions."‡ But there is also another profit besides that mentioned by Bishop Horsley;—the great moral improvement which cannot fail to attend the study of these works. While we would recommend them to the polemical divine as the archives of the faith of the primitive Church, we would as strongly recommend them to the practical divine as models of piety and of pure and undefiled religion. No man who so reads them can fail to derive improvement; while he takes heed unto the doctrine, he will learn also to take heed unto himself, that in doing this he may both save himself and them that hear him.

"There is one excellence," says Mr. Hampden, "that the earlier Fathers possess in the contrast with the later,—a far more valuable excellence

* Bishop Kaye's *Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries*, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian. 2d edit. p. 36, 38.

† Dallæus, lib. ii. cap. 6.

‡ Bishop Horsley's *Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Second Letter*. Part II., cap. 1 299.

indeed than that of mere exactness of theological statement,—the greater piety, and Christian spirit, of some of the primitive Christian Fathers, as compared with some of the later, whose authority is chiefly employed in the Church. Had the reverence to antiquity been rested on this ground, no complaint could have been made. It is as if we were drinking of the pure fountain, near its rise, before it was rendered turbid in its passage into the world.”*

It will be seen from this extract, that Mr. Hampden questions the authority of the early Fathers. “To me it matters little,” he elsewhere says, “what opinion on the subject” (the doctrine of the Trinity) “has been prior, has been advocated by the shrewdest wit or deepest learning, has been most popular, most extensive in its reception.”—p. 149. This subject is discussed at length in the Eighth Lecture, p. 354—363. His conclusion is as follows:—

“From these considerations it may be concluded, that the principle is at least a very doubtful one, which would lead us to ascribe any peculiar authority, in the decision of religious truth, to the declarations of the primitive Christian writers; Christian writers, I say, as distinct from the inspired authors, to whom alone that deference is due.”†

But what are these considerations from which this conclusion is drawn?

“No universality or ubiquity can make that divine which never was such. It is a mere prejudice of veneration for antiquity, and the imposing aspect of an unanimous acquiescence, if unanimous it really be, which make us regard that as truth, which comes so recommended to us. Truth is rather the attribute of the few than of the many. The real Church of God may be the small remnant, scarcely visible amidst the mass of surrounding professors. Who, then, shall pronounce any thing to be divine truth, *simply because* it has the marks of having been generally or universally received among men?”‡

But, we ask, who among Protestants *does* pronounce any thing to be divine truth, *simply because* it has these marks about it? It may be very true that Tertullian declares “that whatever is originally established as a point of doctrine is therefore true; whatever has subsequently arisen is corrupt;”§ it may be very true that Vincent of Lirin proclaimed “the test of orthodoxy” to be, “that a doctrine should have been believed in all places, and in all times, and by all men; and any doctrine, accordingly, which does not bear these marks of catholicity, must be heretical;”§ but we deny the assertion that “this principle is current in the language of Protestants:”§ and in support of our denial we may go back to the days of Hooker, and quote his appeal to Augustine him-

* Lect. viii., p. 361.

‡ p. 356.

† p. 363.

§ p. 354.

self, as a man "resolute in points of Christianity, to credit none, how godly and learned soever he were, unless he confirmed his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them." (Book ii. 4.) We may come down to our own days and cite the words of Bishop Van Mildert, in a sermon on the "Inquiry how far the success of Religion is a proof that it comes from God." "These few observations may suffice to show, that Gamaliel's position, however wise and just, is capable of misapplication. It is misapplied, whenever it is urged without reference to some other criterion of truth; when it is brought forward with an intent to supersede the rational investigation of those evidences which are the direct and proper proofs of a Divine Revelation; when it is prematurely relied upon, in consequence of some local, temporary, sudden, or partial success; or, when it presumptuously magnifies the result of the busy and persevering efforts of human agents into a proof of more than human energy."*

We take this opportunity of apologizing (if apology is necessary), for the frequent occurrence of quotations in this article; it is not because we wish to "guard against the appearance of proposing any thing new,—any thing that does not admit of being traced up to some received opinion;" ("the suspicion of originality" is any thing but "fatal to the character of the *modern* divine,") but because we are always glad to support our opinions and often to express them in the words of some author distinguished for his researches into the particular question that may be before us.

But let us turn to another of the considerations which have led to this conclusion. "Were we to endeavour, indeed, to form a system of divinity out of these writers, it would be found necessary to explain away many of their positions and expressions, in order to bring them into accordance with the admitted truths of Scripture." (359) We confess our surprise at this remark. The chief, if not the sole object of Mr. Hampden's lectures, is to show the evil tendency of the scholastic method of system-making, and yet is it alleged as an imperfection in the early Fathers, that no such systems can be formed out of their writings. And again we ask, who wishes to form any such system out of their writings? We must protest against any such principle being considered current, at least among Protestants. We will at once state what we conceive to be the principle adopted by Protestants upon this subject. The antiquity and universality of any doctrine is a *presumptive evidence of its truth*. Whatever was universally received by the early Fathers is entitled, from this

* Bp. Van Mildert's Sermons, preached at Lincoln's Inn. 2nd. edit., Sermon 2, vol. i. p. 25.

cause alone, to attentive examination. This is the deference due to antiquity. "The accordance of any doctrine with the admitted truths of Scripture," is *the proof of its truth*. Whatever is read therein, or may be proved thereby, is from this cause alone required to be believed as an article of the Faith. This is the reverence due to the word of God. The church of England has nothing to do with the opinions and tests of Vincent of Lirins. She has expressly declared that the churches of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, and of Antioch have erred no less than the church of Rome, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith. Art. xix.

Another of these considerations is the imperfect state of the language of those distant ages.

"Not only was *the early Christian literature generally defective*; but the language itself, in which Christian doctrines should be expressed, was yet to be formed. To seek accordingly among the earlier Fathers of the church for authorities by which conflicting doctrines may be decided, is often only to embarrass ourselves with an unsettled phraseology, or to extort from words a sense which they could not have at the time when they were written."

It is hardly credible that Mr. Hampden should have so strangely forgotten the description which he has himself given of these very Fathers in his first lecture.

"The course of events in the early history of the Church, seemed to be eminently favourable towards the preponderance of the Greeks. Theirs were the churches immediately founded by the Apostles. Theirs was the language of the sacred books and of philosophy. Theirs, with a few exceptions, were the Apologies by which Christianity defended itself against the assaults of the Jew or the Pagan in the first centuries. It was their writers who took the lead, in *systematizing the doctrines of the faith*, and allied them with philosophy. It was their bishops who took the ostensible part in the great councils of the first four centuries, and the first half of the fifth. In the course of that period, too, occur the names of all the most illustrious Fathers of the Greek Church, Justin Martyr, Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Chrysostom; men of acute and eloquent genius, as well as of intrepid energy. Still the efforts of the Greeks may all be characterized as — *eminently literary*; (!) as *philosophical defences and expositions of the faith*, more than practical energies in its behalf."

Among the Latin clergy of the same period, he says,

"We see in Jerome and Augustine, at once *the rigour of logicians*, *the comprehensive views of philosophers*, the persuasiveness of orators, the command of political leaders."—pp. 15, 16.

Nothing but the love of maintaining a theory, and the warmth of attachment to those writers of the middle ages, whom he has more particularly studied, could have betrayed Mr. Hampden into so palpable a contradiction.

To analyze a book, which is itself a very concise analysis of all the numerous theological systems of the middle ages, is manifestly impossible. We cannot, therefore, enter into any detailed examination of Mr. Hampden's lectures; but must content ourselves with noticing some detached passages in different parts of the book. In the first lecture, Mr. Hampden expresses his surprise "that whenever the history of religious opinion has attracted attention, curiosity should rather have been directed to the effects of Platonism, than to those of the more established Aristotelic philosophy," and he considers this fact more particularly remarkable in the members of the University of Oxford, to whom the inquiry into the Aristotelic philosophy peculiarly recommends itself. He attempts to account for this phenomenon, on the consideration that "Platonism has been more arrogant in its pretensions: it has aspired, not to modify, but to supersede Christian truth." We should assign a different cause. It must be remembered that these pretensions were first asserted by the later Platonists. It was not till the commencement of the third century that Ammonius Saccas invented the device that "the doctrines of Jesus Christ had been anticipated by Plato."* But we do not resort to any consideration of this sort, to account for the curiosity excited. The theological student, in examining the history of the Church, would of course commence with the first promulgation of Christianity, as described in the sacred records; he would then continue his researches through the successive ages, and about the middle of the third century he would arrive at the revival of the Aristotelian philosophy by Anatolius.† Up to this period he would find but little mention of Aristotle; but he would meet with heresies enough, and more than enough, to arouse his attention, and from the days of Simon Magus, who usurped the name God the Father,‡ to the days of Manes, who announced himself as that second Comforter, who should guide mankind into all truth;—from the Gnosticism of the first century, to the Manichæism of the third, he would everywhere recognise the features of Platonism, the chief corner-stone of heresy. It is not then by the arrogant pretensions of Platonism, that the theological student is induced to trace its course, but by its inseparable connection with those errors which first checked the progress of the Gospel. If he would inquire into the heresies, nay, if he would investigate the faith of the immediate successors of the Apostles, he *must* be acquainted with the opinions of the earlier Platonists. Numerous instances of

* See Burton's *Ecclesiastical History of Second and Third Centuries*, pp. 115, 295.

† Burton, *Lect.* 27, p. 395.

‡ Tertull. *de Anima*.

the influence of Platonism, even in much later times, might be adduced from Mr. Hampden's lectures. For instance, in his inquiry into the moral philosophy of the schoolmen, (Lect. vi.), his words are: "The writings of Aristotle being long lost to the world soon after his death, the more established system of Plato maintained its ground on this as on other points of philosophy," (p. 270); and in describing the peculiar effects imparted to ethica by the method of the schools, "I would observe," he says, "that here also, as in the purely speculative part of their system they united the precision and detail of Aristotle's ethical system, with the fundamental doctrines of Plato. They have taken, that is, as their great principle, Plato's theological account of the Chief Good," (p. 278).

And again,

"So far, indeed, as Philosophy was owned by the Church, the Platonism of Alexandria was the ascendant system. The piety of Platonism, its abstractedness from the visible world, its elevation of the moral sentiments, recommended it forcibly to the imagination and the feelings of the contemplative theologian. It appeared eminently, in contrast with other systems, a knowledge of Divine things; a knowledge which led the mind to 'acquaint itself with God, and be at peace.' The Aristotelic philosopher was regarded as a profane intruder, bringing the noisy jargon of the world into a sanctuary, where every thought and feeling should be hushed in holy contemplation. The busy spirit of the Latin Churchman was a strong counteraction to this mysticism. Still the expressed partiality of Augustine for the philosophy of Plato, combined with the invectives against Aristotle, thrown out from time to time, had established that philosophy, in name at least, as the orthodox system of the Western Church."—Lect. ii. p. 61.

It is impossible that this all-pervading principle should be overlooked. How much more then would the curiosity be excited, should it be found that even the Apostles themselves were not exempt from its influence,—should Mr. Hampden's conjecture be correct, that Saint Paul's words to the Romans—"the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made"—were perhaps borrowed from the Platonic philosophy. We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Hampden, that it is "strange" that men's attention should have been more generally directed to the Platonic philosophy, and we can only attribute his surprise to "that *αλαζονεία*, as Aristotle calls it, which extends to an extravagant degree the province of the art which he professes."*

"The origin of the scholastic philosophy carries back our inquiry to the causes of the ascendancy obtained by the Latin clergy over the Greek. The establishment of the Papal power of Rome was in itself

* Whateley's *Rhetoric*, p. 11.

among the effects of that ascendancy—the consummation to which it led. The real ground of that power lay more deeply than in the temporal advantages which the see of Rome possessed, or in the successful policy of its bishops. The continuance of the papal power amidst its rapid transition through the hands of successive bishops, and these also often individuals not distinguished by their talents or their general merits in the ecclesiastical body, argues the stability and perpetuity of a principle upholding that power, and guarding it against the casualties of personal imbecility and worthlessness. This principle was the predominant influence of the Latin clergy.”—p. 14.

We agree with Mr. Hampden that the *continuance* of the Papal power is to be ascribed to the predominant influence of the Latin clergy. But in the explanation of the *origin* of that influence, we differ from him *toto calo*. Mr. Hampden considers that to have arisen from the peculiar style of the writings of the Latin Fathers; from the *practical* character by which they are distinguished from the *sophistical* writings of the Greeks. We must quote one or two passages in proof of this statement of Mr. Hampden's argument.

“The course of events in the early history of the Church, seemed to be eminently favourable towards the preponderance of the Greeks. Theirs were the Churches immediately founded by the Apostles. Theirs was the language of the sacred books of philosophy.” . . . “Contrast, on the other hand, the labours of the Latin Clergy during the same period. The practical character here shows itself as the prominent feature; the literary or philosophical being entirely subordinate to it.” —pp. 15, 16.

“An important difference is to be observed further between the Greek and Latin controversialists; and one which considerably affected the character of the Latins, in that point of view, to which I have been directing your attention, in order to account for the eventual triumph of the Latin theology. The Greek was by education a sophist in the proper sense of that term. His business was philosophy. But the Latin divines of the early centuries were chiefly of the class of orators, or rhetoricians, by profession.” . . . “We may clearly perceive a different character of the earlier Latin theology, as contrasted with the Greek of the same period, in this respect. The Latin flows on more diffusively, more irregularly, more rhetorically, in a word, in his style of argumentation; dwells on a point which he thinks strong, without scrupling to recur to it and insist on it; and is far less exact in the meaning which he annexes to the terms employed. The Greek, indeed, shows himself also a rhetorician; rhetoric being a branch of his universal philosophy. But he is principally engaged in illustrating some tenet of philosophy, and applying it to Christian doctrine. He is more logical than the Latin, in this sense, that he is intent rather in proving that something which he maintains is true, than of enforcing a belief in it. This, I observe, is the general character of contrast: whilst we shall occasionally find the Greek assuming the office of the advocate, and the

Latin that of the sophist. In the schools established by the Emperor Valentinian, in the middle of the fourth century, throughout the Roman empire, we find the same contrast in the means of education provided for the study of the two languages:—"p. 24, 26. "The same practical character of the Latin divines was illustrated in the nature of the monastic institutions of the West, compared with those of the East."—p. 28. "I have dwelt considerably on the ascendancy of the Latin Church, and the practical character which it evidenced in contrast with the oriental; as I conceive that the account of this influence of the Latins is the true view of the origin of the scholastic philosophy historically."—p. 29.

From these passages it is sufficiently obvious that one of the principal objects of the first lecture is to point out this distinction between the Greek and Latin Fathers; to trace from this distinction "the ascendancy obtained by the Latin clergy over the Greek;" to deduce from this ascendancy "the origin of the scholastic philosophy and the establishment of the Papal power of Rome;" and that it is in this sense that "the real ground of that power" is said to "lie more deeply than in the temporal advantages which the see of Rome possessed, or in the successful policy of its bishops." We shall not stop to determine whether or not this distinction is so palpable as it ought to be to justify such extensive deductions, (after the very conflicting opinions which Mr. Hampden has given concerning the merits and demerits of the early Fathers, we may be pardoned for questioning the existence of so nice a distinction); but whether it be so or not, we cannot look upon the discovery as anything more than a new way of accounting for an historical fact, the explanation of which had not till now required any extraordinary ingenuity. It would seem that the temporal advantages and the successful policy of the Bishops of Rome do not afford a sufficiently philosophical view of the case for modern inquirers. We prefer the old version; and for the following reasons:—because we find Stephen, Bishop of Rome, in the middle of the second century, severely rebuked by Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea, for asserting his claim to supremacy on the ground of his being the successor of St. Peter. "Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit."* This letter, observe, was written between A. D. 260 and 266. Now it is perfectly evident, that however prominent the practical character of a book may be, some years must elapse before that peculiarity can produce any susceptible effect upon the general views and habits of thought throughout a large and widely dis-

* Firmilian. Epist. p. 148; quoted in Burton's second and third Cent. p. 363, n.

persed community. This would be the case even in these our days ; much more then must it have been so when there was no printing, which now sends forth its 1000 copies for less than the original cost of one. The writings, therefore, of Tertullian and of Minutius Felix, which were not then fifty years old, could not yet have caused any great change in the opinions and feelings of the Church ; and much less could the works of Cyprian, who himself took a leading part in that controversy. This appears to us conclusive against Mr. Hampden's theory. The supremacy of the Roman see was unequivocally asserted on the ground of its "temporal advantages" alone, the works of Tertullian and Minutius being the only Latin writings of any repute then extant. But if any doubt can still remain upon the question whether or not the ascendancy of the Latin clergy is to be attributed to the practical nature of the Latin writings, that doubt may be instantly removed by reference to the excommunication of the African Bishops by Victor, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 198, at which time there could not have been more than a very few works of Tertullian, and none of any other Latin Father of note, whether practical or not, in existence.

To enumerate all the acts of aggression by which the Roman Church acquired her universal dominion, or even to give anything like a summary of them, is manifestly impossible here. Some, however, of the steps by which she arrived at that power are of too decisive a character to be altogether overlooked. We find that at the division of the Roman empire, in the fourth century, the Church was also divided, that it might in some degree correspond with the new disposal of the civil power. The Eastern and Western Churches were divided each into two prefectures and seven dioceses. The same order and rank were assigned to each bishopric as had been assigned to the city which gave its name to the see ; an arrangement approved of by the canons. Thus the ancient city of Rome was first in rank, the metropolis of the empire, and *therefore obtained the first order*. The second order was given to New Rome or Constantinople, the third to Alexandria, the fourth to Antioch. In the fifth century, A. D. 445, the primacy was first conferred upon the Roman Church by Valentinian III. "The reasons assigned for it," says Spanheim, "were the *authority derived from St. Peter*, the dignity of the city, and the bishop's synodal authority." During the following century we read of frequent contests between the Roman and Constantinopolitan Bishops concerning the right of assuming the title of œcumenical or universal bishop, which had been hitherto borne by both. Nor did these controversies subside till at the commencement of the seventh century this title was formally

conferred upon Boniface the Third, by Phocas, Emperor of the East. And towards the close of the same century, we are told that the tribute usually paid to the Emperor on the election of the Bishops of Rome was resigned by Constantine Vth., a favour little short of the public recognition of the independence of the Roman Church. Succeeding Emperors did indeed resist the claim, but resisted in vain. Surely these few but remarkable facts may convince us that the true origin of the exorbitant power of the Roman Church is to be sought for in her historical rather than in her doctrinal writings.

The object of the second Lecture is to trace the "Formation of the Scholastic Theology." Mr. Hampden commences by noticing "the evil of a Logical Theology;—the mischief arising from the purely *logical* character of the speculation."

"If it be inquired then, why a Logical Theology should be injurious to the cause of Christian truth, we must seek an account of the case, not in the association of any particular truths of human reason with those of revelation, *but in the simple fact of the irrelevance of all deduction of consequences to the establishment of religious doctrine.* The Scripture intimates to us certain facts concerning the Divine Being: but conveying them to us by the medium of language, it only brings them before us darkly, under the signs appropriate to the thoughts of the human mind. And though this kind of knowledge is abundantly instructive to us in point of sentiment and action; teaches us, that is, both how to feel, and how to act, towards God;—for it is the language that we understand, the language formed by our own experience and practice;—it is altogether inadequate in point of Science. The most perfect reasonings founded on the terms of theological propositions, amount only to evidences of the various connexions of the signs employed. We may obtain by such reasonings, greater precision in the use of those signs. But the most accurate conclusion still wants a key to interpret it. *There must be in fact a repeated violation, to authorize us to assert, that this or that conclusion represents to us some truth concerning God.*"—p. 54.

"The tendency of the whole system which we have been reviewing, was, to erect Theology into a perfect science. It set out with the design of enabling the Christian, when assailed on points of heresy, or perplexed with questionings as to truths simply proposed to his belief, to give a reason of the doctrines of his faith. Assuming that matters of faith might become matters of understanding to those who believed; it attempted to establish, by processes of reasoning from given principles of Theology, each doctrine of Religion, *independently of the sacred authority on which it rests in the Scripture.* Arguments, proposed originally as answers to an opponent, and availing properly only as solutions of particular objections, or refutations of particular statements, were applied as grounds of evidence for the establishment of the truth universally. And thus a vast collection of principles was obtained, from which conclusions in Theology might be drawn. At length Theology rose into a regular

demonstrative science, built up on axioms of metaphysics, and cohering in all its parts by the cement of logical connexion."—p. 77.

These two passages contain Mr. Hampden's general statement of the evils attendant on the Scholastic system, and the cause to which those evils are to be attributed. It must be admitted that the schoolmen did indulge to an unpardonable extent in speculative Theology: "*Sacra tamen doctrina*," says Aquinas, "*magis est speculativa quam practica*."* Nor is it too much to say, with Mr. Hampden, that the schoolmen were occupied in nothing but in proposing doubts and determining questions; "in finding out what might be unanswerably affirmed, rather than what is the fact and the truth of things:"—"ever learning but never coming to the knowledge of the truth." We are willing also to admit that this excessive systematizing of Theology may have been founded upon the principle assumed by Mr. Hampden. But we cannot agree to his unreserved denunciation of that principle, we cannot admit "the irrelevance of all deduction of consequences to the establishment of religious doctrine." The Church of England, in its sixth Article, clearly recognises the truth, not only of whatever may be read in the Scriptures, but of what may be proved thereby. And the church of England is supported in this doctrine by the authority of Christ himself, when he confuted the Sadducees out of their own Scriptures, proving that there is a resurrection of the dead. "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," are words which convey but a very indistinct intimation of a future state. And yet did our Lord select these words to silence the unreasonable objections of those who said "that there is no resurrection." We do not, therefore, concur with Mr. Hampden, in utterly rejecting all deductions from Scripture—it is the abuse of this principle which has caused so much mischief in the church. In other places Mr. Hampden seems in some measure to admit the validity of the principle, and to attribute the evils to the misapplication or abuse of it. For instance, in comparing the Pelagian with the Trinitarian controversy, he says,

"The disputes on the Trinity, indeed, more properly belonged, in principle, to Christianity; as, on the other hand, the Pelagian Controversies, in principle, belonged to Philosophy. But, in the discussions of the former, Christianity was almost forgotten in the philosophical spirit with which they were pursued. And so, in the discussions of the latter, *the proper philosophical arguments, by which the truths respecting Divine and Human Agency might have been fairly appreciated*, were neglected; and points of abstract inquiry were decided by their probable effect on human practice." Lect. iv. p. 161.

* S. Theol. Pars i. Q. 1.

And in the second Lecture he says,

"If now we regard the Scripture in the way of the Schoolmen, as having God for their proper subject, instead of reading them as a Divine history of man, we naturally neglect the analogies of times and circumstances. The immutability of the Divine Being, in the contemplation of whom, we are then exclusively engaged, is the prevailing object of our inquiry. Distinctions of time lose all their importance in this point of view. *Our business is, to collect into one theory every scattered intimation of the Divine being and attributes.*

"If, on the contrary, we take the nature and condition of man under Divine Providence, as the great subject of our sacred books, we are as naturally led to study the facts recorded in the Scripture in their real historical place. We then seek to learn, what man has been at the infancy, and at the maturity, of his condition in the world; how he has been treated by his Creator at different periods, and how he has responded to that treatment. Hence results an historical theology, a register as it were of the religious conduct of man under the government of God; and consequently *principles of the Divine character and Government applicable to the future direction of our lives.* Such, however, was not the method of the Schoolmen. *They inverted the process and commenced with those notions in which they should have ended their inquiry.*"—p. 89.

The last sentence is an admission of the soundness of the principle. The distinction is not, indeed, very clearly drawn between the two methods of inquiry. In the one "*our business is to collect into one theory every scattered intimation of the Divine Being and attributes;*" in the other the result is, a register of the "*principles of the Divine character and government applicable to the future direction of our lives.*" The distinction, as we understand it, is, that in the latter case we, at the same time, investigate the being and attributes of God, and the conduct and character of man; while in the former, the sole object of the inquiry is the nature of God. There can be no doubt of the fearful evils which must arise from the mode of proceeding adopted by the schoolmen; but it is clear that the error springs from the partial application, not from the unsoundness of the principle. Had they applied the same method to the elucidation of practical instead of speculative opinions, we should never have heard of "the irrelevance of all deductions of consequences to the establishment of religious truth."

Among other mischievous effects resulting from the scholastic system, Mr. Hampden frequently recurs to the dangers attendant on the unscriptural phraseology, which, invented during the disputes and controversies of the middle ages, has long survived those disputes, and is perpetuated in the formularies of the Church.

"If then it should appear that the scholastic philosophy was in its fundamental character a logical theology, the nature of that evil which it has imported into religion will be sufficiently apparent; and antecedently to our entering into the examination of particular points, the reason will be seen in general of that vast apparatus of technical terms which Christian theology now exhibits. It will appear that whilst theologians of the schools have thought they were establishing religious truth by elaborate argumentation, they have been only multiplying and arranging a theological language."—Lect. ii. p. 55.

A striking instance of this is adduced from the discussions on the doctrine of the Trinity.

"The disputation in its progress turned upon the point, how far difference might be asserted consistently with that sameness which constituted the Divine Unity of Being or Substance. It was inquired, whether the distinction could be rightly expressed by *hypostasis* or *persona*; whether the ideas involved in one or the other of these terms did not import too express and real, or too shadowy a distinction. The difficulty here was, to avoid distinguishing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in such a way as to represent them differing as three angels, or three men, differ from each other, and yet to preserve the real distinctions. Dialectical science furnished the expedients in this difficulty, and established that peculiar phraseology which we now use in speaking of the Sacred Trinity as three Persons and one God."—Lect. iii. p. 130.

And again—

"The schoolmen are express in pointing out, after Augustine, that the term (*persona*) was adopted, not to express any definite notion, but to make some answer *where silence would have been better*—to denote by some term what has no suitable word to express it."—p. 133.

And when speaking of the different opinions that have been held on the doctrine of Justification, he says—

"We may learn from these extremes, that *the more indistinct our language is on this sacred subject*, the less of theoretic principle it embodies in it, the more closely do we imbibe the true spirit of Protestantism—the more faithfully do we walk in the path of that Holy Spirit, whose 'ways are in the deep,' and whose 'footsteps are not known.'"—Lect. v. p. 257.

Again must we dissent from the extent to which Mr. Hampden has urged his objection. True it is that the extravagant excess to which some of the schoolmen indulged in speculations upon the Being of God, did introduce a mass of terms which were worse than useless to the cause of truth; true it is that they aimed at, and believed that they had attained to faultless precision in these disputations, and thought that *they* had at last succeeded in "finding out the Almighty to perfection." But we would not; on that account, banish from our theological vocabulary all words

not to be found in the Scriptures. It is well observed by Bishop Van Mildert, that it would be hardly possible to substitute for the terms Trinity and Incarnation, any words equally comprehensive and equally plain. It may be justly a cause of regret, that the necessity for their introduction should have ever existed. It were to be wished, that the simplicity of the Primitive Church, whose profession of faith in the blessed Trinity was confined to the baptismal form, had continued to this day. But, "it must needs be that offences come;" and if, in the course of these controversies, "the enticing words of man's wisdom" were sometimes too hastily adopted; if "the faith" was sometimes made to "stand in the wisdom of men," rather than in "the power of God:" we would still exculpate the Church from the blame of having needlessly exposed herself to this danger, and would charge it upon "that man by whom the offence came." It is saying too much to affirm that, in any attack upon the faith, when erroneous doctrines may be rashly advanced and hastily adopted, silence is better than reply; and had the schoolmen always observed the caution which they professed, in explicitly declaring that they did not pretend to give in these discussions any definite notion of the mysteries of the Godhead;—had they never resorted to these philosophical refinements for the purpose of indulging a prurient imagination, "to give a reason of these doctrines of the faith," but to expose the unreasonableness and to silence the objections of the artful sceptic—they would have done the Church much service. We fully concur in Mr. Hampden's complaints, so far as they affect only those writers who, like Gregory Nazianzen,* not only "assumed the propriety of laying down a definition of the Deity, and proceeded from that to the demonstration," but also "professed not to rest the proof of the point on mere undemonstrated faith, but on exact argument." We do not, however, learn from this extreme to run into the other, by asserting that "the more indistinct our language is on these sacred subjects, the more closely do we imbibe the true spirit of Protestantism." We think that the true mean has been much more nearly approached in the words of Augustine. "*Disputationis disciplina ad omnia genera quæstionum quæ in literis sanctis sunt, penetranda et dissolvenda, plurimum valet: tamen ibi cavenda est libido rixandi, et puerilis quædam ostentatio decipiendi adversarium.*"† (August. de Doctr.

* Quoted in note B. to Lect. ii.

† Had not Mr. Hampden inserted this passage in the original immediately under his own translation, he would, we think, have exposed himself to the charge of unfairness in the following interpretation: "And yet the great father of Latin orthodoxy, Augustine, expressly directs the Christian student to acquaint himself with the discipline of disputation, the logic or dialectic of those times; characterizing it, as available for 'the

Christ. lib. ii. c. 31.) These remarks apply, with equal force, to the defence of creeds and public formularies. We must not, however, conceal the fact, that whatever may have been said in the third and fifth lectures on the benefits resulting from total silence, and from an indistinct phraseology, is well counteracted by the admissions in the eighth, where Mr. Hampden's opinions will appear to coincide very nearly with our own.

"We have seen how doctrines gradually assume their form, by the successive impressions of controversy. The facts of Scripture remain the same through all ages, under all variations of opinions among men. Not so the theories raised upon them. They have floated on the stream of speculation. One heresiarch after another has proposed his modification. The doctrine, so stated, has obtained more or less currency, according to its coincidence with received notions on other subjects,—according to the influence possessed by its patrons, or their obstinacy against persecution. Nearly the whole of Christendom was, at one time, Arian in profession. At one time Pelagianism seemed to be the ascendant creed of the Church. In such a state of things, it was impossible for the Scriptural Theologian, even if not himself susceptible of the seductive force of a logical philosophy, to refrain from mingling in the conflict of argument. *Orthodoxy was forced to speak the divine truth, in the terms of heretical speculation; if it were only to guard against the novelties which the heretic had introduced.* It was the necessity of the case that compelled the orthodox, as themselves freely admit, to employ a phraseology, by which, as experience proves, the naked truth of God has been overborne and obscured."—Lect. viii. p. 376.

"The use and importance then of dogmatic theology are to be estimated from its relation to the Social Profession of Christianity. It is, in regard to Christianity, what political institutions are in regard to the social principles of our nature. As these principles are the real conservative causes of human society, and political institutions are the supports and auxiliaries; so are the dogmas of Theology, enforcements by external barriers, of the saving, quickening truths of the Gospel. The imperfection of man is equally the occasion of both. Were all men just, the social instincts would develop themselves, without the artificial methods of civil government. So, were all the humble disciples of Christ, Christian sentiment would speak in its own accents, and not be constrained to learn the foreign tongue of technical Theology. The case appears to be this—the agreement of a community in certain views of Scripture-facts is presupposed. The problem before the Dogmatic Theologian is, to preserve that agreement entire; to guard it from a latitudinarianism which would virtually annul it; and to prevent its dissolution by innovators, either within or without the religious society. The anathemas of Creeds and Councils can only be justified on this ground. They are the penalties of social Religion."—p. 383.

penetration and solution of all kinds of questions in 'sacred literature;' and *only* cautioning against 'a passion for wrangling, and a childish sort of ostentation of deceiving an adversary.'" Lect. ii. p. 58.

Another opinion is advanced in the third lecture, which we cannot pass without some few observations.

"When once the principle is recognised, that a doctrine must be defended from all the consequences deducible from it, there is no extravagance of theory which the disputant may not be forced to adopt for the sake of saving his original hypothesis."—Lect. iii. p. 120.

This opinion is in some measure connected with that which we have already noticed, that "all deduction of consequences is irrelevant to the establishment of religious doctrine." The question which we have now to examine is first agitated in the third lecture, but is more fully discussed in the eighth. We therefore refer to that lecture, in which, it will be seen, the two opinions are blended together.

"That the principle" (viz. "that whatever is logically deducible in the way of consequence from any given divine truth must also be true") "in itself is most fallacious, must appear from what I have, on a former occasion, stated, respecting the nature of a logical theology. It was shown that the terms of all theological propositions are mere assumptions in their application to theology,—a symbolical language, derived from the operation of the mind about the objects of the natural world. Hence it is evident, that conclusions drawn from these terms are nothing more than further connexions of that symbolical language; and that there the proper use and application of them is terminated. The interpretation of them to denote new facts in the divine scheme of things, is perfectly arbitrary; as hypothetical, indeed, as if we had at once assumed the facts themselves to which we apply them. *It is like starting from an inaccurate algebraic statement, and working out results by the established rules of calculation. It is like making every circumstance in an emblem or metaphor, the ground of scientific deduction.*"—Lect. viii. p. 363.

It is singular that so able a logician as Mr. Hampden should have designated "*divine truth*" as "*an inaccurate algebraic statement*,"—as "*an emblem or metaphor*." If any deduction from divine truth has ever been erroneous, (a proposition which we do not deny,) surely in comparing it with an algebraic process, it would be more correct to say that the error had arisen from some inaccuracy in the formula by which the problem was solved, than to attribute it to the inaccuracy of the original statement,—the inaccuracy of divine truth!

"In the scholastic ages, indeed, theologians looked more to the consequence than to the position itself. The method of theology then pursued, being essentially argumentative, the deep-thoughted eye learned to dive to the lowest point of any given principle, and, with unwearied vision, to seize the most remote deductions, as if they were present on the surface. The heretical disputant in vain fluttered and shifted his position. The serpent-gaze of the subtle logician was still watching the tendency of all his efforts, and bound him by an irresistible fascina-

tion to the spot from which he was anxious to escape. . . . But the great mischief of adopting this rule in theology, appears in the fact, that *no purely scriptural truth can be maintained consistently with its admission*. The theologian who is influenced by it, will be ever solicitous against exposing his doctrine to the censure of the captious objector. What a temptation then is here, to the minute adjustment of doctrines to the cavils of the theorist? The painful pursuit of the dogmatist will be to attain that precise form of expression, which shall obviate, as far as possible, every objection that may be raised from the existing state of knowledge in the different departments of science. He must be prepared to show that this or that notion is implied, or excluded, in his doctrine, as the case may require. Nor is this all. He must be further able to demonstrate, that his collection of doctrines coheres as a system; that no assertion is made on one head that may not be strictly reconciled with another, and with every other."—p. 365.

In all this Mr. Hampden appears to us to have fallen into the same error which he imputes to the schoolmen; that, namely, of having overlooked the important distinction between the truth of opinion and the truth of fact. "It is essential to the truth of opinion, that it be held as variable; that one should be always open to new light,—to new conviction. Whereas a fact of the Gospel is such, that, were an angel from heaven to preach to us any thing different from it, our ears must be stopped to the sound; we must reject it as untrue."—p. 371. We have remarked that the question of the necessity of defending any doctrine from the consequences deducible from it, is in some measure connected with that of "the irrelevance of all deduction of consequences to the establishment of religious doctrine." But the mere fact of the discussion of the former of these two questions seems to us an indirect proof of the abandonment of the latter. For if all deductions are irrelevant to the establishment of religious truth,—if a repeated revelation is required to teach us concerning God any thing not expressly declared in Scripture,—if no words, in short, are capable of conveying the truth, but the *ipsissima verba* of God himself,—then it is a mere waste of time to debate the propriety of defending from the consequences deducible from it a fact, which, being "found expressly written in the Bible, must be regarded, by virtue of its sole and primary existence there, to be ascertained with an evidence to which no further proof can add reality."—p. 371. We need not, however, dwell upon this discrepancy, for in the following quotation Mr. Hampden has openly quitted the position taken up in the second lecture.

"When we have once separated matters of religion into simple facts divinely revealed, *theories of divine truth founded on those facts*, there can be no question of relative importance in what we receive as purely divine. The theology resulting from such an estimate is either

altogether entirely worthy of our acceptance, or is open to the strict examination of our reason as to its probability. Between facts, all of which are admitted to be real signatures of God in his dealings with man, there is no comparison, no choice. All must be equally received and followed as true. It is not for us to decide what instances in the display of God's providences are more or less important. To overlook any one in the construction of a religious system, would be as unphilosophical as it would be impious. But *so far as doctrines are deductive statements*—conclusions drawn from the facts or words of Divine Revelation,—they may be examined by that reason which deduces them. It being granted that they follow, ' (or, to speak more correctly, that they are deduced,) ' from the data of Scripture, it is to be seen whether they are such as ought to have been deduced; whether they have the support of evidence, from their general accordance with Scripture,—from the concurrent opinion of the wise and the unprejudiced,—and from other considerations of this kind. And the degree of evidence, resulting from such considerations, must decide the theological truth and relative importance of such conclusions."—p. 353.

Here it is clearly admitted that "deductive statements, conclusions drawn from the facts or words of Divine Revelation," may be doctrines of religious truth: an admission which, we think, also involves the concession of the other question. For we are required to see "whether they are such as ought to have been deduced." To what test can we submit them? How are we to estimate the evidence which they derive "from their general accordance with Scripture," but by tracing out their consequences? "By their fruits ye shall know them." Religious doctrines are divided by Mr. Hampden into two classes; those which are expressly revealed in the word of God, and those which are deduced from that word. The former are built upon the "truth of fact"—the latter on the "truth of opinion." We do not regard the consequences deducible from the former, because whatever these consequences may be, the doctrines are already impressed with the character of unalterable truth, are already *admitted* to be true. But in examining the latter, the truth of the doctrines is the very point in dispute: and it is by investigating their accordance with those other doctrines which *are* expressly revealed,—an inquiry which necessarily implies a consideration of their speculative consequences,—that we are enabled "to decide the theological truth of such conclusions," and to ascertain whether or not "they are such as ought to have been deduced."

We regret that our space will not allow us to offer any remarks on the theory of Moral Philosophy advanced in lecture vi. Yet even at the risk of being charged with unfairness in not now entering fully into the question, we must express our dissent from the following opinions.

"The assertion may seem strange; but, when it is fully considered, it will, I think, appear that theology and ethics are entirely distinct in their nature,—in the principles, I mean, on which they are based; and that, therefore, to mix up principles of the one with principles of the other, must tend only to confusion of thought and speculative error on each subject. p. 264. . . . Christianity, in fact, leaves ethical science, as such, precisely where it found it: all the duties which ethical science prescribes remain on their own footing; not altered or weakened, but affirmed and strengthened by the association of religion. And, so independent is the science of ethics of the support and the ennobling which it receives from religion, that *it would be nothing strange, or objectionable, in a Revelation, were we to find embodied in its language, much of the false ethical philosophy which systems may have established.* This, I conceive, would appear to those who bear in mind the real distinctness of Religion and Moral Science, nothing more objectionable than the admission into the sacred volume of descriptions involving false theories of Natural Philosophy."—p. 301.

Again, in describing the effects of Monachism, Mr. Hampden says,—

"Let the principle, however, be once established, that the will of another is the supreme law of conduct, and then the like effects will be produced, to what we find under the stern dominion of fatalism among Mahometans. *The same consequences, in kind, follow from taking the will of God as the sole practical guide of conduct; or, which is the same thing, making religion the substitute for morality.* For the error is the same; that of acting on one abstract principle, instead of attending to the several internal laws of our nature, the *whole* law of God written on the heart, by which He instructs us how to do his will."*

In our examination of the volume before us, we have not entered into the different doctrines which Mr. Hampden has introduced in exemplification of the Scholastic Theology, because our limits manifestly preclude us from so extensive an inquiry; but we have noticed several opinions advanced in different parts of the work, and those chiefly which may be regarded rather as general principles than as particular observations on distinct questions. One error appears to pervade them all; that they are pushed to an extravagant length, and thus become liable to interpretations which were probably never contemplated by the author. This, however, is no justification of them, because all this *ought* to have been contemplated. To quote his own character of Augustine; in considering Mr. Hampden simply as a writer, we should be "apt to pronounce him inconsistent, or even contradictory to himself." But we should at the same time think him

"Too acute a logician not to see the speculative consequences of his

* Note A on Lect. vi. p. 512.

own statements—too skilful a rhetorician not to suspect that his own positions might be urged against him. But, at the same time, he had too deep an acquaintance with the practical course of things, not to be aware, that the skill of the logician is not omnipotent over the affairs of life; and that he who would rightly avail himself of men and things, must sometimes be content to *wear that guise of paradox*, which the actual constitution of the world often exhibits in itself.”—p. 21.

We cannot say of him, as he has said of Augustine, that “we do him injustice, when we contemplate him simply as the writer, or the literary debater.” It is a serious objection to these lectures (and the objection is applicable to too many of the Bampton lectures) that they “involve a total disregard of the rhetorical nature of the Scriptures:”—that “every sentiment of holy exhortation, the terrors of rebuke, the winnings of persuasion, the piety of fatherly love, the commands of authority, all disappear, except in the inert tangible material of the words themselves, on which an unfeeling reason may act.” The Bampton Lectures demand a more argumentative style than is adapted to ordinary sermons. But we could name several of great eminence and great utility, which partake much less of that style than the volume before us—none certainly exceed it.

The utility of Mr. Bampton's liberal bequest cannot be questioned. By it men are induced to investigate subjects which might otherwise be overlooked, and to engage in studies which might otherwise be laid aside. The utility however consists in the *publication*, not in the *delivery* of the lectures. And if it is sometimes necessary that the practical part of our religion should be so totally overlooked as it is in the work before us—if the subject selected is one, of importance indeed, but of importance only to make us wiser, not to make us better, we cannot but regret that during so large a portion of the academical year, the university pulpit should be devoted to subjects of so little interest and so little profit to the majority of the hearers. We understand that these lectures are to be suspended for the next two years. If the terms of the bequest do not preclude any such arrangement, it would be well if some other day in the week, instead of Sunday, could be assigned to the Bampton Lectures. The lecturer would still have to preach before the same learned part of his congregation, while the unlearned part of his auditory would not be much thinner than it now is on these occasions.

We shall quote one other passage, to show how well Mr. H. is able to enforce that rhetorical character of the Scriptures, which, in common with the schoolmen, he has unhappily too generally neglected. It is the conclusion of the fourth lecture on the doctrine of Predestination and Grace.

"Could we read the language of the apostle Paul, on which so much stress has been laid, as decisive of this question, without prejudice, without thinking of the volumes of controversy which have been employed on it, or the arguments that we have heard, I feel persuaded, that we should draw no speculative doctrines of Divine Predestination and Grace from his epistles. We should only see the apostle declaring the same fact which all nature and revelation proclaim, that our God is a 'God very nigh unto us;' whose goodness is as unchangeable as his being, and who will surely perfect those counsels of love, in which he gave his Son, from everlasting, the salvation of man. St. Paul's references to the divine agency are all of this character. They suggest to us thoughts of God, on all occasions of our life, in all difficulties of our temporal and spiritual condition. Are we dejected and despairing of our spiritual life? 'God,' we are assured, 'will not forsake his elect, whom he hath foreknown.' He has blessed us; he has mercifully revealed his salvation to us: we have an earnest then, that He, who is unchangeable, has not lightly begun a good work in us, but will most surely accomplish it. 'Why art thou so disquieted, my soul?' says the anxious inquirer. 'Hope thou in the Lord,' is the answer. 'He is thy helper and defender: 'a very present help in time of trouble.' Ascribe your salvation to God, and you rest on a rock which the rains and the storms shall assail in vain. Are we again proceeding on our way cheerfully in the hope of everlasting life? 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do.' Be encouraged to proceed; for you are armed with a strength not your own, and a work that is of God cannot come to nought; and yet 'with fear and trembling;' for the responsibility of a work to which God has set his hand is an heavy one,—that should make the heart serious amidst its gladness. These are the words with which one Christian would naturally comfort and encourage another: and such, accordingly, may well be conceived the stress of the apostle's assertions respecting Grace and Predestination. It is the charity that 'never faileth,' which he is inculcating throughout, where many have erroneously thought that he was proclaiming the wonders of the Divine knowledge. Banish the scientific notion of Predestination and Grace; for nothing can come of it, but the confidence of mere reason, and a false enthusiasm, that fashions the idol before which it prostrates itself. Take up the truths as the Divine Law of Love, and you will find in them something more than that fixedness and quiescence, which is sought in the abstractions of theory; you will find rest and peace to the soul in Jesus Christ." p. 203.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Devotional Exercises: consisting of Reflections and Prayers for the use of Young Persons, to which is added a Guide to the Study of the Scriptures.* By Harriet Martineau, 3d Edition. London, Rowland Hunter, St. Paul's Church Yard, and C. Fox, Paternoster Row, 1832. pp. 122.
2. *The Essential Faith of the Universal Church deduced from the Sacred Records.* By Harriet Martineau. London: Printed for the Unitarian Association, 1831. pp. 88.
3. *Providence as manifested through Israel.* By Harriet Martineau, issued by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and addressed to the Jews. pp. 115. Ditto, 1832.
4. *The Faith as unfolded by many Prophets. An Essay.* By Harriet Martineau, issued by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and addressed to the Disciples of Mahomet.
5. *Traditions of Palestine.* Edited by Harriet Martineau. pp. 148.

IN cases of libel and blasphemy it is, we believe, generally held to be wise and prudent to abstain from prosecution, unless there be circumstances which, independently of the case, would bring the libeller and blasphemer into public notice. Such a course is pursued, we apprehend,—not because the offence itself is light and trivial, or the offender undeserving of punishment,—but because a wider circulation and an importance not their own are too often afforded to mischievous principles by indictments and *ex officio* informations. Men's sympathies become enlisted in the cause of the unhappy author, who is regarded by the mass as an interesting victim, persecuted by tyranny, for upholding unpalatable but sincere opinions. The prosecution, especially should there be a verdict against the defendant, is denounced as an infringement of the liberty of conscience; his work is sought after and read, and his name thenceforward ranks high in the calendar of liberalism. The design of the calumniator is to attract observation—his calumny fails of its purpose if the object of it passes it by “as the idle wind which he regards not,” and therefore we hold it to be a good thing to defeat “the device of the enemy” even by the strong weapons of silence and neglect. Under the impression of these feelings, *mutatis mutandis*, the works at the head of our Article would, for us, never have seen the light—in the obscurity in which they were born they would have remained and died. But circumstances have arisen which induce us to depart from our rule, and justify us in so doing. It were in vain, even if we wished, to deny that Miss Martineau has obtained that which to parvenus of every rank and degree, of every trade and profession—to the empiric in medicine no less than to the dabbler in literature, to the mountebank in politics as well

as to the tyro in polemics, is an object of highest ambition—a name. Our fair authoress has in this certainly succeeded: she has gained a name, the fame of which rests, whether justly or not we are not inquiring, upon the fabric of a dozen story books on the science of political economy. Armed not with smiles but duodecimos, she has become the idol of literary coteries, and to the delight of sage grave men, discourses not the “music of the spheres” but learned diatribes on the mighty mysteries of wages, rent, profit, free-trade, and population. And thus we repeat Miss Martineau has gained a name—the value of which she estimates so highly—as to make it the chaperon of an hitherto anonymous* work, and which even we conceive to be so far great as to lend a fictitious importance to any production to which it is prefixed. Indeed we shall not be surprised to find that Miss Martineau will soon be compelled to disown many a literary foundling which is ushered into a deceived world with the magic of her name. But we are travelling “out of the record.” Miss Martineau has attained a certain degree of notoriety by the tales to which we have alluded; and she herself thinks that that notoriety will conduce to the sale of a third edition of a work, up to this time published without a name, but now wearing “the blushing honours.” We so far coincide with her opinion as to believe that her religious pamphlets may probably gain admittance into many a house from which the native obscurity of their author has hitherto debarred them; and further, we believe that, if so admitted, they are likely to be read by reason *not of their intrinsic merits*, but of the present notoriety of the writer. On these accounts we have thought it our duty to prepare an antidote for the bane which the tracts in question seem to us to contain, and to take as much care as in us lieth that, if the poison spread, the remedy shall with it spread also.

The key, which will interpret the many inconsistencies, and explain all the incorrect views of religion, of which there is throughout these publications an unhappy fertility, is *Unitarianism*, and that of the lowest kind. In the three essays addressed to the Catholics, Jews, and Mahomedans, Unitarian principles are openly avowed, but not in the other works. In them (*viz.* *Devotional Exercises*, and *Traditions of Palestine*), the evil “leaven” is not however the less influential because it is unseen. In all, Unitarianism is the “mens” which “agitāt molem et magno se corpore miscet.”

More than once during a perusal of the works on our table—when we have been startled by unusually bold assertions,† or by

* “*Devotional Exercises*.”—Vide Preface.

† “If all Protestants adhered to the *grand principle of the Reformation*, that the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants, there would not only be no damatory clauses

statements, the only foundation* of which is the authoress's too fruitful fancy—when we are told with oracular pomposity (*Ess. Faith*, p. 63,) that although “we *believe rightly now*,” (in matters of faith and doctrine be it remembered,) “it is *impossible* to answer for *no change* of opinion being necessary to enable us to *believe rightly twenty years hence*,” and “that it is as impossible for a man to prescribe to himself the faith of his *future years* as for one age to prescribe the faith of a succeeding age;” and when also it is *said* (we dare not prostitute the term and write it is *argued*), that “if we wish the spiritual *conceptions* of former ages to be perpetuated” (in matters of *faith*), “this may best be done by changing the *terms*† as their meanings become modified,” (*meaning of Gospel truths become modified*!)—when words, no longer signs of ideas, and unsubstantial statements, and premises without truth, and conclusions without reason, like these, are dogmatically put forth, as if forsooth they were universal axioms, we confess that we have entertained some misgiving as to Miss Martineau's qualifications as a *reasoner* upon any subject.

We may, by the way, enter our strongest and most decisive protest against the pernicious assertion here promulgated—that, in matters of religion, *right belief* can ever *change*, and become *wrong belief*. We use these plain terms to avoid confusion. That (*Ess. Faith*, p. 62,) “every man has a natural right not only to form his opinions for himself, but to change them as frequently as he shall believe himself led to do so”—i. e. as often as he pleases—we admit; but, when *no change* takes place in a *fact*—no change in the *evidence* of a fact—that we are yet to change our opinions upon it and “*believe rightly*” both *now* and “*twenty years hence*,” we not only do not admit, but distinctly and unequivocally deny. The supposition is absurd. And the absurdity will be yet more evident when we consider that, if it be true that we may “believe” a fact “rightly” now, and in “twenty years” believe equally rightly,—*changing our opinion upon the fact which remains unchanged*, it certainly follows that two independent minds may at *the same moment* believe *differently* from each other but still “rightly”—i. e. that a fact

in their creeds, but *NO CREEDS*.”—(*Ess. Faith*, p. 60). Again, “Christian liberty comprehends an *entire freedom from restraint* in the publication of opinions. To his own master every man standeth or falleth, not only in the formation of his opinions, but in the use he makes of them when formed.”—(*Ibid*, p. 66).

* “Widely different versions of this (the Apostles’) Creed are used in the Catholic Church and the Church of England.”—(*ibid*, p. 65). We have now before us a copy of the Roman Catholic “first Catechism, published for the use of the London District, printed by Keating, Brown & Co. printers to the Right Reverend the Vicars Apostolic.” The copy is therefore one of authority. The Apostles’ Creed is contained in it—and the only differences in this, from that of the Church of England, are *verbal*! viz. the word “Creator” is used for “Maker,” “arose,” for “rose,” “sits,” for “sitteth,” and “living,” for “quick.”

† These italics are her own.

may at the same time be true and false. Miss Martineau acknowledges—(we allude to this lest we should appear to state her argument unfairly)—that she expects no new dispensation, and that as much evidence is possessed for the truth of religion as it is possible to adduce—and, notwithstanding, she makes the assertion referred to. It is true, however, that she provides a loop-hole of escape—by some jargon about the “*expansive tendency*” (p. 68) “of the eternal principles of Christianity.” How far this will aid her, it is surely needless to discuss.

While then we rejoice in the heartfelt conviction that, by the grace of God preventing and co-operating with us, our belief in the Gospel shall remain firm and unshaken as the rock whereon it is founded—while we praise God that millions have gone on their way rejoicing, inasmuch as they “knew on whom they had believed”—while we reject the gross and dangerous fallacy, that our present “right belief” can ever be shaken, or, according to modern fantasies, be reformed, in order that it may be as it were more right—we hail this authoritative assertion of the authoress, as an acknowledgment of the total and wretched insufficiency of Unitarianism. Based as it is upon the sandy foundation of human opinion, and despondently anticipating that all its “belief,” no matter how “right,” all its convictions, no matter how true, may soon prove a delusive phantom, yea, that it “may have taken a *lie* in its right hand,”—how deficient must such a system be to guide in perplexity, to comfort in adversity, to instruct or to warn in any season or circumstance of human life. To-day’s faith may be to-morrow’s falsehood. Men may die to-day in the “right belief,” as they trust, and when a score of years shall have passed, the survivors may know, by the rising we suppose of some second sun, that they died in error and mistake, and that they too may likewise make shipwreck of their faith. Embark then in the dark and stormy sea of Unitarianism, and if the stars shine, trust them not—if the moon gives her light, heed it not, all is treachery—beacons are but wandering meteors; your only pilot is a syren, your only land-marks Scylla and Charybdis—uncertainty, distrust, and despair await you on every side.

The “Devotional Exercises” claim our earliest notice, as they were the first of these publications which issued from the press. The work appeared in 1823, and has been so favourably received “by the class for whom it is intended,” as actually in the course of “*nine* years” to have run through two editions, and to have entered upon a third.

In the preface the authoress announces that “in the preface to the first edition, dated 1823, the following words occur: ‘being yet young, I have a vivid remembrance of the ideas and feelings on devotional subjects which, in early youth, I found to

be the *most impressive*, and to excite the *most powerful emotions*, and which are by no means the same ideas and feelings which produce those effects at a more advanced age." We presume that every one has made the same discovery, which, in fact, amounts to this, that as children we thought and felt as children, and that in manhood we think and feel as men, both on devotional and all other subjects. But does it follow because our "ideas and feelings were *much interested* in early youth, that either they were *correct*, or that the "powerful emotions" excited by them were beneficial? Nay, on the contrary, Miss Martineau tells us elsewhere (Essent. Fa. p. 9, l. 9,) "that our first notions of a God are *low and earthly*;" and that even when we have advanced beyond these first notions our conceptions are still "gross," and in the very volume before us she makes the hacknied yet true remark, (Dev. Ex. p. 36, l. 1,) "it is too common for the young, while in the possession of health, to *forget*" their real condition. Now we, "possessing these remembrances," would, therefore, endeavour to instil into the young, not the ideas and feelings which excited in ourselves *powerful* indeed, but "low and earthly" emotions, but those purer and nobler principles which should educate them 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' Not so our authoress;—she, it appears, will still suffer the young to entertain "low and earthly," and "gross" conceptions on devotional subjects. But that we may not appear to misinterpret her, we quote the passage immediately and continuously following the beginning of the preface, on which we have commented. "Possessing these remembrances I must believe that *the young are best fitted to write for the young in most cases where the feelings and affections are concerned (!!!)* and therefore I have written down the thoughts which used to present themselves in a natural train of reflection, and the prayers which I have been accustomed to form, *under the guidance of able teachers*, for my own use." We have yet a word to add on this extraordinary passage. We are told "that the young are best fitted to write for the young;" and that, therefore, Miss Martineau, yet young, writes down all the reflections which naturally arose, and the prayers which fill this volume, and which according to her own argument, and for the sake of her own hypothesis, of course, were composed *by herself*—in all the fervour of youthful devotion, and under the most "powerful emotions." Oh! no! Away with such romance! they were formed "UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF ABLE TEACHERS." We are sure that we need not add a syllable on the subject of the young writing for the young. We should not indeed have thus noticed this "youthful opinion," (pref.) nay, we should

have concluded that it, like other "ideas and feelings," which, however "impressive" in youth, are somewhat absurd in manhood, had been "put away" as a "childish thing;" but as Miss Martineau in womanhood still cherishes and maintains the whims of girlhood, and in 1853 is "convinced" of the soundness of her "youthful opinions" of 1823, we have felt less delicacy in advert- ing to the inconsistency of the staid and matured woman, than in crushing the natural hopes of the conceited girl to be thought a *bas-bleu*. It is somewhat remarkable, that while our authoress protests that she "*dare not*" alter or amend these her youthful reflections, or as she more correctly terms them "exercises;" she yet should dare to substitute the "essay" of the present for the "treatise" of the former editions. She acknowledges that the treatise, which doubtless she thought, she "believed rightly;" to be "fitted for the young," could not now be published either "with satisfaction to herself," or "with advantage to her readers." Without having seen the paper in question, we are quite willing to believe that it is not "fit for the public eye"—we doubt not also but that another "nine years" will produce a similar revolution in Miss Martineau's mind, and a similar suppression of the present "essay," and, in process of time, that *all* the present race of MSS., which our authoress, with a parent's fond partiality, now believes to be immortal, will "shuffle off this mortal coil," and return unto the place whence they came, "to the satisfaction of" the authoress, and "to the advantage" of the world; all this, we doubt not, and, moreover, we suspect that Miss Martineau, keeping the dramatist's advice in mind,

"O Demea

Istuc est sapere, non quod ante pedes modo'st,

Videre; sed etiam illa, quæ futura sunt

Prospicere,—"

Terent. Adelph. Act. 3, sc. 3.

is hereby shrewdly providing for some probable apostacy from her present published opinion. We have been detained so long by this teeming preface, that we can take but a cursory glance at the remainder of the book.

Of all the subjects upon which the learning and piety of men have been employed, it is singular that when engaged on Prayer their talents should have failed to produce generally satisfactory results. Connected indeed as this duty is with all we do, and hope, and fear—associated with all the daily vicissitudes of life—and interwoven with all the relations of men—in their social, moral, and religious capacity: there seems to be, as it were, "an antecedent probability" that pious men need but to transcribe their own individual thoughts and aspirations, in order to meet the necessities of others in like condition. But we have nevertheless felt continued disappointment at the insufficiency of even the best pro-

ductions upon it. The "prayers" of many writers of the last two centuries, and of our times also, are doubtless excellent compositions, (we are not speaking of style,) and, indeed, beyond our feeble praise; but very few of these,—if we may venture, without incurring the charge of vanity or presumption, to give an opinion in such presence,—seem to us altogether adapted for the general use of a family. If some of the earlier authors are too sublime and spiritual for any place and season, but the complete privacy of the closet, we have thought that some later writers, although breathing a high strain of piety, do not rise sufficiently above our earth to avoid the contact of too familiar associations. Whenever then a new publication on the subject of prayer has been announced, we have looked for its appearance with earnest expectation—yet not very sanguine in the anticipation of success, when such predecessors had failed. With regard to the volume before us, our *lowest expectations* are disappointed, and we sincerely confess that we lament its publication—not from any party spirit, or from any fear that it will injure the Trinitarian doctrine,—but because it is calculated to *mislead the young and unwary*, to cheat them into a wretched and delusive belief of their own strength, and, by the repeated use of the terms "*worth*" and "*worthy*," to render them *Pharisaical*—in a word, to make them, as mortal beings, forget the relationship which they bear to God,—and, as Christians, lose sight of both the doctrines and the practice of Christianity.

We give the following prayer as a specimen of the tone which prevails throughout the work. It will be seen that while there is an *absence of confession of sin*—there is a notion, ever present, that a being may have *worth and merit* in the eyes of his Maker. It cannot be necessary to show how utterly irreconcilable such a fantasy is with that humility and renunciation of self, inculcated by the Gospel. But it must not be forgotten that Unitarianism does and must necessarily foster the idea of human desert. Rejecting the meritorious sacrifice of Jesus Christ—cutting away this grand corner-stone of Christianity,—on what can it depend but the frail reed of its own works?

“PRAYER.—FRIDAY MORNING.

“O God, my heavenly Father, and my almighty Protector! again at the return of day, are my thanksgivings due unto thee for thy watchful care during the hours of darkness. I laid me down in peace and slept, for thou, O Lord, sustainedst me. I awake in health and vigour and my voice shall ascend unto thee in praise, and my renewed powers shall be devoted to thy service. Without thy protection I could not exist, surrounded as I am with dangers which I cannot avoid, and subject to evils which I cannot foresee. But I will fear no evils while thou art with me; for thou art my shepherd, and I shall not want any good thing. While I dwell on earth, thou leadest me to the green pastures, and be-

side the still waters ; thou wilt support me in the dark valley of the shadow of death ; and, if I truly seek thee, thou wilt be in heaven my eternal portion and everlasting light. With these animating hopes and promises, I will diligently strive to keep my soul from the snares of sin ; and may thy grace be with me, to strengthen my virtuous resolutions, to invigorate my holy desires, and to render my heart A WORTHY TEMPLE for thee to dwell in. While I reflect with gratitude on the rewards thou hast promised to obedience, may the awful threatenings of the gospel against sin make a deep impression on my soul. May I welcome all thy dispensations which may lead me from guilt, however painful they may be. May I remember that thy chastenings are designed to render me *more worthy* of thy love : and may this reflection lead me to bow myself to the stroke of sorrow, with perfect acquiescence in thy will. In the present season of youth, while my body and mind are in all their vigour, may I above all things fear to displease thee. While I am entering on the gay scenes of a beautiful world, may the words of my mouth and the meditations of my heart be such as thou wilt approve ; and when these gay scenes no longer charm, when pain and sickness assail me, do thou, O Lord, support and cheer me unto the end.

" I offer these prayers for all thy children of mankind, as for myself. May the same hopes, the same consolations, be the portion of all : may all acknowledge thee as the universal Father, and Jesus CHRIST as the MESSENGER of good tidings, and by his exalted virtues worthy of our warmest love, unceasing gratitude, and reverential obedience.

" Merciful Father ! I will trust in thy continued protection ; and desire, now and for ever, to ascribe unto thee supreme honours and everlasting praises. Amen."—pp. 76, 78.

Besides the want of confession of sin—and the introduction of the doctrine of human merit, (to which we have alluded,) is it not a fatal objection against the use of this prayer, and prayers like this—that Jesus Christ is described merely as "the messenger of good tidings?" Is it not teaching a child to regard Christ only as a man, sent like other men, prophets and teachers, to convey good tidings to us? Is this supplying the child with an "*impressive*" idea of the Author of Salvation? And is a child likely to be influenced even by "a powerful emotion" when such is the only character in which he is to "recognize" the Eternal Son of God? It would be an insult to doubt what answer all but Unitarians will readily furnish to our questions.

Again (p. 50), "The character of Jesus Christ" has been, we are told, "often contemplated." His meekness, his holy dignity, his exalted holiness, his acute sensibility for the sufferings of men, his perfect sympathy for his species, his perfect trust in God, his indignation against vice—are the points of "the character" which attract notice—and attract, not because they were practised in unrivalled perfection, but because they were "consistent" with each other and "subsisted in beautiful harmony." "And the sentiment which always recurs is that of ad-

miration." We say that this is a degrading view of "the character of Jesus Christ"—we say that it is a view which will impress children with wrong conceptions of the Author of the Gospel—we say that if this delineation be true, there have been many *men* who have reached to this standard—and that as "a model" for imitation it does not possess claims superior to those which (p. 51) "the characters of the Apostles" fairly may prefer—nay, it is in other passages placed on a level with them. St. Peter's virtues were "exalted," (the term applied to Jesus Christ's,)—his "humility" was "great," (a term *not* applied to Jesus Christ,)—and his virtue again said to be "intrepid," (p. 24)—and his character is to be honoured with all "reverence and admiration," (p. 25). John's character "abounded" in meekness, gentleness, and benevolence; "he inculcated and practised the love of God and of mankind." St. Paul's powers of mind were "vast"—he "never shrank from trials the most hard for human nature to endure." (p. 51.)—The authoress bids herself dwell on the virtues of these great men (p. 26) till she becomes animated in some degree by their spirit. "Let me endeavour," she continues, "to acquire the *fervour* and *earnestness* of Peter, the *meekness* and *benevolence* of John, the *stedfast faith* and *universal charity* of Paul; and then,* and not till then, shall I have duly profited by the glorious revelation with which God has blessed me." Here then, with the exception of the term "holy dignity," the same virtues are attributed to the Apostles as to Jesus Christ, the same emotions are excited by the contemplation of character, and the same honours are to be paid to them as to Jesus. Again, the Author of the Gospel (we use this expression instead of those we are in the habit of ascribing to Jesus Christ, for the sake of occupying neutral ground, as we are not exposing the peculiar dogmas of Unitarians, but showing that, independently of Unitarianism, this book is calculated to mislead the young; the point we are now pressing is, that the character of Jesus Christ is not represented as a higher character—even as a mere man's—than that of others, and therefore that the child, for whom the book is intended, is covertly led to take a very degrading estimate of the "model" by which he is to walk)—the Author of the Gospel is described (p. 19.) as "Jesus who died for us;" this, surely, some man may say, is describing Christ truly—and so it *seems*, but what is the *fact*? the Apostles are described as doing the same thing!

* We do not interrupt the thread of the argument to advert to the use which Miss Martineau conceives to be made of the glorious revelation with which God has blessed us—but we may here point out, that to copy the *characters* of the Apostles is, according to this new light, to "*duly profit*" by the New Testament. As for the *doctrines* of the Gospel, we must do her the justice to acknowledge, that she declares, *they* are to be learned from what Christ *did*, and *not* from what he *said*.—pp. 119, 120.

—"Jesus who died for us—or those holy men who offered their lives to secure the richest and best blessings to mankind." (p. 19.) Is this or is it not—to lose sight of the doctrines of Christianity, nay, of Unitarian Christianity, if for a moment so monstrous an anomaly, so glaring a misnomer may for the sake of argument be admitted?

Again (p. 17), "The most powerful arguments for the practice of benevolence are offered by our holy religion, whose *chief end and aim* is the encouragement of this virtue; and in proportion to my advance in it, will be my progress in religion." Great as the duty of benevolence unquestionably is, it is a gross perversion of truth to say that the *chief end and aim* of Christianity is to encourage it. As an evidence of our faith it is invaluable, but surely it is not to supersede faith! And as for growth in grace—or "progress in religion," as the text hath it—being gauged by the extent of alms-giving, the Apostle expressly declares, that any one—our authoress for instance—may practise all the duties of benevolence, she may "give all" her "goods to feed the poor," and yet it may "PROFIT" her "NOTHING." So far was the Apostle from asserting that the mere act of alms-giving,* the mere practice of benevolence, was the "chief end and aim" of Christianity. We say, then, that in this instance the child would be misled, and would be induced to set a Pharisaical value upon the external acts of religion, and to exaggerate the value of washing the outside of the platter; while no heed (for aught that here appears) is to be paid that the inward part might not be unwashed. Is this, or is it not, to lose sight of the spiritual practice of Christianity?

The young disciple is in these pages taught to reflect that he can always "find some more ignorant than himself;" (p. 17)—while the Apostle teaches a religion in which men are taught to think "others better than themselves;" here we are taught, by reflecting on God's omnipresence, to fear him? No—to consider that we are "secure under all circumstances;" by the religion of the Apostles we are taught to "count not that we have apprehended but to press constantly forward;" here we are directed to pray that God "will render us in some measure *deserving of his goodness*;" (p. 8)—the Author of Christianity bids us say "that when we have done all those things that are commanded, we are *unprofitable servants*;" (p. 34)—here it is asserted before the most Holy God, "*nothing can estrange Thee [O, God] from the creatures thou hast made.*" God himself warns us (Is. 59,

* Miss Martineau in this passage clearly means by benevolence, alms-giving, because she subjoins the texts—"Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor,"—"Give to him that asketh of thee,"—"freely ye have received, freely give."

v. 2,) that "your *iniquities* have separated between you and your God, and your *sins* have hid his face from you," and that the "face of the Lord is *against them that do evil*." That passages like these, in which the book abounds, will engender presumption, cannot for a moment be doubted.

We have consumed too much time already on this production, but we must trespass for a moment longer, to give the following as a specimen of the line of argument which "able teachers" have induced our young authoress to adopt, on a subject the most momentous to human beings; viz. the true cause of the great unhappiness which poisons the cup of the sons of Adam, embittering their sweetest draughts and alloying their purest pleasures. "How does it happen," asks our young philosopher (p. 20), "that though God has bestowed on every man a large share of blessings, though he has placed his rational offspring in a beautiful world created for their enjoyment, though he has endowed them with social affections, and rendered those affections a source of purest pleasure, so little unalloyed happiness is found in the world? many miseries undoubtedly arise from causes out of the controul of man, and many from the gross vices of the wicked; but there is much unhappiness independent of these causes. I frequently perceive that families who are exempted from misfortune, who possess a competent share of this world's goods, and who practise no vices, yet are not at ease. Surely this must arise from the want of amiable dispositions. When all without is prosperous, *there must be some mental disease which impairs their enjoyment; and this disease I believe to be the want of controul over the temper.*" The unhappiness which is seen to harass and disturb families, who are respectable in fortune, *character* and *conduct* (for such we suppose to be Miss Martineau's real meaning of "practising no vices,") is to be traced to "a mental disease which is a want of controul over the temper." That the *immediate* or *secondary* cause of unhappiness in such families as these may be, is the ungoverned temper of an individual, we admit; but Miss Martineau is confusing cause and effect when she says, that such want of controul of the temper is a mental disease. In the first place, violence of temper is the *effect* of disease, and not the disease itself. Irritability of temper (which becomes ungovernable if indulged,) is produced by physical or artificial causes. By physical, when pain and sickness harass the body, which then reacts upon the mind; by artificial, when offence is taken at supposed slights, or at any imputation of inferiority. And in the next place, Miss Martineau is wrong if she traces the cause to the *mind* only. Violence of temper has a deeper seat; and springs, in truth, from some far more corrupt

and tainted source than mere *mental* disease. If Miss Martineau had traced an angry temper to some canker of the *heart*—to some evil of the flesh constantly warring against the spirit, which ever produces so much misery—if she had thus attempted to account for the violence and irritability of temper which tells a tale of “carking care” and inward misery in a family “when all without is prosperous,” instead of ascribing it to some mere “mental disease”—we conceive that she would have suggested to her youthful readers a more just, and assuredly a *more scriptural*, cause for an effect we daily witness and daily deplore.

In a few lines subsequent to those we have quoted, the child, by whose “peevish, passionate or sullen temper the comfort of whole families is sacrificed,” is taught to reflect—that he is therefore wicked and sinful?—no—“*unhappy and ungrateful*.” The deep sin against God is not a subject, we suppose, for a child’s reflection, as it is not once expressed, although certainly we must be candid enough to admit that the authoress condescends to think that religion may assist her in conquering a passionate and sullen temper. “Let me remember,” she says, “that the small trials which I meet with are no less sent by God,” than greater sorrow, “and are equally intended for my good; and therefore let me not be above” (wonderful condescension for a meek and simple child,) “calling in my religious principles to my aid; for where there is temptation, however small, their assistance will be necessary.” Now assuredly the trials which tempt the child are no less strong than those which beset the man. The struggle each has to maintain against the common enemy is proportionate to their respective strength. “God will not suffer us,”—man or child,—“to be tempted above that he is able.” And surely, as violence of temper is as great a sin as any a child can commit, the circumstances which tempt him to it, however trivial they may be to men, are as great trials as he is able to bear. And, if they were not so, we are sure that the effect produced in a child’s mind, by regarding these trials as “*small*,” must be very far from salutary.

All these unscriptural reflections and prayers,—the notion of human merit, the reliance on human strength, the proud and haughty conceit of individual superiority,—are merely the result of Unitarian principles, and are inseparable from the Unitarian scheme. It may be said that other passages of the book disclaim all idea of human merit, and confess that divine assistance is necessary. This plea cannot for a moment be admitted. Is it probable that a child should *be able* to compare and combine and analyse expressions and opinions occurring in different portions, and to extract from them what he is to believe, the feelings he is to entertain, and the prayers he is to prefer? And if probable, that

he *can* institute this process of alchemy, is it *right* that he should be called upon to do so? Is it right, we repeat, that on Sunday* he should look upon himself as *deserving* in the eyes of God, and on Monday† reflect upon his own proficiency in wisdom, still retaining the fancy of his own desert, so long as on other days he cursorily acknowledges (p. 48) his unworthiness and demerits, and owns that humility is not (p. 45) promoted by "a fancied superiority over others?" Is it *right* that a child should thus be directed to enter upon "a debtor and creditor" account with his Maker, subtract deficiency from sufficiency, and hope to win heaven with the balance of the remainder?

One word more as to the *disingenuousness* of the course pursued in these devotional exercises. In case the child should be surprised—we mean the child of Christian, not Unitarian parents—at the absence of the Lord's prayer from this manual; *three* clauses are introduced to lull him to rest;—in case he should be surprised that these (must we say?) *prayers*, conclude without an acknowledgment of Christ's merits as the cause of their acceptance with God; *four* prayers, (pp. 14, 28, 57, 91,) and four only are made to conclude thus:—(p. 14) "I ask all in the name and as the disciple of thy Son Jesus Christ, *through whom I would ascribe*" [*would not do*] "unto thee," &c.—(p. 28.) "*In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I would ascribe* unto thee supreme honours," &c.—(p. 57.) "I ask all in the name and as the disciple of thy Son Jesus Christ, *through whom I would ascribe* unto thee," &c.—(p. 91.) "*In his (Christ's) name* and as his Disciple, *may I ever, with sincere humility and love, ascribe* unto thee," &c. Thus is the child cheated into a belief *that for Christ's sake* he is praying God to hear him; we say deliberately "cheated," because it is the Unitarian gloss alone that implies no recognition of the Atonement when the expressions, "*in the name*" and "*our Lord*" are used. But still more, Miss Martineau speaks "of the glad tidings of salvation," (p. 96,)—"of the Lord Jesus," (p. 90,)—of her "*blessed Saviour*," (p. 84,)—"of "*Jesus the mediator of the new covenant*," (p. 83,)—"of "*him who died that he might redeem us from all iniquity*," (p. 80,)—"of "*him (Christ) who hath rescued us from the power of sin*," (p. 81,)—"of "*Jesus Christ the messenger of good tidings*," (p. 77,)—"of "*him (Christ) who was the means of leading them to life eternal*," (p. 75,)—"of him "*who led captivity captive*, (p. 73,) *who broke the bonds of death, who bore our griefs and carried our sorrows, who was stricken for our transgressions, and by whose stripes we are healed*;"—"of him who "*for me as well as for my brethren of man-*

* Sunday's prayer.

† Monday's Reflections, p. 17.

kind *did lay down his life*, (p. 78,)—of “*the holy Jesus, the Son of God*,”* (p. 68,)—of him (Christ) who is “*the captain of our salvation*,” (p. 56,)—of him “*who died for me that I might gain entrance into that happy state*,” (p. 38,)—of “*our glorified Master*,” (p. 34)—of “*Christ Jesus our Lord*,” of his Son Jesus Christ “*being sent into the world to reclaim them from sin*,”—Miss Martineau uses all these expressions, which we, and all who profess Christianity (of course we include not Unitarians) believe, and have from childhood believed to be declaratory of the Divinity and Atonement and Mediation of the “*great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ*,” she uses these expressions, we say, disingenuously and deceitfully, because there is no caution that *nothing in the shape of such Divinity, Atonement and Mediation is intended by them*, because there is *no limitation* as to the sense in which these terms are here to be used and understood, and because the mass of the readers, if not Unitarians, will assuredly use them in a *sense different from that which*, we know from other sources, *the authoress intends*.

There is not a page in these “*Devotional Exercises*” on which we might not have commented; but on them we close our remarks with the following observations made by one whose authority Miss Martineau will not be inclined to dispute, especially on the subject of “*the young writing for the young*.” (*Devotional Exercises*, p. 52.) “*I perceive that it is not always right to speak the whole of what I feel and think; but much more wrong is it to give, as my own, opinions which I have never examined, and of the good or bad tendency of which I am therefore ignorant, but for the consequences of which I make myself responsible by promulgating them*. Many young persons are led into this more than error—this sin—by the love of talking; but *vanity has often a large share* in it also, by *prompting them to display an imagined acuteness of reasoning or talent in argument*.”

We cannot omit to notice one or two passages in the “*Guide to the Study of the Scriptures*”—an Essay substituted for the “*treatise*” of former editions. It is eminently calculated, we do not say *designed*, to diminish the reverence which has been hitherto so justly and so generally paid to the Word of God, and which we are now (p. 103) told has partaken of “*a large mixture of superstition*.” It is to be borne in mind that this essay is written for “*young persons*,” and, therefore, no arguments and expressions should be used, which, however undesignedly on the part of the writer, might yet produce wrong impressions in the youthful and inexperienced reader. That this

* The authoress here actually uses the capital letter to the word Son, thereby seeming to imply a distinction between him “*as the Son*” and us as sons.

essay is, to say the least, guilty of transgressing this obvious rule, and is therefore unfitted "for those for whom it is intended," will be proved by the following passages.

"Among the multitude of Bible readers in this Christian country, it is a rare thing to meet with one who is well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. There are many who can quote texts in support of their religious opinions; many who can relate parables to children; many who can instruct those around them in the moral teachings of the messengers of God; and very many no doubt, who can at any time call to mind passages which carry in them reproof of sin, encouragement to virtuous efforts, and consolation under sickness and sorrow. Many children learn out of the Bible from day to day; their parents listen from week to week to what is read or expounded in places of worship; and the aged are often seen poring over the holy book in the intervals of their daily employments, and heard to repeat favourite passages out of it, when eye-sight fails, or during sleepless portions of the night. Yet among all these there may be *little real knowledge* of the volume so much studied; and that there *actually is little knowledge* is proved by the difficulty of finding any persons but those who have been bred to theology as a profession who can give any clear account of what the Bible is, who wrote it, for what purpose the various parts were prepared, at what times they were written, what is the comparative value of different portions, what makes some passages obscure and others strange, and all extremely unlike any other book commonly read."—p. 99.

Now what will be the natural result in a child, or young person's mind from finding that all this knowledge is *not the "real knowledge"* of the Bible? He will set but a little value on all that he has hitherto learnt; all this he will no longer regard as making up the sum of the "real knowledge," which, by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, will make him "wise unto salvation;" after finding that his guide (a blind leader of the blind), thus rejects what he has, ignorantly and superstitiously it seems, estimated so highly—he will be perplexed, bewildered, and lost. Still anxious however for some clue which may extricate him from the labyrinth, still fearfully anxious for truth, he turns to his guide, who tells him that

"The first thing to be learned is what the Bible is; and this may be ascertained from the Bible itself, together with a few helps which are within almost every body's reach.

"It will be seen that the Bible, with the exception of a few chapters at the beginning of *Genesis*, relates to a particular nation, the Jews, who took their rise from Abraham. The *brief history from the creation to the time of Abraham* is a mere introduction to the account of the peculiar people who sprang from him. The next step is to discover what the books of the Bible are, and who wrote them. The historical ones may be first picked out; and if read with the same kind of atten-

tion as other histories, they will be found nearly as plain, and marvelously interesting."—p. 108.

"Supposing that some clear ideas of the history, chronology, and geography of the Hebrew nation and their country has been obtained while pursuing the last-mentioned object, a new and interesting one may be found in discovering the meaning of whatever customs seem strange, and whatever natural productions remarkable, in Judea. These are things which cannot be learned entirely from the Scriptures themselves; but there are many books that teach more or less of them, and friends enough, it is to be hoped, near the reader who can satisfy his inquiries, or put him in the way of satisfying himself. When he has once learned a new circumstance, he may search for as many passages as it may explain. As one trifling instance;—when he knows how it was the custom of the Jews to place themselves at meals, he may look for all the narratives in the Bible which relate to what happened at such times. It may possibly surprise him to find how much light is thrown upon obscure passages by this one piece of information. He will be able to imagine the scene when Joseph's brothers ate before him; in the house of Saul when David had disappeared from his place; at the feast of Cana; in the abode of Simon, when one stood at the feet of Jesus, behind him, weeping; at the supper, when the beloved disciple lay in the bosom of Jesus; and on various occasions mentioned in the Acts when the disciples met at table. When he has informed himself how the worship of the synagogue was performed, the reader will be struck with admiration, instead of perplexed at the accounts of whatever was done by Christ in the synagogues, either in the way of miracles or preaching. The narrative (in the fourth chapter of Luke) of his ministration in the synagogue at Nazareth, of his receiving the book, or scroll, and standing up to read, closing or rolling it up when he had read, and sitting down to address the worshippers; his delivering the book to the "minister," and taking upon him,—stranger as he was and not known to be authorized,—to preach;—all this will be no longer incomprehensible, or supposed to be a violation of the usual rule. The performing of miracles in places of worship, and what the apostles did and suffered on similar occasions, will appear in a new light when the customs connected with the synagogue are understood. Much, very much more is made clear by what may be known concerning the temple; and also respecting the dwellings of the Jews, their furniture and dress, their occupations, their administration of justice, their modes of celebrating births, marriages, and funerals, &c. With this, may proceed an inquiry into the natural productions of the country. Previous to such an inquiry no one would have an idea how much is lost by ignorance of the habits of the camel and the stork, the locust and the quail, the scorpion and the ostrich. There is frequent reference to perfumes and spices, to forest trees, shrubs and flowers, to vicissitudes of season and climate, on which the whole meaning of a saying, the entire significance of an incident, may depend."—pp. 110, 111.

It has been seen that Miss Martineau asserts, that to have such an accurate acquaintance with Holy Writ as to be able to "quote

texts in support" of your "religious opinions," i. e. *your faith*, to have been instructed in the "moral teachings,"—i. e. *your practice*,—to bear in mind in the hours of trial and temptations, of trouble and affliction, the many passages which convey reproof of sin, encouragement to virtue, and consolation in sorrow—nay more, to make the Bible your daily study—Miss Martineau asserts all this *not* to be the "real knowledge" of the Scripture. Surely then the passages we have last cited, and the studies contained in them, will give us this "real knowledge." No—hear our authoress, whose following words it will be unfair to omit, "we cannot too strongly insist on the consideration that the investigations we have recommended are but preparatory to the all-important research into the truth which God has given to be our guide through life, and the exponent of his will."—p. 116.

Now, we ask, of what avail are these preparatory investigations, when *without* them "the multitude of Bible-readers in this Christian country," have *already* made "the all-important research into the truth which God has given to be *our guide through life, and the exponent of his will?*" Of what avail, we repeat, is it—to pronounce that the knowledge possessed by the multitude of Bible readers, which enables them, as we have observed, to *maintain their faith—to know—yes, and to practise their duty*, is *not* the real knowledge; and then to supply rules for learning the history, chronology, geography, and customs of the Bible—which yet are not the real knowledge but only PREPARATORY to the research into the truth *already obtained without them?* Of what avail is it to tell the child (p. 105,) that he "may comprehend what meekness, mercy, purity, and peacefulness are, and how certainly they are blessed"—that his "ideas of the *purpose* of Christ's instructions in this discourse, (the Sermon on the Mount) can *scarcely fail of being generally correct*," and yet that "over the whole there will be a strangeness and a mystery," which is the "product of the *reader's ignorance?*" Taking the instance given (the Sermon on the Mount), we say, that, if a child comprehends (as Miss Martineau allows he may) what mercy, and the other Christian graces are, and that Divine blessing is certainly attendant upon them, and entertains (as again it is allowed he may) *generally correct* ideas of Christ's *purposes* in the discourse, he comprehends what it is necessary for him to know. And if to know "what is meant by comparisons of salt, lighted candles," (p. 105,) be after *all but a preparatory investigation*, (and only useful as it is so) to his comprehension of what he *already* and without that investigation comprehends (*viz.* "what mercy, &c. are"), then the child's mind is superfluously and needlessly burdened.

When the young student is involved in all this contradiction and perplexity—the result will be, that, instead of flying to the well of Holy Scripture, as containing the waters of eternal life, and as being “profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness”—he will rather regard the Bible as a manual of merely “entertaining and useful learning.”

To any other but a child's mind the inference would be, that Miss Martineau has overstated the case, has used the expression “real knowledge,” in an equivocal sense, and has thus left “the door open,” unintentionally we would hope, to a derogation from the authority of the sacred writings as a *spiritual guide* and *teacher*.

We may remark upon some information conveyed in p. 107, as another instance of the covert and disingenuous method adopted by the Unitarian school, for the purpose of propagating by *stealth*, dogmas, and opinions which will not stand the test of open argument. “The knowledge which is necessary to a full understanding of the Sermon on the Mount,” insinuates our guide, “will render intelligible almost the whole of what now confuses a large proportion of readers, and alarms others. Any portion of that knowledge will explain something in every book of Scripture; and it is knowledge which is within the reach of all, if they were but aware of it.” So said and insinuated, in perhaps rather stronger language, a writer, who “in the garb of,” we are grieved to say, “a minister of the Established Church,” presented his readers with “the very essence of Socinianism.”* That writer was Mr. Fellowes—the author (strange coincidence! of which, of course, Miss Martineau was wholly unaware,) of—not a Guide to the study of Scripture, but of “a Guide to Immortality. Mr. Fellowes asserted that our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, “contains a summary of every thing which it is necessary to believe or to practise.† To Miss Martineau who thus uses Mr. Fellowes' assertion in words, somewhat diluted, but equally expressive, and who thus would make the child look upon the Gospel as a mere code of *morals*, or rather to the child about to be beguiled of his faith, we will speak in the language of an author whose name and arguments we fear are peculiarly distasteful to Miss Martineau. For using them we ought therefore to apologize to her. But being more tender of the everlasting welfare “of those for whom the work is intended,” than nice about bandying points of compliment, we proceed to quote a portion of *Archbishop Magee's* remark upon Mr. Fellowes. “Surely the doctrines of the *Trinity*, the *Incarnation*, and the *Redemption*,”—“are not to be found comprised in the

* Magee on the Atonement, vol. 2, p. 327.

† Anti-Calvinist, p. 25.

‡ Atonement, vol. 2, p. 327.

Sermon on the Mount ;" which this author (Mr. Fellowes) maintains to be " a summary of every thing, which it is necessary to believe or practise." Whether Miss Martineau so strongly recommends the Sermon on the Mount, BECAUSE *these doctrines are not therein contained*, we will now leave any honest man to decide.

A similar endeavour to delude the unwary child into first, a forgetfulness, and then a disbelief of the scheme of salvation, occurs in two passages, which, although extracted before, cannot in this place be omitted : " It will be seen (p. 108,) that the Bible, with the exception of a few chapters at the beginning of Genesis, relates to a particular nation, the Jews, who took their rise from Abraham. *The brief history from the creation to time of Abraham is a mere introduction* to the account of the peculiar people who sprang from him." Is this the method by which our children are to be guided to the study of the Scriptures ? is this teaching them (p. 108) " what the Bible is ?" We can designate this insidious passage as nothing but a deliberate suppression of the truth. These " few chapters at the beginning of Genesis," for the bare mention of which we suppose Miss Martineau will claim the merit of ingenuousness, contain that knowledge, without which the whole of the remainder of Scripture would be involved in inextricable mystery. *The doctrine of man's original innocence and fall, the promise of a spiritual Saviour, who was to cleanse from sin, and save from everlasting death—the institution of sacrifice—the destruction of the world for sin—do these solemn matters bear so little relation to a " real knowledge" of Scripture, as to be passed over with no more notice than that they are " a mere introduction" to the history of the Jews ? But for these facts—but for the doctrine contained in them—the Jewish dispensation would never have been—but for " the brief history from the creation to the time of Abraham," thus contemptuously slurred over, the history of the Jews need never to have been recorded :—the Jewish dispensation being but a subordinate part of the mighty scheme of redemption, to which it bears the relation of a particular to a universal, of a part to the whole.* " Wise in their generation" are these falsifiers of Holy Writ. Remove from the fabric of revelation, the doctrine of the Fall, of the Promise of Christ Jesus the Saviour, and the superstructure will " nod to its fall," and of it " not one stone will be left upon another." The Unitarian knows this, and therefore " wisely" strives to withdraw that portion of God's word from her pupil's attention and observation.

The following passages are all we shall quote—which will fully support the character we take leave to affix to this treacherous " guide."

"It is commonly supposed that the doctrines of Christianity are to be looked for in the discourses only of Jesus and his followers, and the morals of Christianity in the form of direct precepts. *Misled by this supposition*, multitudes go through life with those confused notions of what they are to believe, which cannot but arise out of an adoption of human explanations of the gospel, and a forced application of discourses designed to be no more than comments on doctrine which was to be learned in a very different manner. The same is the case with Christian morals: the common method of studying them being to look for them only in the form of direct precepts. Various, beautiful and rich as are the precepts of Jesus, they neither convey, nor were intended to convey, more than a small part of his instructions respecting the formation of the Christian character. Instead of its being enough to learn texts day by day, till every word recorded as spoken by Jesus is fixed in the memory, this practice (good as far as it goes) proceeds but a very small way towards giving an acquaintance with those principles which formed the character of Christ to its moral perfection. To prove this, let any one copy out and arrange as he will, all that he can find said in the New Testament about the nature and character of God, and his purposes in sending Christ into the world; and he will have but little that he could form into a profession of faith. Let any one copy out and arrange as he will, all that he can find said in the New Testament respecting the duty of man, and he will have very scanty and imperfect materials for the formation of a rule of duty. Many virtues and many vices are not mentioned at all; some are mentioned only incidentally, and there is no attempt at arranging them in their proper order."—"A future life had been hitherto speculated on and hoped for; but it was not known with any certainty that there was one till Christ was raised from the dead. He alluded to it frequently in his discourses, and his followers afterwards enlarged eloquently upon it: but the truth was revealed in the manner most unquestionable and most certain not to be misunderstood; by Christ himself being made to enter on a life after death, in the presence of many witnesses. In this case, the doctrine is to be learned from the fact, and confirmed by the discourses, rather than learned from the discourses alone. In like manner, the acts which he did, and the things which he suffered, teach us what his powers and his office were; and the results which have followed inform us what was the purpose of God in sending him into the world. We are glad of any light cast upon these subjects by the words of Jesus; but the facts are, and were designed to be, our best instructors, the sources of our most complete knowledge. The facts of the gospel are, then, what we must study in order to learn Christian doctrine. We must ascertain and reason upon all that took place, and ascertain what state the world was in when Christ came, and how his coming operated upon the world; and thence discover what we are to believe respecting the designs and workings of Providence in giving to man this new religion.

"No system of morals was ever made so perfect as the character of Christ. Rules which are written down may be misunderstood by some;

they may not suit the circumstances of others; and they will lose much of their use and beauty as ages pass on, and knowledge increases."—pp. 118-9.

On these passages our remarks shall be brief, as we trust they will be *decisive* on the point, that this work is altogether, and in every particular unfitted for the young; although we give the authoress credit for no slight talent and ingenuity in her attempt to foist Unitarianism upon the unwary, by extolling, as she certainly does, the moral character of our blessed Lord, while she suppresses or misrepresents the *doctrines* he came to teach. We accept her challenge, and copy not "all," but only a *part* of what we find "*said*" in the New Testament about the nature and character "of God, and his purposes in sending Christ into the world," and despite the gross misrepresentation of the "*guide*," we know that we shall have in it *much* that we "can form into a profession of faith." Again, we accept her challenge, and will "copy out" only a part of what is "*said* in the New Testament, respecting the duty of man," and despite the gross misrepresentation of the "*guide*" we know that we shall have *not* "*imperfect* materials for the formation of a rule of duty." To the proof; for "the nature of God;" we quote, "God is a *spirit*," John 6, 24;—for "the character of God," we quote, "God is *true*," John 3, 33—"the God of *peace*," Heb. 13, 20—"God is a *consuming fire*," Heb. 12, 29—"God the *Judge of all*," Heb. 12, 23—"the *living* God," Heb. 10, 31—"the *most High* God," Mark 5, 7—"there is but *one* God," 1 Cor. 8, 6—"with God *all things are possible*," Mat. 19, 26—"he that *built all things* is God," Heb. 3, 4—"God is *light*," 1 John 1, 5—"there is *none* good but *one*, that is God," Matt. 19, 17—"Holy Father," 1 John 17, 11—"the *King eternal, immortal, invisible*," 1 John 1, 17;—for the doctrine of the *Triune Godhead*, we refer to the words of our Lord in the Baptismal form, Matt. 28, 19—to the words of the Apostles in the form of Benediction, 2 Cor. 13;—for the purposes of God in sending Christ into the world—we quote, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believed on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved," John 5, 16—"through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins," Rom. 3, 24, 25. For "the duty of man"—and for "materials for the formation of a rule of duty"—to what source can we so well refer as to Him who taught "with authority?"—we quote then what we find "*said*" by the Incarnate God to one

who came unto Him "*tempting Him.*" "Jesus said unto him, '*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.*' This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, '*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*' On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets."—Matt. xxii. 37, 38, 39. And if perchance Miss Martineau would know in *what spirit* these commandments should be kept, we do not know that we can refer her, *of all persons*, to a better authority and rule than the *Sermon on the Mount*. We have, we trust, redeemed the pledge which we gave when we took up the gauntlet; and have shown, as we believe three-fourths of the children in *our** schools could have shown, that the hardy assertions hazarded in the passage quoted above, are *destitute of truth*. The *appearance*—and surely we are justified in using the term *appearance*—of candour which pervades the whole work, the hardihood with which the most unwarrantable statements are put forth, and the ingenuous praise of the moral duties which breathes in its pages, are cunning charms of rare device for winning the unpractised eyes and hearts of the young; who, themselves simple and guileless, are beguiled and fascinated by a show of frankness and openness in others. We have done our best to disabuse them of the unsuspecting confidence they might be inclined to place in their "Guide." For the rest we "believe rightly," and we do not think that in a century we shall believe differently, that these "Devotional Exercises" contain not "one jot or tittle" of devotion, that the "reflections" are unchristian, and the "prayers" unscriptural. And we entreat the authoress of the "Guide" to lay to heart what was said by one *as well versed as herself* in Scripture to those who presumed to direct others, "Thou art confident that thou art thyself a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher or babe which hast the *form* of knowledge and of the truth in the law.—*Thou, therefore, which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?*"—Rom. ii. 19, 20, 21. The work closes with a quotation from old Isaac Barrow, whose name and words are pressed into the service of the authoress for the purpose of illustrating the value and excellence of the study of the Scriptures.† We do not advert to the use of this great man's authority by our Unitarian

* If a fresh instance of disingenuousness were required, we might adduce the use of the term "*our*," which occurs constantly in the "Guide," and is applied *without the slightest notice*, (which indeed would be foreign to the authoress's purpose) that it is intended for Unitarian Education and Unitarian Sunday Schools.

† "We shall find (to use the words of one (Barrow) who was wont to speak eloquently of the value of Scripture truth) that 'It supplieth us with business of a most *worthy* nature and lofty importance; it setteth us upon doing things great and noble

rian guide, in order to complain that the passage quoted is a garbled extract,* or that it is a misapplication of Dr. Barrow's words, which were used by himself in reference, *not to the study of Scripture*, but to the "peculiar advantage" of "*Religion*,"—but to offer her warning and admonition in the words of a writer who "*speaks eloquently*" not only on "*Scripture truth*," but also on the deference to be paid to "*Guides*." Arguing upon the authority of pastors and the submission due to them, he introduces this proviso, "I do not mean to assert that we are obliged indifferently (with an *implicit faith and blind obedience*) to *believe all that our teachers say* or to practise all they bid us; for they are men (*mutato nomine, women*) and therefore *subject to error and sin*; they may neglect or abuse the advantages they have of *knowing better than others*; they may sometimes, by *infirmity*, by *negligence*, by *pravity*, fail in performing faithfully their duty towards us; they may be swayed by temper, be led by passion, be corrupted by *ambition* or *avarice*, so as thence to embrace and vent bad doctrines; we do see our pastors (*guides*) "often dissenting and clashing among themselves, sometimes with themselves, so as to change and retract their own opinions."—(*Barrow's Works*, vol. ii. Sermon 27, p. 225, fol. ed.)

We have seen that in the "*Devotional Exercises*," upon which too much of our time has been occupied, Unitarianism is left to work its way more by a *covert advance* upon the *outworks* of Christianity (properly so called) than by a direct storming of the citadel itself. The doctrines of the Gospel are kept in abeyance, while the *morality*, although extolled, is gradually weakened. The value of the Holy Scriptures is depreciated, but the doctrine itself of the Divinity and Atonement of our Lord is not mentioned in express terms, or even alluded to. Mention is, indeed, made of the "*strict unity of Jehovah*," but to the understandings of all but Unitarians such an expression leaves the doctrine in question "*in statu quo*." The consummate art displayed in such a course must be conspicuous to all. The object of the writer was, not to excite alarm by any needless and premature *exposé* of the

as can be; It engageth us to free our minds from all fond conceits, and cleanse our hearts from all corrupt affections. It putteth us upon the imitation of God, and aiming at the resemblance of his perfections; upon obtaining a friendship, and maintaining a correspondence with the High and Holy One."—122.

* The following clause, which occurs after the word "*affections*," is omitted,—"*to curb our brutish appetites, to tame our wild passions, to correct our perverse inclinations, to conform the dispositions of our souls, and the actions of our life, to the eternal laws of righteousness and goodness.*" Might not this omission have been caused by a wise fear in Miss Martineau that she was introducing an authority from whose words no slight argument might be drawn against the Unitarian notion of *natural goodness* of the human heart?

The passage is taken from Sermon 3, vol. i. p. 26, fol. ed. n. Miss Martineau gives no reference except as to the name.

startling dogmas of her system, but to "prepare the way" by a series of "parallel" approaches, so that the "main attack" might be effectual and decisive. Such was our authoress' conduct while writing for "the young." But when she has to deal with *men* her tactics are altered, and she "speaks like a *man*." The warfare is no more desultory or confined to the outposts. She calls in her light troops, and, "forming into line," brings up her heavy battalions, ready for the "tug of war." She is aware that "guerrilla fighting" will not do for the plains, and, believing that her "materiel" is in good order, prepares with a bold front for the charge. In a word, she acknowledges Unitarianism, and, if peremptory assertion were a substitute for argument and evidence, proves Unitarianism to be "primitive Christianity." Our limits forbid us to enter at any length into a critical review of these three pamphlets, which were "*prize essays*" at the Unitarian Association. We shall, therefore, merely remark upon those points which seem to require particular and immediate notice.

The first pamphlet is addressed to Miss Martineau's "Roman Catholic brethren,"* and invites them to join with her "whose faith is called Unitarianism in investigating the origin and true nature of that Gospel, which they agree in believing worthy of the deepest study, the most unremitting interest, and the highest regard." The Catholics are informed that they and the Unitarians agree in believing some of the truths of natural religion, and that the influence of Gospel principles is pervading and perpetual "in *ennobling every incident* and in hallowing every vicissitude of life—in *equalizing human emotions*" (!), and so forth. Then with dramatic art our authoress effects a transition to the firmness and steadfastness with which the Catholics have ever clung to their faith, alludes to the heroism of their martyrs, and, to show how much in common there is between them, says, "we can refer you to similar examples among those who believed as we believe"—an assertion to which the Catholics, *perhaps*, will attach some credit. Thus far Miss Martineau flatters herself that Unitarians and Catholics have mutual sympathies, but at length she arrives at a delicate point, which requires all her tact to determine satisfactorily—the question, viz. of the deference and authority to be paid to Holy Writ. To refer to the original languages is difficult and impracticable. Recourse must, therefore, be had to translations. The Catholics then are told *very ingenuously*,

"our" (i. e. Unitarian and Catholic) "versions of those Scriptures are, it is true, *not exactly alike*. It appears to us that yours are, in various minor and in some considerable points, less correct than our own; but fair investigation will settle this difference as well as others; and if not, *such*

* Preliminary Address.

variations constitute no insurmountable hinderance. The essential truth of the Gospel is not involved in any or all of those modes of expression in which our respective versions of the Scriptures differ. The difficulties which are thus originated are of very inferior moment to those by which our separation is perpetuated, and which depend on our application of the spirit rather than our interpretation of the letter of the sacred records."

To such as know not the amazing intrepidity of all sceptics in assertion, the passages marked by us in italics will appear, perhaps, of no great consequence. We must, therefore, remind them of a fact, which is, however, notorious enough to those who have had "to contend for the faith" against Priestley, Belsham, and their colleagues. The "*Improved Version*" of the Scriptures, published by the Unitarians some years ago, was declared by them to be made on the basis of *Archbishop Newcome's* translation.* The Archbishop's name was used to blind those who might have suspected an Unitarian version. In almost every instance, however, when a text or word militated against their scepticism, and proved the great fact of the Divinity of our blessed Lord, the editors of the "*Improved Version*" did not scruple to depart from Archbishop Newcome's translation, and to supply their own "gloss." The editors acknowledged that occasionally—when, for instance, there occurred an "error or inaccuracy in the text, the language, the construction, or the sense"—they had departed from their model, and had "invariably noticed such departure," "and given the primate's words in the margin." But will it be credited that passage after passage and word after word were changed *without* acknowledgment or notice. Archbishop Magee, in his immortal work on the Atonement (vol. ii. p. 16) brings forward six passages† from the Gospels and Epistles in which the deviation from the primate's version occurs, and in which *such deviation is on the side of "their predominant opinions."* We give one of these texts as a specimen of the fidelity of the Improved Version, and as a test of the credit due to Miss Martineau's audacious assertion, that "*the essential truth of the Gospel is not involved in any or all of those modes of expression in which our respective versions of the Scriptures differ.*" Romans, chap. ix. verse 5:—The primate translates Ὡν οἱ πατερες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σὰρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. "Whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen." The Unitarians, in the "*Improved Version*:"—"Whose are the fathers, and of whom, by natural descent Christ came. God, who is over all, be blessed for ever."

* See Magee, vol. ii.

† Luke, i. 36; John, i. 12; John, iii. 13; Rom. ix. 5; 2 Cor. viii. 9; Heb. xii. 25, 26.

Here then is a deviation—be it remembered an *unacknowledged* deviation—from what was professed to be the “basis”—a deviation in the translation, in the punctuation, and in the sense—a deviation in which assuredly is involved “*the essential truth of the Gospel.*” What then does Miss Martineau mean by the strange misstatement in her ‘Preliminary Address’* to the Catholics? What credit will henceforward be attached to her assertions—we were about to say on *any* subject, but unquestionably on any subject connected with Unitarianism? Is it by perversion and misrepresentation of facts that the Catholics are to be converted? Is it thus that they are to be cajoled into an acknowledgment of the supreme authority of Holy Writ, which “*the traditions of men,*” now, as in other days, intend to make “of none effect?” *Had we not reason to know* that “our Roman Catholic brethren” regard Miss Martineau’s arguments in much the same light as every Christian must regard them, we should much fear that an insuperable obstacle would be placed in the way of their return to the bosom of the True Faith. But of this we may be assured, that how mistaken, how erring soever in many essential points of the truth the Church of Rome may be, and undoubtedly is—still there is little fear, while the Unitarian Controversy is *thus* conducted, that it will adopt the blasphemous and cheerless system of modern Socinianism. If the Church of Rome conceives that Faith is not to be tested by reason, *this*, at least, she may require to be proved to her, before she yields her faith, *the consistency of reason with prevarication.* But it may be advanced, perhaps, that even the translation of the text quoted does *not* involve the essential truth of the Gospel—that, either way, the fact remains the same. If so, what becomes of the *essential truth of Unitarianism*? If, as in the Primate’s translation, the last clause of the verse refers to Christ, and if, as *not* expressed in the improved version, the clause is to be understood as also referring to Christ, then of course the Divinity of Christ is established. We conceive that Miss Martineau cannot escape the dilemma. Either the essential truth of Christianity is involved in the Unitarian translation of the verse, or it is not. *If it be*, then the assertion, viz. that “the essential truth of the Gospel is not involved” in the “different modes of expression” in the two versions, is manifestly false; *if it be not*, then the Divinity of Jesus Christ is acknowledged. Miss Martineau may select which alternative she will. We heartily, but fruitlessly, wish that she would select the latter—because, “let God be true, and every man a liar.” (Rom. ch. iii. v. 4.) In page 6 of the “Preliminary Address,” our author is anxious to claim antiquity for her creed, and hints, that the Catholics look upon her “sect as newly formed from

* Quoted above.

the dispersed elements of other sects which have melted away," that they "conclude that the parts of her* faith to which they object are but of yesterday, and consequently the impious inventions of men. *If it were so,*" she says, her "*present address* would indeed be *indefensible*; her *challenge* to investigation would be an *insult*; her *appeal* to the Scriptures would be *blasphemy*." If the former challenge, which, it may be remembered, we accepted—were signally unfortunate for our Amazonian Champion, we are bold and hardy enough to foretell that the issue of the present *will not be 'one whit' less so*. Premising thus much; that we are not going through the history of the rise and progress of Unitarianism, but merely to point out a period *tri ex iv*, i. e. that there was a period when it was "no part or parcel" of "*Primitive Christianity*," such as our Authoress asserts it to be. She acknowledges that she is an Unitarian, and prefers the opinions of Unitarianism,† "*because*" they are the opinions of remoter antiquity than those of "other churches"—and because they are "*primitive Christianity*." If it can be shown from authorities, that in the Primitive Church the Divinity of our blessed Lord was held and believed, then we call upon Miss Martineau, if her words mean any thing, to renounce her creed, and confess *it* to be, what she terms the Divinity of Christ—"a vain deceit." Those authorities are to be found in Dr. Burton's "*Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*"—a work, to which we beg to refer all persons who entertain any, the *slightest* doubt as to the belief of the Primitive Church upon the grand doctrine in question. As the opinions, or to speak correctly, the *faith* of the Apostolic and Primitive Fathers (from A.D. 72, to A.D. 310,) upon this point is laid before us, not only through what may be termed the *coloured* medium of a translation, but also with the *original text*, cavil must be silenced, prejudice must yield, reason be convinced. Were it not that we dread we might be prolix, we would extract the passages from Dr. Burton's work, but as that is, or ought to be, in the hands, not of the clergy alone, but of all the *laity* whose faith may be assailed and waver, we must be content, reluctantly indeed, with a mere reference to the '*testimonies*' of that '*glorious army*,' some of whom sat at the feet of the Apostles, and received from their inspired teaching the golden truths which make us '*rich indeed*.'

That in an age like the present, in which *Reason* is the goddess at whose shrine all opinions and creeds are offered—in which

* Whenever the word "*her*" occurs in a quotation, it is used by us for "*our*," which is the original. We change it for the sake only of avoiding the cacophony of a *third* person speaking as the *first*. As so much is said in our article on the subject of quotation, we wish to guard against the possibility of a supposition that we *misquote*.

† Preliminary Address, p. 6.

demonstration is the sole rule of faith, the sole test of credibility—that in these times, we say, the reason-mongers should make a desperate struggle to obtain a hearing for their theories, were a wise, and politic, and consistent part; but that a writer, who glories in the uncontrolled liberty of Rationalism, should appeal to “*antiquity*,” and condescend to own that she holds her creed *because it is old*,—that the disciple of change, who advocates the* *right* of mutability of opinion, and professes an inability to decide whether the faith of to-day may not be a falsehood in the short space of four lustres, should bow to the unchanging belief of 1800 years,—can be accounted for, we apprehend, upon no other ground than that she acts upon a perversion of the apostolic precept, and, with views far different from the Apostle’s, becomes “*all things to all men, that by any means*” she “*may gain some*.” That this perpetual vacillation, this constant shifting of the scene, renders the contest one of greater difficulty, and perplexes the spectator, is indisputable. But in exactly the same proportion does it become necessary that not the *professional* defenders alone, but *all* the followers and soldiers of the faith should arm themselves with weapons fitted for the changed and changing mode of warfare. We acknowledge that “*much has been done*.” By late publications great light has been thrown on the generally “*unknown land*” of early Ecclesiastical History, which is made, much more than hitherto, a subject of examination for Holy Orders. But “*more remains to do*.” And we cannot but think that a *general* acquaintance with the Church History of Primitive Times, would be a salutary and profitable ingredient in the education of the *laity*. If this were done, much valuable information not on the *doctrines* only, but on the *discipline* of Primitive Christianity, would gradually spread throughout the educated class of the community, and *lay*-champions would be found able to maintain inviolate that “*righteous cause*” with which the welfare of the whole body politic is so intimately associated. Not that the clergy are incompetent to the task; but so much suspicion is attached, by the herd, to their motives, that, when they stand up in defence of their “*order*,” they are supposed to act more from mere professional spirit than from a rational and well-grounded conviction of the truth.

From the digression into which we have unconsciously strayed, we return to Miss Martineau, whom we left appealing for the date of her religion to a remoter antiquity than the Churches of Rome and England can boast for themselves. We are not surprised—for in truth we have long ceased to be surprised—at the pertinacity with which assertions, made long since and long since refuted, are again promulgated. We suppose that, like heir-

* p. 62.

† p. 63.

looms, these bold statements will descend to posterity; and that future ages will be called upon to answer, to refute, to controvert, *to do all but convince* the then possessors of them. While, however, the language and literature of the country remain, the same press which issues them will contemporaneously issue their contradiction.

In the Preliminary Address, the reference to antiquity is general; in p. 5 of the Essay on Faith, the reference is particular; and it is asserted that the Gnostics were the first persons in whose mind "the doctrine of the *pre-existence of Christ*" was conceived; that such a doctrine "was new and strange to the faithful teachers of the Church," "which we know from their intimation that it was so;" and that "no traces of it" are to be found "in the works of the Apostolical Fathers, till nearly a century and a half* from the birth of Christ, except in a very few writings," which Miss Martineau declares to be

"so wild and allegorical in their composition, and so evidently and extensively interpolated, as to be of little or no authority. We refer to the works commonly ascribed to Barnabas, Hermas, and Ignatius. The only genuine epistle of Clemens Romanus, which has come down to us, neither advocates, countenances, nor alludes to any such doctrine." p. 6, l. 1 to 8.

Miss Martineau is perfectly correct when she states that the Gnostics were the first to conceive the *pre-existence of Christ*. Our admission is, perhaps, startling.† But the truth of the case is this. The Gnostics believed the *humanity* of *Jesus*, but not the *humanity* of *Christ*; and held that *Christ* descended upon *Jesus* at his baptism—that *Christ* was an emanation from God, but that *Jesus* was born in the ordinary way. Thus Miss Martineau is correct, and correct also when she declares that "the doctrine of the *pre-existence of Christ*" (distinguished as we have seen from *Jesus*) was "new and strange," and acknowledged to be so, to the Apostles. But when she asserts that the Divinity and pre-existence of *Jesus Christ* "were new and strange," she states what is *wholly incorrect*. We again refer her to Dr. Burton, even to the extract he has made from *Clement's Epistle*, c. 22, p. 161. It were in vain to refer her to the *Scriptures*, because Unitarian analysis will so strangely *refine* the coin, as to lose the pure metal and *preserve the alloy*—that is, will so explain away, change, and remodel every sentence, as to render it of none effect, and make a reference useless and inoperative. In the quotation we have cited, the Unitarian method of *improving* the *Scriptures* has been seen; and on it, or rather on the fact of the alteration, we rest what we said on

* Dr. Priestley asserted the same thing. Hist. of Ear. Cor. vol. i. p. 32.

† We confess that we are merely adducing *well-known* arguments; but to answer *well-known* misstatements, to what other source can we turn?

the *inutility* of referring the Unitarian to Scripture, when testimony is required on a particular point. *The *first person* who believed *Jesus Christ* to be a "*mere man*," was *Theodotus*, who lived towards the close of the second century. His blasphemy was immediately disclaimed. He was *excommunicated* A. D. 196, by *Victor, Bishop of Rome*. When, therefore, Miss Martineau fights against the Gnostics, she not only "*slays the slain*," but, as far as the doctrine of the pre-existence and Divinity of *Jesus Christ* is involved, fights a shadow, and "as one that beateth the air."

But when she arrives at the year 140, and finds Justin Martyr "*distinctly mentioning the doctrine† of the Divinity*" of our Lord,—what is the attempt to invalidate his testimony? Is it by the "*stale trick*" of pretending his *Apology* to be "*extensively interpolated*"? No: evidence is too direct and complete.

"It was not till Justin Martyr, himself a philosopher, wrote an apology for Christianity to a philosophical Roman emperor (A. D. 140), that any distinct mention appears to have been made of the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. It is not surprising that—feeling how great a reproach the death of the cross must be in the eyes of the potentate whom he wished to conciliate, and finding his mode of exposition prepared by the Gnostic Christians, and by the application made by the learned Philo of the Platonic doctrine of the Logos—Justin Martyr should have been tempted to recommend his new theology by introducing an admixture of that philosophy which has proved, according to the warnings of the Apostle, a 'vain deceit.' Such we have no hesitation in calling it."—p. 6.

Now Mr. Lindsey (the Unitarian), whose word Miss Martineau doubtless will credit, declares (in his *Apology*, p. 159) that "*Justin Martyr*" was "*free from anything bordering on such extravagancies (those of the Docetæ)*"—Gnostics. And yet we have the words here of Miss Martineau, endeavouring to fasten upon Justin a lie, of which he was guilty, being "*a philosopher*," and leaning—as it is disingenuously insinuated, not asserted—to the *Gnostic* school. Of course Miss Martineau knew Mr. Lindsey's opinion. Be it then remembered, that Miss Martineau, making use of so much of her ally, Mr. Lindsey's, opinion as favours her case, *omits to record* that that ally (whose opinion on this point is invaluable) acquits Justin of "*anything bordering upon the extravagancies of the Docetæ*" (Gnostics); and thus, with little candour but much policy, throws out a hint that this Christian Father confessed a belief, which he did not feel, in the Divinity of the Eternal Word of God, from a readiness to adopt the "*extravagancies*" of a false philosophy, to which he was utterly opposed. "Oh, shame! where is thy blush?" Justin *was* a philosopher, but was converted and became a Christian about A. D. 133. We

* See Burton.

† p. 6.

have but a word to add on this subject.* If Justin had been tempted, from any bias towards Gnosticism or Platonism, to get rid of the reproach of the death upon the Cross by representing Christ to be God, what would have been his conduct?—he would philosophise, and maintain the Gnostic hypothesis, and represent *Christ* the Divine emanation to have tenanted the form of the *man Jesus* at his baptism, and to have *left* it at his death. Such, we say, could only have been the rational conduct of Justin, had he been actuated by the motives ascribed to him by our authoress. But did he do so? “Οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς, ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σταυρούμενος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κεκηρυγμένος ἀποδείκνυται.” (Dial. c. 71, p. 169.)

Justin Martyr (in his *Apol.* II., 12, p. 96) speaks of his former attachment to the doctrines of Plato, whose philosophy, as well as the systems of the Stoics, Peripatetics, and Pythagoreans, *before* his conversion to Christianity, he had studied. When he and the other Fathers eulogise Plato, they are merely speaking of his system as being more pure and correct than those of the other philosophers;—all, however, being alike erroneous. This is not a deduction of modern times; it is not *now* assumed that Justin and the Fathers regarded Plato in this light, and *in this light only*. Justin himself (*Cohort. ad Græc.* 30, p. 29; *ibid.* 5, p. 10; *ibid.* 31, p. 30; *Apol.* I., 20, p. 55; *ibid.* II., 13, p. 97); *Theophilus*, who was Bishop of Antioch at the close of the second century (*ad Autol.* 3, 16, p. 390); and *Irenæus* (in his lib. iii, 25, 5, p. 224);—these writers, and more might be mentioned, confirm, by their own words in the passages cited, what we have advanced concerning their opinion of Platonism. And yet the charge (*first* made by Zuicker, a Prussian Socinian, who lived in the XVIIth century—then reasserted by Priestley—and now retailed by Miss Martineau) of Justin's corruption of Christianity from his attachment to the Platonic philosophy, is insidiously put forth again, for the purpose of invalidating his splendid testimony to the truth. We attribute all this misrepresentation to ignorance—to positive ignorance of Justin's writings. The bold reproduction of this refuted calumny should not surprise any man: it is part of the elastic scheme of Unitarianism, which never acknowledges defeat, and, although shorn of its honours, returns again to the conflict with unrepressed audacity. “*Phœnicis instar, reviviscit.*”

Dr. Burton (in his 7th Bampton Lecture) argues well, that, if Justin had indeed corrupted the truth—if the doctrine professed by him was not that of the Apostles,—Polycarp also—who did not die until 26 years after Justin's Apology was made, who was the

* Upon the gratuitous assumption of Justin's falsehood, which is unsupported by one tittle of evidence, we offer no remark. Such a libel carries with it its own refutation.

immediate disciple of St. John, and who knew, if man ever knew, the Apostolic doctrine—was a corrupter of the truth. For Irenæus mentions that Polycarp came to Rome, and brought back many Christians who had been seduced by Valentinus and Marcion,—two heretics who borrowed largely from the *Platonic doctrines*. Irenæus mentions this, and speaks of *Valentinus* being *condemned by Polycarp*, and yet *commends Justin* for the *soundness of his faith*. “Surely, then (adds Dr. Burton), if any point is capable of demonstration, it is that *Polycarp, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus* all held the *same doctrines*.” “If then *there ever was a gratuitous assumption*” (such is Dr. Burton’s conclusion), “it is this, that *Justin Martyr made inroads on the purity of the Gospel*; and if ever we had security for the soundness of a Christian’s faith, it is that which Polycarp and Irenæus furnish to Justin Martyr.” We beg both to apologise to Dr. Burton for abridging and, we fear, marring the beauty of his argument, which we could not extract at length; and to offer our acknowledgments for the assistance we have derived from his works.

We conceive that the Unitarian appeal to Antiquity is sufficiently disposed of, whether as to the *fact*, or as to the *deduction* from the fact.

We pass over intervening ground, in which we find many an obstacle, to present a specimen of the Unitarian argument when founded not upon antiquity but upon *Reason*. We will however make an exception for the sake of extracting a passage, unrivalled in the wilfulness of the misrepresentation contained in it. Miss Martineau has divided her Essay into three parts; the doctrines maintained in each being a constituent portion of “the Essential Faith of the Universal Church”: viz. I. The Strict Unity of Jehovah. II. The Unlimited Nature of the Redemption by Christ. III. The Existence of a Future State. With regard to the first, we shall only observe that the argument is chiefly directed to the overthrow of the Divinity of our blessed Lord. This worthy feat is accomplished, not by quotations from the “sacred records” (unless, indeed, we except five passages,* which may prove the *humanity* of the *Son of Man* without *disproving* the *Divinity* of the *Son of God*), but by assertions, the value of and credit due to which may be ascertained by the extract we are about to cite. Miss Martineau seems to fear that the Apostolic Benedictions and Salutations might be produced from their Epistles as irrefragable proofs of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. She then quotes *one* of the apostles as maintaining her own view; and to get rid of the

* John, viii. 28, 29; John, vii. 16, 17; Luke, xxii. 28, 29, 30; Philip, ii. 5—11; Acts, ii. 22.

trouble, or *perhaps the exposure, consequent* upon a quotation of the other apostles, she boldly asserts as follows:—

“Jude addresses his Epistle to the Christians as to men ‘sanctified by God the Father;’ and in *almost every apostolic benediction and salutation we find the work of sanctification as well as of grace ascribed to the Father.* But it is more SATISFACTORY as well as EASY to appeal to the whole body of the sacred writings (which we confidently do), than to separate passages for proof that *God the Father is the sole originator of every work of nature and of grace; that as winds are his messengers, and flaming fires his ministers in the world of matter,—righteous men, prophets, apostles, and above all, Christ, the Holy One, are his agents in the administration of the spiritual world, and the establishment of the dispensation of grace.*”—p. 13.

Does Miss Martineau expect that her dictum will be received with implicit credit, and that her statements will be admitted without inquiry? Was this unequalled falsehood promulgated, with all the air of conscious truth, to stifle investigation? We, at least, have ventured to examine, once or twice in the course of our remarks, the averments of this fair but uncandid writer—and again we are sceptical; and again we shall find and prove incontestibly, the use of inquiry and investigation. In the forms of “apostolic benediction and salutation,” there are* EIGHTEEN instances in which *Christ’s name is associated* with that of God the Father—out of that eighteen there are two in which *Christ’s name*, so associated, is placed *before* that of God the Father;—and there are TEN† instances in which *Christ’s name stands alone, dissociated, and independent.* We beg to ask Miss Martineau what she has to place against this array? we beg to ask her how many texts, besides the one she has adduced, can be “brought into court” to substantiate the allegation “that in *almost every apostolical benediction and salutation, the work of sanctification, as well as of grace, is ascribed to the Father;*” i.e. of course “to the Father” distinguished from *Christ*? “Peradventure there shall” be “five” such texts; and we do not think that there is a *sixth*, but what are they when the argument is as to numerical force,—What are they among so many?—what are *five* against *eight-and-twenty*? We need hardly add that we are not arguing against the ascription of the work of sanctification primarily to God the Father, “the Giver of every good and perfect gift,” but against the gross misstatement contained

* Rom. c. i. v. 7; 1 Cor. c. i. v. 3; 2 Cor. c. i. v. 3; 2 Cor. c. xiii. v. 14. The name of Christ first; Gal. c. i. v. 3; Eph. c. i. v. 2; Eph. c. vi. v. 23; Phil. c. i. v. 2; Col. c. i. v. 2; 1 Thess. c. i. v. 1; 2 Thess. c. i. v. 2; 2 Thess. c. ii. v. 16, 17. Name of Christ first; 1 Tim. c. i. v. 2; 2 Tim. c. ii. v. 2; Titus, c. i. v. 4; Phil. c. i. v. 3; 2 Pet. c. i. v. 2; 2 John, c. i. v. 3.

† Philipp. c. iv. v. 23; Rom. c. xvi. v. 20; Rom. c. xvi. v. 24; 1 Cor. c. xvi. v. 23; Gal. c. vi. v. 18; 1 Thess. c. v. v. 28; 2 Thess. c. iii. v. 18; 2 Tim. c. iv. v. 22; Phil. c. i. v. 25; Rev. c. ii. v. 21.

in the extract. We leave this as a specimen of the mode in which, throughout these libels upon the truth of Christianity, the Holy Scriptures are deliberately falsified and misinterpreted. As we cannot accuse Miss Martineau of ignorance of the truth, and cannot believe that she did *not know* the fact that "*almost every apostolic benediction and salutation*" would *overthrow* instead of support her case, we agree with her that it is "*more EASY to appeal to the whole body*" of the Scriptures, "*than to separate passages for proof*" of her dogma, especially in the present instance. But whether such a course is "*more satisfactory*" to Catholics, or any persons endued with sense, except to herself and the "Unitarian Association," is, perhaps, a moot point. But the *title* of the work ought to decide the question. "*The Essential Faith of the Universal Church deduced from the Sacred Records,*" should be proved by liberal quotations and references to "*passages*" in those records. But when we find the very point *assumed* which has to be *proved*, and an universal conclusion arrived at without an induction of particulars, we conceive that such an argument is absolutely worthless, and that the "*bill*" must be "*rejected,*" or the *preamble amended*, inasmuch as there is no connection between them.

On the second division of the argument, viz. "*The Unlimited Nature of Redemption by Christ,*" we shall offer but little remark. The whole subject is considered in a moral, but not scriptural, light. Every man is represented at full liberty to accept or reject the Gospel, without hazarding, in the latter case, the *condemnation* of his soul.

"To the enjoyment of the blessings of the Gospel no alternative could be opposed but their non-possession; to the remission of sins, but their retention; to justification, but condemnation under the law. But it does not follow that when these terms are shifted from their original use, and accommodated to a subject to which they do not naturally belong, they should be still opposed to each other, no others being allowed to intervene. If it be generally agreed to understand by Salvation a state of perfect bliss after death, it is well: but if any man then choose to transfer the term Perdition from meaning the loss of the privileges of Christianity to the loss of the happiness of heaven and a consequent subjection to the pains of hell, he goes further than the customary use of language allows, further than reason can sanction, and much further astray from a true theology than he can at present estimate, or can hereafter sufficiently deplore."—p. 29.

We do not pretend to argue with one whose judgment is so thoroughly blinded by prejudice, as to be guilty of the preposterous reasoning in this passage. We however place it on record, in fairness to the Unitarians, as it declares their belief as to the consequences of accepting or rejecting Christianity.

We now arrive at the subject of "a Future State," which is the third division of the essay, and which comprehends, after declaring what the state is, the doctrines of sacrifice, mediation, and intercession, the Roman Catholic sacraments, power of absolution, and public ministry, &c. On all of which topics, the arguments are *as clear and convincing as those* on which we have animadverted. Lest we should seem to be uncandid, we shall select a passage in which the opinions of the writer are unequivocally set forth, and in which is contained, as we think we shall be able to show, as strong an argument against Miss Martineau's qualifications as a reasoner, upon theological subjects at least, as any which her enemies can advance. The following extract, therefore, is a specimen of the Unitarian belief on the question of future punishment, and of the mode by which the *rationalists* explain a difficulty—a difficulty that is of *their own creation*. The fact of a future life is proved from the resurrection of our Lord, of which we have complete evidence. The way is then prepared by the authoress for the dogma of the *non-eternity* of future punishment, by the assertion that "possessing it," (the evidence of Christ's and our own resurrection,)

"It is of comparatively little importance how widely men differ in their speculations as to the *time* and *mode* in which the future life shall succeed to the present, and as to the *nature* of the rewards and *punishments* which shall follow their probation."

So little light is possessed, we are told, on the *nature* of future punishment, that every individual may "fairly" be left to exercise his imagination upon it. The *extent*—the *duration* of the punishment—may be ascertained.

"But of the duration of the evil, we believe ourselves so far qualified to judge, as to anticipate that it will *not be eternal*."

"Our reasons for thus determining are various. It is, in the first place, *utterly inconceivable* that God should appoint to any individual of his creatures a lot in which misery predominates over happiness. Our *belief* in the Divine *prescience* requires that we suppose the fate of every man to be ordained from the beginning. Our *faith* in the Divine *mercy* requires that we should expect an overbalance of good in the existence of every being thus ordained; and that in no case can the punishment be disproportionate to the offence. Our *faith* in the Divine *benevolence* inspires a conviction that all evil is *to be made subsidiary to good*, and that therefore *all punishment must be corrective, all suffering remedial*. Thus far the light of nature teaches us to anticipate the final restitution of sinners.

"It is confirmed by revelation,—by every passage of the sacred records which represents God as a tender Father to all the human race, as just and good, as incapable of being 'angry for ever,' or of taking pleasure in the punishment of the wicked, and as chastising in mercy,

for corrective purposes. It is confirmed by every passage which describes the good brought into the world by Christ as overbalancing the evil produced by the introduction of sin and death. It is confirmed by every passage which prophetically announces the triumph of the Gospel over all adverse powers,—death, sin, and sorrow. Above all, it is confirmed by the whole tenour of the preachings and writings of the Saviour and his followers,—by the spirit of boundless benevolence, of joyful faith, of exulting hope, which is every where blended with their emphatic warnings of the perils of sin, and their mournful regret for the infatuation of sinners. It appears to us that against all this array of evidence on the one side, little or none can be adduced on the other.

“That which is brought forward most frequently and with the most show of reason is the expressions commonly translated *everlasting*, and which are applied both to the future happiness of the righteous and misery of the wicked. These terms (which are much less frequently applied to a future state than is commonly supposed) do not invariably signify ‘everlasting’ and ‘eternal,’ as is evident from there being applied to various institutions and states which have already come to an end and passed away: as to the covenant with Abraham, which is declared to have been long since annulled; to the priesthood of Aaron, of which no vestiges remain; and to the flames of Gehenna, which have been quenched for ages. The strictly correct rendering of the terms in these cases is *permanent*, *continual*, *lasting*, and not absolutely eternal.

“In order to reconcile the terms as usually rendered with the attribute of Divine justice, some Christians have imagined that the limited punishment of the wicked will be followed by immediate destruction; but this supposition leaves the difficulty where it was before, and is besides destitute of all support from reason or Scripture; as it is incompatible with the character of the Divine dispensations that punishment should be appointed for any but corrective purposes, or that sin and sorrow should triumph in the annihilation of any individual of God’s creatures.

“If we are asked why then we firmly believe in the immortality of the righteous? we reply, that we found our faith on much better evidence than the use of the terms we have now been considering. We believe it, because the happiness of the creature is the fulfilment of the ends of creation and providence; because happiness is an eternal principle, while misery is only a temporary influence; and because it would argue imperfection in the Deity, if he were either unable or unwilling to prolong a holy and blissful existence.”—pp. 33, 34.

This is the argument of a *heathen*, and not of a Christian. If punishment is *remedial* and *not retributive*, under the Christian dispensation, the Gospel merely propounds what the Pagans believed. We make no apology for transcribing the well-known passage which so remarkably illustrates this Unitarian hypothesis.

“Quin et supremo quum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseri, nec funditus omnes

Corporeæ excludunt pestes: penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

Ergo *exercentur pœnis*, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendant."

" Quisque suos patimur manes."

" Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,

Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit

Ætherium sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem."

Æneid. lib. vi. line 710.

We congratulate Miss Martineau on her "holy alliance." We will notice presently the general and cursory appeal to Scripture, but will now close with the argument founded on the *light of nature*. It will be observed that, although the attributes of *Benevolence*, *Mercy* and *Prescience*, are recognised, no reference is made to that of *Justice*, which surely is no less essential than those enumerated to the perfection of the Deity, and which, we humbly conceive, might have assisted Miss Martineau in the solution of her problem. If Mercy confers a blessing disproportioned immeasurably to the desert of the receiver, surely then no impeachment can lie against the Almighty, if *Justice* inflicts a *punishment* not more disproportionate to the offence. If the penitent gains salvation, the impenitent, *justly*, receives damnation. But it is not to this point that our attention has been especially directed. The whole argument of a *reasoner*, of one who is illuminated by the "*light of nature*"—turns upon this—that such a thing is *utterly inconceivable* and *therefore* to be *disbelieved*. Revelation declares a fact, inconceivable to the disciple of natural religion, which fact is *therefore incredible*. And is it then come to this—that we are to reject that which is beyond our reason?" How then shall we believe the facts of "*Natural Religion*?" How far will the "*light of nature*" guide us through the darkness and obscurity which shroud our first steps in the Material World? Let this rationalist explain, if she be able, the *mode* of her own existence;—let her trace, if she be able, the delicate link which connects the body with the soul;—let her tell, if she be able, *how* the mind acts upon the body, so that the hair shall grow grey in a night;—let her tell *the laws* by which the limb obeys the will; let her declare *how* thought and memory are influenced by material subjects;—let her go into the field and show *how* the blade of "grass groweth, or the petal of the flower is formed, or the grain springeth up" into the ear of corn;—let her—but we have done;—let her explain these things if she can, or, if she cannot, *disbelieve* that they *are*;—let her tell us *how* these effects are produced, or if she cannot unravel the myriad mysteries which envelop her natural religion, let her not presume,

with any show of reason, to reject the truths of Almighty God because forsooth they are "utterly inconceivable." Once for all we beg to remind her, unless Unitarian *improvement* has laid its sacrilegious hands upon the text and robbed it of its meaning, that the Scripture saith "His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts."

The monstrous assertions contained in the passage cited are merely the substance of the Unitarian Creed published by Mr. Belsham in the year 1798. In the "Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Inquiry" Mr. Belsham* declares that none of the beings formed "by a God of love will ever be made eternally miserable." The wicked will, indeed, rise again, he admits—and rise to *suffering*. But since "God would act *unjustly*" in inflicting "eternal misery for temporary crimes—the sufferings of the wicked can be but remedial," &c. &c. This scheme (as nearly allied to the Popish notion of Purgatory as may be) may communicate "confidence and tranquillity" to the "enlightened believer," as Mr. Belsham maintains; but will also communicate, says Dr. Magee, "a *hardened and fearless security* to the *impenitent offender*." We agree with Mr. Belsham that his doctrine, viz. that future punishment is only temporary and remedial, will communicate to the "believer" a certain "confidence and tranquillity,"—a confidence that is unscriptural and impious, a tranquillity that is unchristian and fatal. And we agree with Dr. Magee, that the "impenitent offender" will derive from it "a hardened and fearless security" ruinous for ever to both body and soul. Miss Martineau is fearful that her heathenish scheme bears "a wonderful likeness" to the errors of the church which she is attacking.

"This doctrine,—of the limited and corrective nature of future punishment,—is often likened, by those who disbelieve and disapprove it, to the Catholic doctrine of purgatory; a likeness which Catholics and Unitarians are perhaps equally unwilling to admit, though the latter have little doubt that the belief in purgatory is a corruption of the genuine doctrine as they hold it now."—p. 35.

We pledge ourselves to the fact, that the whole of her argument disproves merely the Papistical tenet, without in the slightest degree answering the charge made against herself. We have only to add that Miss Martineau is correct when she says that the different words translated "everlasting" do NOT always mean strictly "eternal." But when she argues that everlasting happiness is the portion of the virtuous, and *temporary* punishment the lot of the wicked—and that the Scriptures do not sanction "the fearful collocation of the terms"—eternal happiness and

* See Magee, vol. ii, p. 348.

eternal woe—we are, as usual, diametrically opposed to her. We will refer her, even at the hazard of being told that the passage is “extensively interpolated,” to “the record of the covenant,” as she terms the Holy Scriptures, and we will defy Unitarian ingenuity, let it shuffle as it will, to evade the conclusion inevitably to be drawn from c. 25, v. 46, of St. Matthew's Gospel. “Καὶ ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον· οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.” Is this, or is it not a “collocation of terms,” of “*everlasting life*,” and of “*everlasting punishment*?” Let the mighty chemists bring hither their crucible, and try these words by every test they please; and the result of the process to the present argument can only be that,—despite the justice or injustice of the Divine dispensation—despite the puny efforts of a weak, and blinded, and finite understanding—as there is a revelation of *eternal happiness*, so also there is of *eternal punishment*.

Having already exceeded our limits, we hasten to conclude our article. But we cannot altogether omit to make a very few observations on the Essay addressed to the Jews.

That an Unitarian should fail signally in converting the Jew, must be evident, we think, when we recollect what the tenets of Unitarians are upon the particular points likely to influence the judgment of the Jew. A denial that the Messiah is aught else but a “mere man” is the grand stumbling block, and rock of offence, in the way of the first advance. Add to this the misinterpretation of prophecy, which is the necessary consequence of the dogmas of the “*simple humanity*,” and another insurmountable obstacle is thrown up. On the contrary, teach and prove the *Divinity* of the Messiah by the *Jewish prophecies*, which are a dead letter when applied to a “mere man,” but are indeed “*lively oracles*” when referred to “*the Son of God*,”—teach and prove that the Almighty God, the Eternal I AM, The God of Abraham, is He who left the glory of heaven to redeem the Jew—teach and prove that the Judaic rites and ceremonies were ordained from the beginning only to endure until the Incarnation of Jehovah—and that Israel was preserved, *not only or especially* that “*the true God might be known to the human race at large*,” but *also* that the *faith in the Saviour might be preserved*,—teach and prove, we say, what Judaism and the Gospel *really are*, not what the sceptical and short-sighted Unitarian assumes them to be, and the *only door* is opened, under divine blessing, for the return of God's ancient flock to the fold of the Great Shepherd, the only convincing testimony is afforded that the law has answered its ends, has been fulfilled by the advent, and is merged in the dispensation, of Him, who “in the beginning was with God, and was God.”

The great object of the present Essay seems to be to show that the Jews were always ceremonial Unitarians, and that, if converted, they must become spiritual Unitarians; no longer looking for temporal rewards, no longer seeking to gain the Divine favour by Atonement, but relying altogether upon repentance. The Law, we are told, had nothing to do with training the people of Israel gradually to the knowledge of a Saviour but *merely* was of use to distinguish Jew from Gentile and to preserve alive the truth of the unity and moral government of God.

"The Law was perfect in as far as it had a full capacity of attaining its ends, which were to separate the Hebrews from the idolatrous nations around them, and to make them the preceptors of the whole human race in the great truths, that God is One and the spiritual Ruler of mankind."

We do not comment on this extract, which conveys a part of the truth, but not the whole—but we submit that such a representation of the Law will but confirm the Jew in Judaism.

That this Essay is remarkable for its inconsistencies and contradictions, we proceed to show.

"Nor were the sanctions of the Law less wisely ordained than its nature. These sanctions were *sensible* and *immediate* rewards and *punishments*. A people insufficiently practised in obedience to form a notion or a rule of systematic duty, required of course an immediate and perpetual impulse to obedience."—p. 13.

This is declared in p. 13. In p. 14, we find the following.

"By the occasional delay of punishment, and the declared possibility of escaping it by repentance and atonement, the people were convinced of the long-suffering and mercy of God, as well as of his justice."

And in p. 15, we are informed, that, by "the occasional *delay* of the retribution," the people were "taught to look forward." It is not our purpose to inquire into the validity of the respective arguments, but simply to contrast them—and thus to leave the inference open as to the reliance fit to be placed in such a reasoner.

In p. 15, Miss Martineau writes that the Jews, "from" (being) "ignorant and barbarous in comparison with some heathen nations, became not only a spectacle but a guide to the rest of the world, from their remarkable superiority in wisdom and piety. What then," she continues, "can be clearer than that the design

of God in his dealings with the Hebrew nation was to enlarge and improve the mind of the human race, by means of the peculiar dispensation with which he favoured his chosen people?"

But in p. 16, we read—

"Though as a nation their advancement was unprecedented, their attainments were rivalled by individuals among the heathens; but this fact only furnishes a new evidence of the objects and the power of revelation, since such instances were few and unimportant. A philosopher arose here and there among pagan nations who had attained to the conception of the Divine unity and even of a future life; who had, in fact, equalled the wisest of the Israelites in spiritual discernment."

If the design of the Almighty God were to reveal certain truths to the Jews (which, without such revelation they could not know), and through the Jews to instruct the human race—how comes it to pass that any individuals among the pagans could, without revelation, "rival" the Jews in the attainment of those truths, nay, could "*equal the wisest of the Israelites in spiritual discernment*?" How comes this to pass, we repeat? We would leave Miss Martineau to unravel the mystery, to explain the contradiction; but, at the hazard of the imputation of illiberality being thrown against us, we will take the trouble upon ourselves, and solve the riddle by the answer, that this comes to pass, because it comports with the Unitarian scheme to *raise human reason to a par with Divine Revelation*, to weaken the influence of the latter by an insinuation that the former could of itself "*rival*" the attainments of the people *whom God himself*, by an *especial* interposition, instructed. It was wise to say that the "*race*" of pagans did *not* attain to this equality with the wisest of the Israelites; because the degradation of Revelation would otherwise have been too palpable. But the effect is the same as to the *fact*, when this knowledge is said to have been arrived at by "*a philosopher here and there*;"—the degradation of Revelation and the exaltation of human reason are equally effected without the appearance of doing it.

If we should appear to wrest the above extract from its true and legitimate meaning, we think the following will confirm our comment.

"It is only necessary to premise, that in all ages of the world God has communicated with man by various methods;—with the prophets of your nation, by a miraculous voice; with the people, by supernatural signs; and in an equal degree with all nations by the course of Providence, or what is frequently called the voice of Nature. A clear revela-

tion of his will is afforded in those written records which have been formed in consequence of his peculiar communications with your prophets and sages ; but the other indications of his will which are afforded by the course of events are no less clear and decisive than those which were given miraculously by visible and audible signs. The solution of our inquiries into His designs may therefore be gained with as much precision from the language of events as the language of men : with equal confidence, in as far as both are the appointed exponents of the Divine will ; with greater confidence, inasmuch as the events constitute the revelation, while the sacred books are only the record of the revelation."

"No set of circumstances" in the Jewish history "is more interesting" than that by which the Jews "were *trained* to the expectation of a future life."—p. 22. In the very next page it is declared that "the belief in a future state is prevalent in *every nation in the world*;" so that "*training*" was necessary for the Jews ; but "every nation in the world" could gain the same knowledge *without* such "training." Truly the "interesting set of circumstances" which "trained" the Jews was therefore somewhat superfluous. But let us not too hastily credit the assertion that "*every nation in the world*" believes this doctrine. In ten lines more it is asserted that the influence of the belief in a future state is so incalculably powerful on the "literature," "laws," "and customs of nations" as to afford "a strong general presumption, that where the national records bear no trace of the doctrine, the doctrine is not known!" so that "*every nation in the world*" believes the doctrine, and yet no nation believes it unless the national records bear traces of it. Again : it may be *impossible to fix the date* of the reception of this great doctrine among your people," but yet the Jews are informed that "it is equally clear, that *after their return from the captivity, they not only had a distinct notion of this doctrine, but that their conception of it was far superior to that of the most enlightened nations.*" So that first, the *date* of the knowledge of the doctrine *cannot* possibly be fixed, and secondly, the captivity *is fixed* as the *date*! Now be it carefully remembered, that all the world was instructed through the medium of the Jews ; that this tractate is intended to show, as the title of it says, "*Providence manifested through Israel.*" Simple men would therefore imagine that the authoress would point out the great and remarkable facts of Jewish history as bearing upon this purpose—would set forth the leading doctrines as *originating from Israel and spreading thence* among the heathen. But what do we read, p. 25? "It was probably *by inter-*

course with their Persian conquerors, with the Chaldeans, and the disciples of the Greek philosophy, that the bulk of the nation became familiarized with the heathen doctrine of the immortality of the soul; and, comparing it with their previous conceptions, and with the ambiguities of their records, became able to confirm and exalt their faith in a future state of retribution." In p. 15 we were told, that "to the race (the bulk of the nation) it mattered little what the philosophers thought about a future state:" and here we are told that it was "by intercourse with the disciples of the Greek philosophy" that a familiar knowledge of it was communicated to the "bulk of the nation!!! With one more instance we will conclude our notice of the inconsistencies of the arguments. In p. 24, the following words occur: "Whether or not they (the Jews) were the first to attain the notion (of a future life), when it was formed, it was more pure than any which prevailed elsewhere. It was not, like that of the heathen, vague and vacillating, attended with fancies as various as the imaginations from which they sprang. As far as your nation believed in a future state, they believed in it as a state of proper retribution, and their faith became a principle of action." Ere the pen could be dry which traced these words, we find in the following page,

"It cannot be disputed, however, nor can the fact be too carefully borne in mind, that the belief, whenever and however originated and cherished, still remained *indistinct, partial, and variable.*"

With this mighty perplexity of contradictions the authoress must be, we apprehend, as much bewildered as her readers, and must be tempted,—when the passages are placed in tolerably strong contrast,—almost to deny her own statements. She is at full liberty to "rescind her vote." But let her not for the future claim credit, at all events, for consistency:—"Littera scripta manet."

Fully aware of the tedious length of our remarks, we cannot yet resist to mention one or two facts contained in this present Essay. In p. 23, Miss Martineau says, that "the early Hebrew records bear no" traces of the notion of a future life; and in p. 25, that the "expressions respecting death in the Book of Job" are "desponding." These assertions are hazarded for the sake of maintaining her position that the Jews became familiarized with the doctrine only at the time of the Captivity; thus, as we have remarked, in opposition to her own scheme, making the Jews not "a light to lighten the Gentiles," but recipients of a reflected light from them. But how could she venture, in the face of that

well-known passage in Job, c. xix. v. 25, 26, 27, and (to mention no other instances) in the face also of St. Paul's declaration of the firm and stedfast belief of the Patriarchs in a future life, in Hebr. c. 11., in which he speaks of them as confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims,—how could she venture to expect that the Jews, of all persons, tenacious to a degree of the antiquity of their faith in a future life, and jealous equally of the Gentiles—should pay even a momentary heed to her?—how could she venture to put forth statements that must be immediately disproved?

The whole argument from prophecy is rendered worse than useless by the Unitarian denial of the Divinity of the Messiah. We give one instance of remarkable and hardy perversion of the fact of the mode in which Christ performed his miracles. In p. 38 she speaks of "Jesus, who promised health to the sick and food to the hungry, *in the name of the Lord.*" By which misrepresentation she calls upon the Jews to recognize Christ, because in the Law (Deut. xviii) they were to attend to any prophet who performed a miracle in the name of the Lord. It is superfluous, perhaps, to add, that of course by such a method the *proper* authority of our Lord is altogether thrown aside. In p. 39 it is asserted—

"The offences which were given to the rulers and teachers of the people arose, *not so much from the explanation of his views* which Jesus gave in his discourses, as from actions which were thought to indicate contempt of the Law, and a presumptuous pretension to Divine power,"

—in defiance of the manifold passages of the Gospels, which represent our Saviour as offending the Jews—not so much by his actions—as *by his words and arguments*, in which "he made Himself God." Take the following: John, viii. v. 48, to the end of the chapter; John, c. 10, v. 30, 31, 32, 33.

Miss Martineau, p. 47, quotes the interview with the woman of Samaria, but neglects any notice of the Samaritan's acknowledgment that he was "the Saviour of the world." In page 53, we hear that

"The only doctrine taught by the new dispensation is a future life of retribution; and its purpose is to be a sanction to the higher moral system introduced by Jesus. All other doctrines, admitted, supposed, or *incidentally taught* in the Gospel, however true, however important, form no part of the Gospel: they were, or might have been, developed by natural means."

We offer no remark on this extract. We give it as a specimen

of the arguments which Miss Martineau thinks may persuade the Jews to embrace Christianity. But "*Credat Judæus—non ego.*" In p. 63, we find that

"His reign began with the exercise of his extraordinary powers, and closed when that exertion became no longer necessary ; when the first covenant was ended by the destruction of the holy city and temple, when signs and wonders ceased, and Christianity had spread sufficiently to make its way by natural means alone."

Thus Christ's mission did not terminate with his life—nay, he was a King for some years, according to Miss Martineau ; who surely is hereby creating an unnecessary stumbling-block in the way of the "*simple humanity.*"

The "four questions of Orobio"—a Spanish Jew, who, we learn (*not* from Miss Martineau), denied Judaism and pretended Catholicism, but again recanted, returned to Judaism, and held a discussion with Limborch, in which discussion Orobio, according to Miss Martineau, baffled and defeated his antagonist (Biog. Dict., art. Orobio),—the "four questions" of this Orobio are brought forward for the purpose of showing that Faith in the Messiah is *not* declared in Scripture necessary to Salvation ; that eternal damnation is *not* the consequence of rejecting the Messiah ; and the Mosaic dispensation is *not* typical of the Christian scheme. Miss Martineau allows that the Jews were dispersed abroad for their rejection of the Messiah, but

"The plain answer to Orobio's question therefore is, that your everlasting salvation is nowhere said to depend on belief of any kind. As for the rest, it merely amounts to this,—that you will not possess the grace of the Gospel as long as you reject it."—p. 69.

In p. 70 she says that Jesus declared that the happiness and misery respectively of those who accepted and those who rejected Him was contrasted in a marked manner. She then quotes in confirmation Luke, c. xiii. v. 28, 29 ; and Matt. xxiii. from the 29th verse to the 38th inclusive ; with the exception, however, of the 33d verse, which *of course* is omitted *only* because it is irrelevant to the argument. Will it be believed that the verse omitted is this—"Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, HOW CAN YE ESCAPE THE DAMNATION OF HELL?" The omission of this verse is the best answer to the argument, as to eternal life depending upon the reception of the Messiah, that can be found ; and such, no doubt, Miss Martineau considers it. As she is anxious for truth, she can but thank us for restoring this verse to its proper

place in her quotation and memory. St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews is a desperate puzzle to Miss Martineau on the subject of the typical nature of the Jewish law and ceremonial. She is, however, a bold rider: if she cannot take the fences fairly, she rides *at* them, *through* them—adopts any and all means not to be “thrown out.” If our illustration be not irreverent, it describes Miss Martineau's assertions on the point to which our attention is now drawn. She attempts to get rid of the difficulty caused by St. Paul's application of the Mosaic terms and ceremonies to our blessed Lord and His Gospel, by explaining (p. 74) that St. Paul was “*learned*,” that his “*imagination was vivid*,” that “his mind was possessed with the *imagery* natural to one who had studied the Law;”—and *therefore*, and because he was writing to Jews, all his elaborate arguments on this subject are merely flowers of rhetoric, and intended to illustrate, “in every possible way,” the Unitarian notion of “the mission, death, and doctrine of Christ, and the appointed destination of the Gospel.”

“But since no imagination can frame these allegories, references, and analogies into a consistent system; since the figures are perpetually shifted, and the imagery utterly irreconcilable in its different parts,—it is clear that no typical system was meant to be shown forth by the writer, or could have been supposed by his best-informed, that is, by his Hebrew readers. No one analogy holds throughout; and those which relate to the death of Christ are above all various; as he is represented sometimes as the *sacrifice* offered, sometimes as the *priest who* offered sacrifice, sometimes as the high-priest who entered the Holy of Holies; and again, as the veil of the sanctuary; and again, as the successor of Moses, offering a second and better covenant. But it is useless to point out this delusion—of a typical mode of interpretation—to you, who never have been and never will be deluded by it.”—p. 75.

Nothing is farther from us than to waste time by entering into the argument on this topic—which to us is so written in letters of light, as that they who run may read. But we cannot help refreshing Miss Martineau's memory with the fact that both *St. John* and *St. Peter*, who are described in the book of the Acts of the Apostles as “*ignorant and unlearned men*,” made use of the same sadly-contradictory analogy as she charges to the account of *St. Paul's learning, vivid imagination, and long study of the Law!* St. Peter, recording our blessed Lord to be both “the Lamb” and “the Shepherd,” and Saint John also,—1 Pet. c. 1, v. 19. John, c. 10, v. 11. Rev. c. 5, v. 8. We shall only add, that Miss Martineau, at the end of the essay, describing the blessings of Christianity and the hope it inspires, quotes, very ap-

positely we admit, St. Paul's account of himself, in Philip. c. iii, v, 3 to 14, but omits, "*secundum artem*," the remainder of the chapter, which, as may be seen, is confirmatory of her argument. The two concluding verses contain, however, plain and direct testimony and proof of the Divinity of Our Saviour Jesus Christ.

We must omit all notice of the Essay addressed to the Mahometans—and of the Traditions of Palestine—both of which are written in a style different from the other works, and with phraseology remarkably pedantic and affected.

Our ungrateful task is closed. We might speak in high terms of the talent and power of writing displayed in all these productions. But feeling that such seductive charms are likely to mislead and captivate the judgment, and are, in truth, too facile channels for the conveyance of highly dangerous and irreligious principles, we are, therefore, silent, when we would otherwise gladly bestow eulogy and commendation.

We know not whether Miss Martineau will thank us for what we are about to say; but still we in some degree excuse her for these publications, because we are willing to think that the opinions contained in them are more the opinions of those "*ABLE TEACHERS*," Messrs. Fox and Co., under whose "*guidance*" she has been trained up, than of herself. It seems to us not improbable that a writer possessing the extensive powers of our authoress could be made a very profitable instrument for the propagation of the wildest Unitarianism. Be this, however, as it may, no small share of blame must for ever attach to one who abuses extraordinary advantages to unworthy purposes. Others have advised Miss Martineau, we believe, to destroy all her publications. We will advise her to keep them constantly before her eyes, to look into them "*veluti in speculum*," and detecting, as she must detect, the thousand flaws and the constant perversion of fact and truth, for which no beauty of language, or grace of composition, can atone, to amend, with sincerity, the error of her ways. Her industry and perseverance ought to be employed on subjects more suitable to her sphere of action, and more profitable to mankind.

ART. IX.—*Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion. With Notes and Illustrations by the Editor of "Captain Rock's Memoirs."* 2 vols. foolscap 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

To examine these volumes thoroughly would be, in truth, no less a task than to concentrate their essence from the innumerable Tomes which have been written in controversy between the Romish and the Reformed Churches. A bolder attempt than they exhibit has seldom been made to offer *ex parte* evidence as a fair statement of general argument. Positions which have been refuted, more often than we have leisure to recount, are here advanced afresh, as if they were still virgin and intact—as if they were now springing forth from the brain of their Parent, for the first time, armed in complete mail, which no steel is able to penetrate. The hundred forked and venomous tongues which we vainly believed had been repeatedly silenced by the amputation of the jaws within which they quivered, are here again brandished and sibilant; and the Giant whose bed has long been in the dust, starts up from it anew, if not as vigorous, certainly as big, burly, and inflated, as he showed himself before any of his falls. The times are plainly gone when a man would die if his head were off. Like one of the enchanted creations in Ariosto, he picks it up again as it rolls before him, and clapping it, no matter where, whether under his arm, or upon its widowed shoulders, he resumes at least the offensiveness of his former vitality:

*"Vetus atque antiqua simultas,
Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus."*

The framework upon which the present attack on the Reformed Faith is constructed is eminently simple. A young Papist in Trinity College, Dublin, upon receiving intelligence that the Royal Assent had been given to the Bill for the Relief of the Roman Catholics, is represented as feeling a very *Irish* propensity immediately to turn Protestant; and forthwith commences an examination of the groundwork of his Faith, the results of which form the staple of the following pages. His mind being, as might be expected, altogether a *tabula rasa* on matters of Religion, was exposed, during the first stages of inquiry, to not a few impressions of surprise. He learned in the very outset, with astonishment, in which we also sincerely participate, that one of the chief "Apostolical writers" of the first century was "a Pope;" that St. Clement, third Bishop of Rome, was ordained by St. Peter; and that "even in those simple unpolemic times, when the active exercise of authority could be little called for, the jurisdiction of the See of Peter was fully acknowledged."

It is by no means worth while to dispute the obscure question of the early Romish Episcopal succession; whether Clement is to be placed immediately after St. Peter, or whether Linus and even Cletus intervene. That Clement was Bishop of Rome is certain; that he is the same Clement who is mentioned as a fellow-labourer of St. Paul, is highly probable: but that he was an "Apostolical writer," or a "Pope," or that "the jurisdiction of St. Peter was fully acknowledged" in his person,—if by that expression it is intended (as we suppose it is intended) to affirm that it was a superior jurisdiction over other Sees,—are positions altogether untenable.

There is not any reason for believing that Apostolical foundation was confined to the See of Rome. Antioch, not less than that city, might challenge Peter as her Bishop; Alexandria claims Peter and Mark jointly; in Jerusalem we find James; in Constantinople Andrew. All Bishops and Pastors who exercise their functions to the glory of God are true successors of the Apostles. *Non Sanctorum filii sunt qui tenent loca Sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum*, was the affirmation of one of our own Martyrs; and John Husse, in the very teeth of his persecutors at Constance, expressed himself yet more pointedly, when he exclaimed—*Papa non est verus Petri successor, si vivit moribus contrariis Petro*.

The full acknowledgment of the superior jurisdiction of the See of Rome is not indeed *argued* in the passage before us; but we are left to infer it from the following paragraph:—

"A schism, or as St. Clement himself describes it, 'a foul and unholty sedition,' having broken out in the Church of Corinth, an appeal was made to the Church of Rome for its interference and advice, and the Epistle which this Holy Father addressed to the Corinthians in answer, is confessedly one of the most interesting monuments of ecclesiastical literature that have descended to us."—vol. i. pp. 15, 16.

The Epistle of the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, as this Letter should be called rather than the Epistle of Clement, is in truth one of the most interesting monuments of Ecclesiastical Antiquity; and to a Protestant it is moreover inexpressibly valuable, as affording a distinct proof of the equal footing upon which the two Churches corresponded. If the Bishop of Rome had possessed, or even if he had affected to possess, any control over the schismatical Church of Corinth, it is not likely that he would have adopted the mild and fraternal tone of remonstrance which pervades this document. He would not have spoken of the excellence and utility of the custom of "*reproving one another*;" but armed with authority, and conscious that he was addressing an inferior, he would have accompanied his exhortation with some

menaces of punishment—some threats of the exercise of offended power.

But if in this Epistle of Clement is found (as the young Papist believes) a substantive affirmation of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, in one of those attributed to Ignatius is discovered an incontrovertible proof of the corporal presence in the Eucharist.

"In speaking of the Docetæ, or Phantasticks, a sect of heretics who held that Christ was but in *appearance* a man—a mere semblance or phantasm of humanity—Ignatius says, 'they stay away from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they will not acknowledge the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that flesh which suffered for our sins.' Now when it is considered that the leading doctrine of the Docetæ was that the body assumed by Christ was but *apparent*, there cannot be a doubt that the particular opinion of the orthodox to which they opposed themselves was that which held the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist to be *real*. It is evident a *figurative* or unsubstantial presence, such as Protestants maintain, would in no degree have offended their anti-corporeal notions; but, on the contrary, indeed, would have fallen in with that wholly spiritual view of Christ's nature which led these heretics to deny the possibility of his incarnation.

"This perplexing and irresistible proof, on the very threshold of my inquiry, of the existence of such a belief among the orthodox of the first century, threw me, I own, into a state of unspeakable amazement. I looked at the words again—rubbed my eyes, and again consulted my lexicon. But I had made no mistake—there it was in black and white, stark staring Popery. I had found language of a similar import respecting the Eucharist in other passages of the same Father—in the Epistle to the Philadelphians, and in that also to the Romans. But had there existed only these notices, his precise opinion upon the subject might have been doubtful; and, as in many other cases, where the Fathers have happened to express themselves allegorically, or obscurely, would have remained matter of controversy. But taken, as I have already said, with reference to the Docetæ, and representing the belief of those heretics respecting the Eucharist as wholly irreconcilable with the creed of the orthodox, this passage in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans can admit of but one conclusion, namely, that the orthodox Christians of that day saw in the consecrated bread and wine not any mere memorial, representation, type, or emblem—not any such figurative substitute for the body of our Lord—but his own real substance corporally present and orally manducated."—vol. i. pp. 17—20.

Every body knows that nine out of the fifteen reputed Epistles of Ignatius are altogether abandoned as spurious. Of the remaining six, which are called genuine, that to the Church of Smyrna is one of the most suspected; for it would be difficult to say what business Ignatius had in the 'Troad, from which spot it is dated, on his way from Antioch to Rome. But granting that it really proceeded from the pen to which it is ascribed, every Critic who has examined it has agreed as to its manifest corrup-

tion; and the words which we suppose are intended to be translated above, are not to be found in the body of the Epistle itself (if they ever really belonged to it), but must be traced out from the III^d. Dialogue of Theodoret: *Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφορὰς οὐκ ἀποδέχοντες* κ. τ. λ. Their sense also is as follows:—The Heretics who deny the reality of Christ's appearance in the flesh "admit not of Eucharists and oblations, but reject them, because from the Eucharist is proved the truth of Christ's flesh." Strange indeed is it, as Scultet has remarked before us, that this passage should ever be adduced in support of the corporal presence. It is plainly no more than an assertion that those who receive the Eucharist, a *type* of Christ's flesh, believe that Christ was really and absolutely incarnate. And such indeed is Tertullian's argument in his IVth Book against Marcion, who on this point agreed with the very Docetæ in question, and whom he attacks by the following syllogism:—*Quod est phantasma figuram capere non potest. Atqui Corpus Christi capit figuram (i. e. panem). Igitur Corpus Christi non est phantasma.*

A writer who discovers Transubstantiation asserted in the above passage of Ignatius, is not likely to omit noticing one in the first Apology of Justin Martyr, which, as it is less explicable, is therefore far more to his purpose. Following the steps of Le Nourry, he therefore at once claims Justin as an assertor of the change in the elements. The Bishop of Lincoln has fairly acknowledged that "it is not easy to ascertain precisely what Justin meant in this passage;" but by placing it in apposition with another, in the Dialogue with Trypho, in which the bread in the Eucharist is stated to be *commemorative* of the body, and the cup of the blood of Christ, he arrives at the just and natural conclusion, that the *τοῦ σαρκωποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα* is also to be understood figuratively.

The very doubtful question as to *what* Bishop has been represented by Tertullian to have styled himself *Pontifex Maximus* and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, is without any hesitation decided at once by the writer before us in favour of the See of Rome. "We find this very title of 'Sovereign Pontiff' given to the Bishop of Rome by no less high and ancient an authority than Tertullian." (Note, p. 38.) From this statement an unwary reader would suppose that Tertullian had voluntarily admitted the Primacy of Rome, and had addressed the Bishop of that See by titles which implied his supremacy. But how stands the case really? Tertullian, in his Tract *de Pudicitia*, notices that he has heard of *some* Bishop who had issued an Edict under those haughty titles. *Audio etiam edictum esse propositum et quidem peremptorium, "Pontifex," scilicet, "Maximus Episcopus Episcoporum dicit,"* &c. It is true

that the majority of writers apply this anecdote to Stephen Bishop of Rome, although Allix refers it to the Bishop of Carthage. But it is not less true that even if the supremacy of Rome were asserted, it was not asserted, as the writer before us maintains, by the high and ancient authority of Tertullian; but that, on the contrary, Tertullian appears to notice it as an unwarrantable act of presumption.

Among the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Cyprian, Eusebius, Basil, Epiphanius, and Chrysostom, are cited as supporters of the authority of Tradition. We need not do more than follow some of the passages upon which the greatest stress appears to be laid; and from the right interpretation of which we may venture to believe that not one of the Reformers to whose judgment our Church pays any deference would have expressed dissent. Who, for instance, can doubt the assertion of Tertullian, that the Apostles instructed the Churches which they founded, both "by word of mouth, and by their Epistles?" And if their oral instructions could be now presented to us, through channels as pure and undefiled as those which have transmitted the Scriptures, who would hesitate to receive them?

"Which truths," says Eusebius, "though they be consigned to the Sacred Writings, are still in a fuller manner confirmed by the Traditions of the Catholic Church, which Church is diffused over all the Earth. This unwritten Tradition confirms and seals the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures." Surely, by these words nothing more is intended than that a rule, perhaps very briefly enunciated in Scripture, is sometimes explained more at large by illustrations, which Eusebius at the time at which he wrote had undoubted means of ascertaining were offered by the authors of the Scriptures. If the same proofs remained to us in these days, we might feel similar confidence; and we should not be reluctant to admit that the oral glosses and commentaries of the Apostles, were seals and testimonies of their written doctrine.

To the like purpose must be received the declaration of Basil, that Tradition and the Scriptures have "an equal efficacy in the promotion of piety,"—a widely different assertion from that which pronounces a belief in each to be equally necessary to salvation; and a very similar principle to that on which our IVth Article inculcates the reading of the Apocryphal Books "for example of life and instruction of manners." It should be borne in mind, also, that every one of the "dogmas of the Church," which Basil considers established by Tradition, and which he enumerates in another chapter of the same Treatise from which the above words are taken, relates to a *Ceremony*, not to an Article of Faith; viz.

the Cross in Baptism, the turning eastward in prayer, the Benediction of the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, the consecration of the water and the oil in Baptism, and the practice of trine immersion. (*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 10.)

"We must look also to Tradition," says Epiphanius, "for all things cannot be learned from Scripture." Here we are by no means told that there is any *Article of Faith* which cannot be derived from Scripture; nor are we even pressed to do more than to *look to Tradition*; that is, to look to it with respect and reverence; since, doubtless, there are numerous minor ordinances and directions which the Founder of a Religion does not think worthy of committal to a written record; which it may be laudable to observe, although they are not absolutely essential; and which can be learned no otherwise than by Tradition.

The Protestant is indeed far, very far from rejecting or opposing all Traditional knowledge. He perceives that much of legend and of fable, much that is crude, frivolous, fanciful, and unprofitable, has been allowed to incorporate itself with that Creed which builds with equal confidence upon the sand and upon the rock; and he therefore never raises his superstructure upon any other foundation excepting that which he knows beyond a doubt that Christ himself has laid. He gives its due honour to Tradition, considering it as of human origin, and therefore as admitting a free exercise of judgment; holding Scripture on the other hand to be divine, and therefore to be imperative. He draws the same line of distinction between the two which Augustin has drawn: *quia canonicum non est, non me constringit*; if it be worthy to lead me, I will follow its guidance, but I by no means feel pledged to implicit obedience. Our Church in no way despises Tradition; and its practice is widely remote from this which Basil condemns, when he remarks that "it is the common aim of all the enemies of sound doctrine to shake the solidity of our faith in Christ, by *annulling* Apostolical Tradition. They dismiss the unwritten testimony of the Fathers as a thing of *no value*." We neither *annul* nor *undervalue* anything that is Apostolical; but we require evidence that it really is so; and, like the Bereans, we "search" before we admit that all is Truth which is offered to us under its garb.

But, as usual, we must beware of Romanist translation. It may be fastidious to object to a rendering which converts some words of St. Ambrose, of most salutary meaning—*nil ergo te revocet a pœnitentiâ*,—into a prop for the idle doctrine of satisfaction to God by works of mortification. "Let no consideration withhold thee from *doing Penance*."—(vol. i. p. 55). This misinter-

pretation is a grain of sand when compared with the similar wholesale perversion of *παράνομον* and *παράνομισιν* throughout the Rhemish New Testament. But we must take leave to remonstrate in behalf of two passages from Tertullian, in which, as they are here given in English, that Father would scarcely recognize his own meaning.

Tertullian is represented as making the following statement in support of Tradition.

“Of these (certain practices in the administration of baptism) and other usages, if you ask for the written authority of the Scriptures, none will be found. *They spring from tradition, which practice has confirmed and obedience ratified.*”—De Corona Militis, c. 3, 4. ‘*To the Scriptures, therefore, an appeal must not be made*’ the question is, to whom was that doctrine committed by which we are made Christians? for where this doctrine and this faith shall be found, there will be the truth of the Scriptures and their expositions, and of all Christian traditions.*—De Præscrip. c. 19.”—vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

The reference to the first passage is slightly incorrect: the words belonging *altogether* to the IVth Chapter. But this is of little consequence. It is to the mistake or to the perversion of Tertullian’s sense that we address our objection. “*Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostulas scripturarum, nullam invenies: traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, et fides observatrix.*” It might perhaps be difficult to furnish exact equivalents for Tertullian’s words; but that “which practice has confirmed and obedience ratified,” are not only terms wholly inadequate to convey his meaning, but in fact, the last two words do not convey any meaning at all—*Fides observatrix*, “which obedience has ratified!” Whatever synonymes may be supplied, it is quite clear that Tertullian proposes, in cases depending upon Tradition, to call in the assessorship of Custom and of Belief. He will not be contented with Tradition singly; but he requires a threefold cord of evidence, which shall not be easily broken: and so far he is not an advocate who very much assists the cause in support of which he is adduced.

But if the translation of the first of these passages be inadequate, that of the second is directly false. As the words now stand detached from their context, Tertullian is made not only to assert that Tradition is equivalent to Scripture, but that it is positively superior; and therefore that it should be appealed to in preference. The paragraph which succeeds the break is rendered quite unintelligible by omission of the connecting sen-

* We print the Italics as we find them in the pages under review.

tances. In order to rectify the meaning, we must inquire what is Tertullian's course of argument.

The Presbyter of Carthage asks, what weapons is it safest to adopt in disputing with Heretics? and he lays it down as an inviolable maxim never to admit any controversy out of the Scriptures. Such a controversy is sure either to ruffle the temper or to muddle the brain. Some Heretics do not admit the Scriptures at all; or if they do admit them, it is with additions or subtractions accommodated to their own hypothesis. They either destroy the integrity of the Holy Writings, or if they permit their integrity to remain inviolate, they pervert their meaning by a subtle commentary. For adulteration of meaning is as injurious to Truth, as downright corruption of the letter. No fanciful disputant chooses to recognise that meaning by which his position may be overthrown; he prefers one which he has falsely concocted and which gives him the advantage of ambiguity. What, therefore, he continues, will the Theologian most versed in Scripture benefit by its production? That which he affirms on one text will be denied on another; that which he denies will be affirmed. After showing that the wavering faith of bystanders is little likely to be strengthened by a gladiatorship in which each party taxes the other with a falsification of Holy Writ, Tertullian comes to the passage immediately in question. "Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est, nec in his constituendum certamen in quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria est, aut parum certa. Nam etsi non ita evaderet conlatio Scripturarum, ut utramque partem parem sisteret, ordo rerum desiderabat illud prius proponi quod nunc solum disputandum: quibus competat fides ipsa? cujus sunt Scripturæ? A quo, et per quos, et quando et quibus sit tradita disciplina quæ sunt Christiani? Ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem disciplinæ et fidei Christianæ, illic erit veritas Scripturarum et expositionum et omnium Traditionum Christianarum."

No man in the full possession of his senses will ever, if he can avoid it, attempt a *translation* of Tertullian, and we shall, therefore, leave the above passage as we find it. Its production, however, must fully answer our purpose, for every eye will perceive that the writer is by no means instituting a comparison between the relative values of Scripture and of Tradition; but that he is recommending a controversialist, instead of involving himself in an interminable contest by arguing *with* Scripture, to prefer arguing in the first instance *upon* Scripture: to raise a previous question as to the party to which the veritable Scripture belongs, instead of allowing his opponent the benefit of an assumption that *he* also possesses it. And what has this to do with the *vexata questio*, concerning the degree of credit to be attached to Tradition? *

In the IXth Chapter, where Purgatory is taken into consideration, a passage is assigned to Paley which never proceeded from his pen.

"What the Protestant divine, Paley,* has said on the subject of purgatory appears to me to be founded on such sentiments as both reason and nature approve. 'Who can bear,' he asks, 'the thought of dwelling in everlasting torments? Yet who can say that a God everlastingly just will not inflict them? The mind of man seeks for some resource; it finds one only in conceiving *that some temporary punishment, after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it at last acceptable even to a Deity infinitely pure.*'"—vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

These are the words not of Paley but of Hey, at the commencement of his Lecture on the XXII^d Article. What Hey meant by stating that a belief in Purgatory is *natural*, he fully explains afterwards, when he says that it "suited the wishes and alleviated the fears of the People." But if we adopt this *natural* Rule, how much of the "terrors of the Lord" will be allowed to remain in Scripture? That Hey did *not* consider the belief "to be founded on such sentiments as *Reason* approves," is plain; for he adds, "that there is such a state of purification, by suffering after death, appears inadmissible, because it seems *unreasonable* that we should be expected to allow what is wholly passed over when it was most likely to be noticed."

The custom of Prayer for the Dead in the early Christian Church is undoubted; but the cause assigned for that custom by the Irish Gentleman is far from being correctly stated.

"The solemn usage of praying for the dead can be founded only on the belief that there exists a middle state of purification and suffering through which souls pass after death, and from which the prayers of the faithful may aid in delivering them. The antiquity, therefore, of the use of prayers for the dead (and we trace them through all the most ancient Liturgies) sufficiently prove to us how ancient was the belief on which they are founded."—vol. i. p. 72.

Concerning the immediate state of departed souls, there were almost endless diversities of opinion among the early Christians, which the modern Romish doctrine would reduce to a belief in the single state of Purgatory for all. On the contrary, we need not cite the many names among the Fathers, by which a place of refreshment and joy, although not of complete happiness, is supported; a Paradise, a Hades, an Abraham's bosom, as it was variously called, in which the Spirits of the Righteous expected the Resurrection: and for such persons, who were not under suf-

* This passage is ascribed to Paley twice in the text and once in a note.

fering, no prayer for release from suffering could be necessary. God is often thanked also in prayer for the blessing which he has conferred on the departed by removing them from the troubles of life, to rest and security; terms incompatible with any notion that they are being tormented in purifying flames. Such prayers implied regard and affection for the dead, and a belief in their immortality; nor does it appear to us that they are too rigidly to be condemned, provided always due care be taken that they do not open the gate to a vain imagination that any thing save the blood of Christ can cleave from sin. If we once deceive ourselves into a belief that they can be *useful*, we overthrow the very foundation of the atonement; and herein is their danger. So long as they are employed to relieve our own sorrow, to lighten the burden of a heart oppressed with mourning, we may venture to indulge in secret aspiration for the departed;—*fungamur INANI munere*. But we must carefully bear in mind that forgiveness is through Christ alone, and that it is immediate; that our prayers can no more really assist the Spirit awaiting its judgment, than the flowers which we scatter upon the turf, or the sculpture which we pile above the coffin, can decorate the senseless corpse which is mouldering beneath.

The remainder of the first volume is composed of matter which it is not very easy to connect with the professed object of the Irish Gentleman. Half a dozen chapters, comprising sixty pages, are occupied with an episodical treatise, *De Disciplinâ Arcani*, inserted chiefly, as it seems, for the purpose of showing that a lounging layman of the nineteenth century can explain to a nicety what were the secret mysteries which the Fathers of the second and third took so great pains to conceal from their catechumens. In order to assist his progress on the voyage of discovery which he has undertaken to Truth in Religion, the Hibernian circumnavigator then steers through the intricate Polynesia of early Heresies. In Gnosticism he finds an Otaheite well adapted to the prurient taste which he is little solicitous to conceal; he revels amid the loves of the Æons; gloats upon the fantastic impurities of Valentinus and Bardesanes; and describes Sophia Achamoth very much as if she were another Oberea. In the captious questions which the Jews of Capernaum put to our Saviour, as recorded in the sixth chapter of St. John, he remarks the first indication of that presumptuous spirit of private judgment which was to be fully developed by Luther; and he pronounces the Arch-heretic who cohabited with Helena to have been the Proto-Protestant. This last grand discovery is confirmed by a burlesque imitation of two broken lines in the Odyssey, in which Ἰθάκη is rendered "Faith

of Protestants," and τὸν ὁδῶς "Simon Magus." The assertion and the proof are well worthy of each other.

Hitherto, notwithstanding his excursion among the Gnostics, the writer has evidently been keeping a tight rein upon his besetting inclinations; and it is not till he enters upon the second volume that Nature gets the full mastery over Discretion. The heads of the first three chapters will sufficiently exhibit the course which he is then about to take.

"Chap. I.—Brief recapitulation—Secret out at last—Love affair—Walks by the river—'Knowing the Lord'—Cupid and Calvin.

"Chap. II.—Rector of Ballymudragget—New form shewn—Tender scene in the shrubbery—Moment of bewilderment—Catholic Emancipation Bill carried—Correspondence with Miss * *

"Chap. III.—Miss * *'s knowledge of the Fathers—Translation for her Album from St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome—Tender love-poem from St. Basil.

A short explanation of these matters will suffice. Miss — is the sister of Mr. —, the agent of Lord —, who is Patron of the Rectory of Ballymudragget. If the young Papist will abjure, Mr. — promises to obtain from Lord — the next presentation to the Rectory, as his sister's marriage portion; and during the ensuing struggle between interest and conscience, the lover advances in his courtship by doing into amatory English verse certain prose passages from St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Jerom, and one absolute metrical *Canzone* from St. Gregory of Nazianzum. These were fairly transcribed into his mistress's Album, and perhaps were sung as *Melodies*, to the airs of Garry Owen or Paddy O'Rafferty. Rhymes written by a very young gentleman, for insertion in a very young lady's Album—especially if that young gentleman should happen to be a student of divinity, and in love—may claim exemption from any rigid criticism; unless the author, as in the present instance, considers them worthy of transfer to print. On the score of morality, no objection can be raised to them; for, unlike most other *Juvenilia*, they are refrigerant rather than inflammatory; and their motto, if they were collected in crown 8vo. might be *Virginibus puerisque canto*, instead of *Luisse pudet*. The choice of subject, indeed, occasionally surprises us when we call to mind the purpose for which they were designed; and if, as the Poet expresses himself, "it was the first time in the annals of gallantry that the names of the Saints, &c. &c. &c. were fated to shine forth in the pages of a morocco-covered Album," we think we may venture to add, that it is also the first time in which a lover sought the favour of his Amaryllia by a copy of verses addressed πρὸς παρθένον ἑκπεσοῦσαν. In the well known Letter of St. Basil, so entitled, occur many passages

of exquisite pathos. We are not sure that the three simple words, *μνήστης, συμπαραδός, τραπέζης*, can be reckoned among them; but if they can be so, the tenderness has evaporated during percolation. They are thus rendered:

Where is it now—that innocent
And happy time—where is it gone?
Those light repasts, where young Content
And Temperance stood smiling on.

At length, in the 79d page of the second volume, commence the Travels which the Title-page deluded us to expect were to form the *materiel* of the whole Work; and the Irish Gentleman embarks for Hamburgh, and fixes himself as a Student at Göttingen; where, in order to assist his conversion and to render him an orthodox Protestant, his Tutor expounds to him the doctrines of Rationalism. We fear that the picture which follows cannot be taxed with exaggeration.

“In the Old Testament the history of the creation, of Paradise, and of Adam and Eve, are nothing but allegories or myrthi. The Pentateuch, which may be looked upon as a sort of ‘Theocratic Epic,’ was not written by Moses, but compiled at a much later period; and Jehovah was but the household god or Fetiche, of the family of Abraham, which David, Solomon, and the prophets afterwards promoted to the rank of Creator of all things. It is plain that Deuteronomy could not have been the work of Moses, nor Ecclesiastes that of Solomon, as in each case it would suppose the author to have related his own decease. The Psalms were a sort of Anthology to which David and other writers contributed; and the productions of the chief contributor are thus criticised by a grave theologian, Augusti:—‘David’s Muse takes no high flight, but he succeeds best in songs and elegies.’ By critics of the same school Esther is pronounced to be an historical romance, while Ruth, they say, was written for the purpose of proving David to have sprung from a good family, and the story of Jonah is but a repetition of the fable of Hercules swallowed by a sea-monster. As to the Prophets, the learned Eichorn allows them the credit of having been sharp clever men, who saw further into futurity than their contemporaries; while others, assigning to them a decided political character, ‘make them out,’ says Mr. Rose, ‘to be demagogues and radical reformers.’ The prophecy in Isaiah of the fall of Babylon, was evidently written by some one who was present at the siege; and the predictions supposed to refer to Christ in the same rhapsodies, relate to the fortunes and ultimate fate of the race of the prophets in general.

“In the New Testament the miraculous birth of Christ is to be ranked in the class of mythologic fictions, along with the stories of the incarnations of the Indian gods—and more especially that of Buddha’s generation from a virgin who had conceived him by a rainbow. The motive of Christ for giving himself out for a prophet was, that he might thereby have more weight as a moral teacher; and in like manner he

was induced afterwards to personate the Messiah from the notion entertained by his admirers that he was that promised personage. According to Wieland, Jesus Christ was a noble Jewish magician, who, on his own part, never conceived the least idea of being the founder of a religion, and whose institute only assumed the form of religion by time. Much of the obscurity, it is said, in which the doctrines of the New Testament are involved, is owing to the stupidity and superstition of the Apostles, who misunderstood, in many instances, the language of their master, and whose gross misconception of his promises as to a future kingdom, involved him in difficulties with his followers, from which he saw no other way of extricating himself honourably but by death."—vol. ii. pp. 231—235.

All those blasphemies have originated in Reformed Communion since the Reformation; and *therefore*—can any inference be more just?—the Reformation has occasioned them.

From Germany, as it now is, we are, somewhat unexpectedly, carried back to England as it was in the time of Henry VIII.; and the grim licentiousness of that ferocious tyrant, "not only connived at, but concerted by the obsequious tools of Royal-Reformation, Cranmer and Cromwell," is ostentatiously cited as the cause of our change in Faith. Neither Cranmer nor Cromwell need our defence from this outrageous calumny, and Henry may be safely left to the execration which he deserves. How often must it be repeated that in the great Drama of Human History, the character of events is not to be determined by that of the chief agents employed in effecting their operation? Is it not to the reign of the Despot John that we owe the Charter of our Civil Liberties, and to that of the Bigot James that we are indebted for our final emancipation from Spiritual thralldom?

It is wholly impossible in the narrow compass permitted to our remarks to do more than notice a few, a *very* few, of the almost innumerable obliquities in the pages before us. But before we close, we cannot abstain from repelling a grossly unmerited charge brought against one of the most fearless, sincere, upright, ingenuous, and plain-spoken Divines whom our Church can boast. No writer with whom we are acquainted has declared himself more openly and more independently than Dr. Hey, even on points whereon others less firm of nerve, and less confident of purpose, may sometimes have lisped, stammered, and hesitated. There is not an atom of concealment about his mind; and his opinions, be they what they may, are always revealed without any disguise or shadow of turning. If Hey had been tainted with Socinianism, he never would have *implied* his doctrine; he would have manfully avowed it. Yet such is the accusation now propounded against him.

"Such all but avowal of the worst principles of Socinianism from men

so high in the Church, both from station and talent, sufficiently prepares us for what otherwise would have seemed wholly incredible—an express proffer of the hand of fellowship to the whole body of Socinians, from no less a quarter than the chair of the Norrisian professor of theology at Cambridge! In one of his otherwise most valuable lectures the late Dr. Hey thus speaks:—‘We and the Socinians are said to differ—but about what? Not about morality or about natural religion. We differ only about what we do not understand, and about what is to be done on the part of God; and if we allowed one another to use expressions at will (and what great matter could that be in what might be called unmeaning words?) we need never be on our guard against each other.’

“In these few sceptical sentences—in the chill and deadly air of indifferentism that breathes through them, we recognize that last stage of a declining religion, before (as exemplified so signally in the instance of Germany) it sinks to the flat level of total unbelief; that stage where heresy, weary of its own caprices and changes, and no longer fed by the false stimulus which the strife of controversy once lent, sinks hopelessly into the collapse of indifference which precedes the death of all faith.”—vol. ii. pp. 308, 309.

In the absence of all reference (and references are often very carefully avoided in the Work before us,) we cannot immediately discover this passage in Hey’s Lectures: and we are therefore deprived of illustration from its context. But from our general acquaintance with the Professor’s sentiments and method, we cannot doubt his meaning. One of the points which he invariably examines in his discussion of the Articles of our Church is the possibility of so far modifying them that they may admit of the most extensive comprehension: and this he does on the soundest principles, not extravagating in latitudinarianism, but following the sacred clue which is presented to his hand by genuine Charity. His intention in the above passage, in which no doubt he is adverting to possible (not to probable) means of terminating a very painful controversy, may be best learned from expressions in other parts of his Lectures; expressions which cannot leave a doubt of the orthodoxy of his own belief on the points in dispute. While speaking of the second clause in our Second Article, which enumerates the eternal generation of the Son and His consubstantiality with the Father, Hey notices that it did not exist in the *original* Article; but that he takes it for granted it was introduced in consequence of the growth of Socinianism during the ten years intervening between 1552 and 1562. “I do not mean to say that the growth of Socinianism made it absolutely *necessary* to insert these words: it might, or it might not: but I believe that in fact it occasioned the insertion.” And then, in order that his reluctance to erect a partition wall compelling needless exclusion, may not be mistaken

for a willingness to throw down those barriers which are demanded for the security of the fold, he continues, "But it is one thing to say that possibly expressions might have been safely omitted, and another to desire to eject them because they contain what is not agreeable to Reason. . . . Let a man, if he pleases, meditate upon the incomprehensible Doctrines of Religion with awful diffidence and lowly suspense; but if it be proper for the good of Religious Society that he should give some preference of one opinion to another, let him not presume that the true meaning of Revelation *must* be something that is level and familiar to his ordinary and habitual conceptions."* Whatever doubt may be here expressed as to the prudence of speaking in definite terms concerning matters above our Reason, nothing can be more explicit than Hey's declaration that he by no means rejects such matters from his Faith. He would not object to the exclusion of "unmeaning words" from Articles and Formularies, if unity could be hoped for as the result. But where do we find him saying with the Socinian, that he would reject what God has taught, solely because the meaning is not clear to him?

Again, in considering what mutual concessions might be made in conflicting views of Justification, he observes of the Socinians, "Both parties are proceeding in *one way* though they may be pressed forward by different motives. Both own the mercy of God; both ascribe to it the salvation of mankind; though we suppose it to use some *means* which they do not: but of these means our ideas are so indefinite, as to produce propositions nearly unintelligible; the nature of which, we know, is such as to diminish greatly the difference between affirmative and negative."†

But if we require a plain declaration of Hey's opinion on the great question of the nature and the sacrifice of Christ, it may be found in another passage, which, notwithstanding its length, justice to his memory demands that we should extract—

"Suppose it were right that we should profess Faith in Christ; yet when His death is called a *Sacrifice*, are we not, say the Socinians, to consider the expression as *figurative* or *metaphorical*? in the same manner I suppose as when the Apostle says, 'but to *do good* and to communicate forget not, for with *such sacrifices* God is well pleased.'

"I have considered this matter, but I own, I *dare* not say, with Taylor, that the blood of Christ means *only* His *obedience* and goodness; though at the same time, I would not affirm, that

* Lectures, B. IV. Art. II. §. 21.

† Idem, Book IV. Appendix to Art. XI. §. 23.

without the *moral* part the blood would have availed. I take the following method : I suppose a teacher to come into the world with supernatural powers ; to be diligent in instructing, to be opposed and put to *death* : I suppose, after his death, his followers to represent it *in all lights* which could convince and persuade ; I can imagine them to preserve some drops of his *blood* ; but I cannot conceive persons in such a situation to use expressions which would come up to the strength of those used in the New Testament. Would they talk of their teacher's blood as *sacrificial* ? of its cleansing the world from *all sin* ? would they find out some slaughters of brute animals which had been instituted and carried on for *centuries*, so as to prepare the world for the death of this *one man* ? To suppose such language when not grounded on reality, is to give up all good sense in these followers ; and it is to suppose pretensions wholly incredible. And if this language could be used of the blood of one man, why not of the blood of *others* ? if there can be anything in the rank and character of one man to give propriety to such expressions, will the Socinians allow it to be applied to Jesus ? they would have Jesus a mere man, and yet they would suppose expressions to be used concerning Him, so as they cannot be with propriety concerning the ordinary death of any mere man."*

Let us hear no more then of Socinianism as coupled with the venerable name of Hey. The passages which we have cited from his writings bear ample testimony to the purity of his Faith. He was a sincere Christian, who doubted not any truth which he saw that God had revealed : he was a humble Christian, who neither rejected nor sought to explain that which he confessed was beyond the powers of his intellect ; he was a charitable Christian, who, as much as in him lay, would have gathered all mankind, his brethren, into one fold under one Shepherd.

But to revert to the Irish Gentleman. We need scarcely say that he sailed home from Göttingen fraught with unmixed abhorrence of Heresy, and that he promptly declined the hand of Miss —, notwithstanding the lucrative appendage of the Rectory of Ballymudragget. In a moment of very natural triumph at this victory over self-interest and Mammon, he dictated the progress of his conviction to the Editor of Captain Rock's Memoirs ; and that anonymous Retailer of Romanism, Radicalism, and Rebellion, has manufactured his friend's raw *materiél* into two snug Manuals, *in usum Soc. Jesuit*. Concerning the name of that Editor, it is true that some whispers have reached us ; but we have too much respect for the mysteries of Literature to

* Lectures, Book IV. Appendix to Art. XI. § 27.

draw aside one fold of the curtain behind which any author, for any reason, may think fit to enshroud himself. Doubtless through every page which he has written there is a trail—ΜΩΡΙΑ ἔνεστι τις—upon which it would not be difficult to make a cast: and as for the present volumes, we might add, that the Editor having wandered out of the course for which his peculiar tastes and acquirements have qualified him, may be told in the language of the same Tragedian from whom we have just borrowed (divesting it of all general want of courtesy), that when a man prates on matters which do not belong to him, ΜΩΡΑ ΜΩΡΟΣ λέγει.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES
IN
ENGLAND AND WALES,
FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Atkins, John	Gidleigh, R.	Wilts	Salisbury	Rev. T. Whipham
Backhouse, Ralph D.	Walmer, C.	Kent	Cant.	Abp. of Canterbury
Baines, Haygarth . .	Satterthwaite, C.	Lancas.	Chester	Landowners in Hawkshead Parish
Barnard, C. J.	{ Bigby, R. and Risby, V. with Roxby, V.	{ Lincoln	Lincoln	R. C. Elwes, Esq.
Battiscombe, Richard	Southmere, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	Eton College
	Apethorpe, C.			V. of Nassington
Berkeley, Miles, J.	{ and Newton Wood, C.	{ Northam.	Lincoln	Preb. of Nassington in Cath. Ch. of Lincoln.
Betham, William . . .	Stoke Lacey, R.	Hereford	Hereford	Thomas Appley, Esq.
Bevan, T.	{ Archdn. of St. David's and Preb. in Coll. Ch. of Brecon			{ Bp. of St. David's
Blakelock, Ralph . .	{ Gimmingham, R. with Trunch, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	Cath. Hall. Camb.
Blomberg, F.W., DD.	St. Giles, V.	London	London	D. & C. of St. Paul's.
Borton, R. K.	Scarborough, St. Mary, C.	E. York	York	V. of Scarborough
Bowman, Isaac	Formby, C.	Lancas.	Chester	R. of Walton
Brammall, D.	Chislet, V.	Kent	Cant.	Abp. of Cant.
Brock, William	Bishop's Waltham, R.	Hants.	Winches.	Bp. of Winchester
Browne, Henry	Ernley, R.	Sussex	Chichest.	Bp. of Chichester
Byron, John	Elmstone Hardwick, V.	Gloster	Gloster	Lord Chancellor
Carter, Joseph	Baynton, R.	E. York	York	St. John's Col. Oxford
Clifton, George Hill .	Snitterfield, V.	Warwick	Worces.	Bp. of Worcester
Coventry, Hon. T. H.	Severnstoke, R.	Worcester	Worcester	Earl of Coventry
Crosse, James	Lydeard, St. Lawrence, R.	Somerset	B. & W.	Rev. Edward Crosse
Day, Samuel Emery . .	St. Phillip, & St. Jacob, V.	Bristol	Bristol	Corp. of Bristol
Dukenfield, H. Robt.	Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Salisbury.			Bp. of Salisbury
Dundas, Hon. Chas.	Ashby de la Zouch, V.	Leicester	Lincoln	Marq. of Hastings
Evans, Thomas	Northover, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	J. H. Chichester, Esq.
Everard, E. Browne	West Bilney, P. C.	Norfolk	Norwich	John Dalton, Esq.
Fuller, Robert, F. . . .	Chalvington, R.	Sussex	Chichest.	A. E. Fuller, Esq.
Gray, J. H.	Bolsover, V.	Derby	Lich. & Cov.	Duke of Portland
Greville, E. Septimus	Bonsall, R.	Derby	Lich. & Cov.	Dean of Lincoln
Grylls, Thomas	Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Exeter			Bp. of Exeter
Guthrie, John	Calstone, R.	Wilts	Salisbury	Marq. of Lansdowne
Haddington, G.	Preb. in Cath. Church of Chichester			Bp. of Chichester
Hadfield, Alfred	Bolton, Trinity, C.	Lancas.	Chester	Vicar of Bolton
Harris, David	Callaven, C.	Brecon	St. David's	V. of Devunnuck

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Hodges, William	Lyme, V.	Dorset	Pec. of Dean of Salisb.	Preb. of Lyme and Halstock in Cath. Ch. of Salisbury
Homfray, Edward . . .	Rateinghope, P. C.	Salop	Hereford	Rev. C. B. Hawkins
Hooper, J.	Maddington, P. C.	Wilts.	Salisbury	J. & J. Maton, Esqs.
Jenkins, William . . .	Llangammarch, V. with Chapels annexed	Brecon	St. David's	Bp. of St. David's
Jessett, Thomas . . .	Greetham, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Bp. of Lincoln
Johnson, Frederick . .	Hemington, V.	Northamp.	Peterboro	Lord Montague
Jones, John	Llanseannan, R.	Denbigh	St. Asaph	Bp. of St. Asaph
Jones, William	Morestead, R.	Hants	Winchest.	Bp. of Winchester
Kempson, Edward . . .	Castle Bromwich, C.	Warwick	L. & C.	Earl of Bradford
Langton, T. Hamilton	Kirmond, V.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Christ. Turner, Esq.
Latham, Henry	Selmeston, V.	Sussex	Chich.	Preb. of Heathfield in Cath. Ch. of Chichester
Lee, James	Market Drayton, V.	Salop	L. & C.	Sir And. Corbet, Bt. and Edwin Corbet, Cresw. Pigot, Esqs.
Littlehood, Joseph . .	Thorneyburn, R.	Northum.	Durham	Greenwich Hospital
Lord, Charles	Uffington, V. with Balking, C. and Woolston, C.	Berks	Salisbury	C. Eyre, Esq.
Lyne, C. P.	West Thorney, R.	Sussex	Chichest.	P. Lyne, Esq.
Mason, William	Normanton, V.	W. York	York	Trin. Coll. Camb.
Merewether Francis . .	Allensmore, V. and Clehanger, V.	Heref.	P. of D. of Here.	D. & C. of Hereford B. of Hereford
Mills, Thomas	Northborough, R.	Northam.	Peterboro	D. & C. of Peterboro
Money, J. Drummond	Blatherwick, R.	Northam.	Peterboro	Stafford O'Brien, Esq.
Moore, W. G.	Stixwold, V.	Lincoln	Lincoln	C. Turner, Esq.
Nesfield, Charles . . .	Stratton, St. Marg. V.	Wilts	Salisb.	Merton Coll. Oxford on nom. of Bp. of Salisbury
Nicholson, Edward . .	Pentridge, R.	Dorset	Bristol	Lord Chancellor
Parry, H.	Can. in Cath. Ch. of St.	Asaph		Bp. of St. Asaph
Parsons, Henry	Upton, St. Leonard, C.	Gloster	Gloster	Bp. of Gloster
Patteson, Thomas . . .	Patney, R.	Wilts	Salisbury	Bp. of Winchester
Phelps, Edwd. Jas. . .	Devizes, St. John, R. & — St. Mary, C.	Wilts	Salisbury	Lord Chancellor
Plucknett, Charles . .	Holton, R.	Somerset	B. & W.	J. Gibbs, Esq.
Povey, John Vidgen	Minor Can. in Cath. Ch.	of St. Paul		D. & G. on nom. of min. cans.
Powell, W. H.	Llanlawddog, C. & Llanypumpsaint, C.	Carmar.	St. David's	V. of Abergwilly
Raby, —	Wetherby, C.	W. York	York	R. of Spofforth
Richmond, H. S. . . .	Bredon, V. with Ratby, V.	Bucks	Lincoln	Earl of Stamford
Roberts, John, A. . .	St. Alban & St. Olave, R.	London	London	Eton Coll. & D. & C. St. Paul's, alt.
Roe, Thomas Turner	Dunholme, V.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Bp. of Lincoln
Roe, Thomas Turner	Swerford, R.	Oxford	Oxford	Magd. Coll. Oxford
Russell, John	Landkey, C. and Swimbridge, C.	Devon. Exeter		Dean of Exeter
Selwyn, William	Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Ely			Bp. of Ely
Shooter, Joseph	Bishop Wilton, V.	W. York	P. of D. & C.	Sir — Sykes, Bart.
Shuttleworth, Edward	Kenwyn-with-Kea, C.	Cornwall	Exeter	V. of Kenwyn
Smalley, J. S.	Cwm, V.	Flint	St. Asaph	Bp. of St. Asaph
Smith, —	Donnington-on-Baine, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Lord Monson

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Swan, Francis	Bennington, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	{ Visct. Goderich and Lady
Symons, Jelinger	Radnage, R.	Bucks	Lincoln	Lord Chancellor
Thomas, Aaron	Leinthall Earls, C.	Hereford	Hereford	V. of Aymestrey
Twentyman, J.	Thornes, C.	W. York	York	V. of Wakefield
Vernon, M. H.	Leominster, V.	Sussex	Chich.	{ Bton Coll. on nom. of Bp. of Chich.
Watson, —	Caister, V.	Lincoln	Lincoln	{ Preb. of Caister in Lincoln Cath.
West, Edward Walter Gouthill, R.		Somerset	{ Bath & Wells	{ Earl Digby
West, J. T. E.	Stoke, P. C.	Chester	Chester	Sir H. E. Bunbury, Bt.
Whitaker, G. Ayton	Mendham, V.	Suffolk	Norw.	{ Trustees of Thomas Whitaker, Esq.
White, John	Thanington, C.	Kent	Can't.	Abp. of Canterbury
Williams, — D.D.	Woodchester, R.	Gloster	Gloster	{ Hon. H. Moreton, M.P.
Williams, William	Winchest. St. Bartho. V.	Hants	Winchest.	Lord Chancellor
Wood, Robert, D.D.	Wysall, V.	Notts.	York	Earl of Gosford
Wulf, —	Günear, V.	Cornwall	Exeter	Bp. of Exeter

CLERICAL APPOINTMENTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Appointments.</i>
Appleton, Robert,	Chaplain to the Gaol at Reading.
Bloom, J. H.	Chaplain to the Duke of Sussex.
Campbell, J. Usher,	Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Pomfret.
Clemetson, D.	Chaplain to the County Lunatic Asylum, at Forston, Dorset.
Collins, Charles Trelawney,	Rural Deanery of Bedmihster.
Digby, William,	Master of St. Oswald Hospital, near Worcester.
Johnson, C. F.	Domestic Chaplain to Viscount Exmouth.
Lewis, Henry John,	Chaplain of St. Oswald Hospital, Worcester.
Parkinson, R.	Fellow of Collegiate Church, Manchester.
Sleath, John, D.D.	Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Baile, Hugh	{ Chanc. and Can. Res. in Cath. Ch. of Lichfield and Hanbury, V.	Stafford	Lich.&C.	Bp. of Lich. & Cov.
Benson, Martin . . .	{ Joint Regist. of the Diocese of Gloucester and Mertsam, R.	Surry	Cant.	Bp. of Gloucester. Abp. of Canterbury
Boadier, John	Grendon, V.	Northamp.	Peterboro'	Trin. Col. Camb.
Brasse, John, D.D. . .	Stotfold, V.	Beds.	Lincoln	Trin. Col. Camb.
Bridge, Bewick . . .	Cherry Hinton, V.	Camb.	Ely	St. Peter's Col. Cam.
Carr, John	Great Oakley, R.	Essex	London	St. John's Col. Cam.
Carter, C. Jamineau .	Great Henny, V.	Essex	London	N. Barnardiston Esq.
Chester, Robert . . .	Elstead, R.	Sussex	Chiches.	Lord Selsey.
Clough, Roger	{ Can. of Cath. Ch. of St. Asaph & Llansannan, 2d Port. R.	Denbigh	St. Asaph	Bp. of St. Asaph.
Coffin, J. P.	Lankinhorne, V.	Cornwall	Exeter	Miss Hewish.
Cooper, Edward . . .	{ Hamstall Ridgware, R. and Yoxall, R.	Stafford	Lich. Cov.	Hon. Mrs. Leigh. Rev. T. Gisborne.
Croker, Frederick . .	{ Goxhill, V. and Lowdham, V. with Pettistree, V.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Lord Chancellor.
Cutler, John	Patney, R.	Wilts	Salisbury	Bp. of Winchester.
Davies, John	St. Nicholas, Thanet, V.	Kent	Cant.	Abp. of Canterbury.
Davis, Henry	Somerton, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	Earl of Ilchester.
Dean, John, D.D. . .	{ Princip. of St. Mary Hall, and Wold, R.	Oxford	Peterboro'	Chan. of University. Brasen. Col. Oxford.
Dillon, W. Edward . .	{ St. Endellion, R. and Cornelly, C.	Cornwall	Exeter	Lord Chancellor. Parishioners.
Fenwick, John T. . .	{ Northfield, R. with Coston Hackett, C.	Worcester	Worcester	Geo. Fenwick, Esq.
Frome, R.	{ Folk, R. Goathill, R. and Minterne, R.	Dorset	{ P. of D. of Salis.	{ Rev. W. Chaffin and D. & C. of Salisbury.
Gibson, John Geo. . .	{ Holybourne, C. and Llanthewy Skirrid, R.	Somerset	B. & W.	Earl Digby.
Gretton, George H. . .	{ Allensmore, V. and Clehanger, V.	Hants	Bristol	Mrs. Sturt, &c.
Griffin, Edward . . .	{ Ipswich, St. Peter, C. and — St. Stephen, R.	Monm.	Winchest.	V. of Alton.
Hawker, Peter	Woodchester, R.	Heref.	Llandaff	John Wilmot, Esq.
Holland, Jeffery . . .	{ Penmorva, R. with Dolbenmaen, C.	Heref.	{ P. of D. of Heref.	{ D. C. of Hereford. D. of Hereford.
Holmes, William . . .	{ Sub-Dean & Priest in Ord. of the Chapel Royal Minor Can. of Cath. Ch. of St. Paul's	Norfolk	Norwich	Rev. C. Fonnerau.
Humfrey, L. C. . . .	{ Aveley, R. London, St. Giles, V.	Gloster	Gloster	Hon. H. Moreton, M.P.
Hurd, William	{ Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Lincoln & Laughton, R.	Carnarv.	Bangor	Bp. of Bangor.
Isham, H. C.	Hognaston, R.	Essex	London	Bp. of London
Jones, Lewis	{ Shanton, R. Burton Penwardine, V.	Middx.	{ D. & C. on nom. of Minor Cns.	{ D. & C. of St. Paul's
Jones, Thomas	{ Ilmer, V. and Radnage, V.	Leicester	Lincoln	Bp. of Lincoln
Lawson, William . . .	{ Masham, V. with Kirkby Malzeard, V.	Derby	L. & C.	Marq. of Hertford
		Leicester	Lincoln	Dean of Lincoln
		Lincoln	Lincoln	Sir Just Isham, Bt.
		Bucks.	Lincoln	T. O. Hunter, Esq.
		N. York	Lincoln	Earl of Chesterfield
		W. York	Chester	Lord Chancellor
				Trin. Coll. Camb.

State of the Dioceses.—DEATHS.

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<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Layton, Thomas ..	{ Chigwell, V. and Theydon, P. C.	{ Essex	London	{ Preb. of St. Pancras in St. Paul's Cath. R. W. H. Dare, Esq.
Lidiard, James	{ Devizes, R.	Wilts.	Salisbury	Lord Chancellor
Marshall, Lewis ..	{ Davidstow, V. and Warleggan, R.	{ Cornwall	Exeter	{ King as P. of Wales Mr. Gregor
Mead, Francis, D.D.	{ Candlesby, R. & Gayton in the Marsh R.	{ Lincoln	Lincoln	{ Magd. Coll. Oxford Lord Chancellor
Nuttall, William	{ Swinton, C.	Lancas.	Chester	Vicar of Eccles
Ogle, James	{ Bishop's Waltham, R. and Crondall, V.	{ Hants.	Winches.	{ Bp. of Winchester St. Cross Hospital
Okell, George	{ Wilton, C.	Chester	Chester	Lord de Tabley
Pawsey, J. Wilton	{ Clowne, R. and Leire, R.	Derby	L. & C.	Lord Chancellor
Phelips, William ..	{ Cucklington, R. and Stoke Trister, R.	Leicester	Lincoln	Countess de Grey
Poole, John	{ Cliburn, R. and Plumpton Wall, C.	{ Somerset	Bath & W.	John Phelips, Esq.
Reed, J.	{ Rockcliffe, C.	Westm.	Carlisle	Bp. of Carlisle
Rippon, John	{ Kirkby Thore, R. and Marton, R.	Cumb.	Carlisle	D. & C. of Carlisle
Salter, John	{ Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Salisbury and Stratton, St. Marg. V. Wilts	Westm.	Carlisle	Earl of Thanet
Taylor, Joseph	{ Snitterfield, V. and Stourbridge, C. and Head Mast. of Free Grammar	Warw. Worces.	Salisb.	{ Bp. of Salisbury Bp. of Worcester Coll. Oxf. present
Tomkyns, R. Bohun	{ Saham Toney, R.	Worce.	Salisb.	{ Bp. of Worcester R. of Oldswinford
Toms, W.	{ Combmartin, R. & South Moulton, P.C.	Norfolk	Norwich	New Coll. Oxford
Waddington, George	{ Northwold, R.	Devon	Exeter	{ Rev. J. Toms D. & Cns. of Windsor
Waring, John Francis	{ Heybridge, V.	Norfolk	Norwich	Bp. of Ely
Watson, Thomas ..	{ Edenhall, V. with Langwathby, C.	Essex	London	D. & C. of St. Paul's
Webster, James	{ Mepershall, R.	Cumb.	Carlisle	D. & C. of Carlisle
Whitaker, John	{ Garforth, R.	Beds.	Lincoln	St. John's Coll. Camb.
		W. York	York	Rev. J. Whitaker

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Appointments.</i>
Chapman, James, D.D.	Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Luscombe, Henry H.	Chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris.
Newton, Thomas,	Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
Williams, Walter,	Senior Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.

ORDINATIONS.

Ordained by Bishop of BATH & WELLS.
—April 7.

DEACONS.

Barrow, John, B.A. Wadham, Oxford.
Buckler, William, B.A. Magd. Oxford.
Cockayne, T. O. B.A. St. John's, Camb.
Cox, John Pope, B.A. Magd. H. Oxf.
Lethbridge, T. P. B.A. Ch. Ch. Oxf.
Wickham, K. D. B.A. Balliol, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Crosthwaite, Benj. B.A. Trin. Dublin.
Ready, T. M. B.C.L. Cath. H. Camb.
Toogood, J. James, B.A. Balliol, Oxf.
Wade, Chas. James, B.A. Jesus, Camb.
Willy, George, B.A. St. John's, Camb.

At an Ordination held on Sunday the 9th day of June, by the Lord Bishop of CARLISLE, in the Parish Church of St. George, Hanover Square, in the county of Middlesex, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders

DEACONS.

Letter Dimissory from the Bishop of Ely.
John Hailstone, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
Thos. Wilkinson, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
Thos. Henry Steel, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
C. Merivale, B.A. St. John's Coll. Cam.
Wm. Pound, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
Jos. Taylor, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
Joseph Mann, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
W. D. Rangeley, B.A. Qu. Coll. Camb.
E. H. Pickering, B.A. St. Jo. Coll. Cam.
Wm. Brooke, B.A. King's Coll. Camb.
G. A. Selwyn, B.A. St. John's Coll. Cam.
From the Bishop of Bath and Wells.
W. M. H. Williams, M.A. Trin. Coll. Dub.
B. P. Hodgson, B.A. Trin. Coll. Cam.

From the Bishop of Durham.

F. W. Bewsher, B.A. Trin. Coll. Dub.

From the Bishop of Bristol.

Arthur Rajney Ludlow, B.A. Oriel Coll.
T. E. Poole, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.
John Scott, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

From Archbishop of York.

H. Crofts, B.A. University Coll. Oxf.

From Bishop of Exeter.

J. G. Childs, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
J. H. Bond, B.A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.
W. G. P. Smith, M.A. Trin. Coll. Can.

PRIESTS.

Letter Dimissory from the Bishop of Ely.
J. E. Dalton, B.A. Queen's Coll. Cam.
G. A. Butterson, M.A. St. John's Coll. Cambridge.

W. J. Clayton, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

J. Bowstead, M.A. Corp. Christi Coll, Cambridge.

Thos. Bedford, B.A. Emman. Coll. Camb.
S. Smith, M.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
Rob. Birkett, M.A. Emman. Coll. Camb.
Fred. Hildyard, M.A. Trin. Hall, Camb.
H. S. Hildyard, M.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

G. Fisk, S.C.L. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Durham.

H. W. Wright, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.

From the Bishop of Bristol.

H. T. Simpson, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

At an Ordination held on Sunday the 31st March by the Lord Bishop of CHESTER, in the Parish Church of Clapham, in the county of Surrey, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders.

DEACONS.

W. B. Staveley, B.A. Cath. Hall, Camb.
E. Jones, B.A. Catharine Hall, Camb.
J. A. Andras, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.
E. Hays, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
T. Guiney, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.

At an Ordination held on Sunday the 9th day of June, by the Lord Bishop of CHICHESTER, within the Chapel in Lincoln's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders.

DEACONS.

W. Vincent, B.A. Christ Church, Oxf.
C. G. R. Kineside, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

W. C. Johnson, B.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.
G. H. Garrow, B.A. Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge.

R. Parson, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxford.
R. S. Richards, M.A. Worcester Coll. Oxford.

PRIESTS.

W. A. Soames, M.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
C. J. Crawford, B.A. Wad. Coll. Oxf.
A. C. Tarbutt, B.A. Wadham Coll. Oxf.
B. Hayley, B.A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.
R. Powell, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
T. D. West, A.B. St. Peter's Coll. Cam.
R. T. Bolton, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.
H. E. Manning, M.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.

Ordained by the Bishop of Exeter.—
April 21.

DEACONS.

St. Aubyn, R. J., B.A. Trin. Camb.
Laffer, J. A. H., B.A. Chr. Camb.
Wilcocks, E. J., B.A. Trin. Camb.
Crichlow, H. M'Intosh, B.A. Trin. Camb.
Ilbert, P. A., B.A. Trin. Oxf.
Du Boulay, F. B.A. Clare H. Camb.
Carlyon, J. B.A. Pemb. Camb.
Brooking, Arthur, B.A. Trin. Camb.
Daniel, John, B.A. St. John's, Camb.
Gilbert, H. A., B.A. Exeter, Oxf.
Jenkyne, Charles, B.A. Clare H. Camb.
Chudleigh, N. F. B.A. Magd. H. Oxf.
Havart, W. J., B.A. St. John's, Camb.
Kempe, J. E., B.A. Clare H. Camb.
Warren, R. P., B.A. Exeter, Oxf.
Howell, Hinde, Marton, Oxf.
Campbell, James Wm., B.A. Trin. Camb.
Greenwood, William.
Turbitt, William, M.A. Pemb. Oxf.

PRIESTS.

Comyns, G. T. B.A. Wadham Oxf.
Hawkins, G. C., B.A. Oriel, Oxf.
Buckingham, J., S. C. L. Wadham, Oxf.
Kirkness, Wm. John, B.A. Qu. Camb.
Ross-Lewin, G. B.A. Cath. H. Camb.
Worthy, Charles, B.A. Queen's, Oxf.
Stephens, Richard, B.A. Clare H. Camb.
Hickson, Charles, B.A. Magd. H. Oxf.
Chanter, John Mill, B.A. Oriel, Oxf.
Haulditch, H. Lovelace, B.A. Chr. Camb.
James, Chas. Thos., B.A. Exeter, Oxf.
Whyte, Jas. Richard, B.A. Oriel, Oxf.
Kempe, Geo. Henry, B.A. Exeter, Oxf.
Smith, John, B.A. Trin. Camb.

At an Ordination held on Sunday, June 16, in the Parish Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, the following gentlemen were ordained by the Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

DEACONS.

J. Bliss, M.A. Oriel College, Oxf.
O. Hebert, B.A. Trin. College, Camb.
G. Roberts, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
H. W. Sheppard, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
T. L. Tovey, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.
W. A. Wilkinson, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

Lett. Dim. from Bishop of Bath & Wells.
C. S. Escott, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.

Lett. Dim. from the Bishop of Ely.

C. Perry, M.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
H. Smith, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Camb.

PRIESTS.

J. Barry, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
T. Philippotts, B.A. King's Coll. Camb.

Lett. Dim. from the Archbishop of York.
H. Crofts, B.A. University Coll. Oxf.

The undermentioned gentlemen were ordained by the Lord Bishop of LINCOLN, at Buckden, on Sunday, June 2.

DEACONS.

J. S. Dolby, B.A. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.
D. Fenn, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
J. Jackson, B.A. Cath. Hall, Camb.
R. Martin, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
W. Potchett, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
E. A. Powell, B.A. Christ's Coll. Camb.
R. M. Price, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
E. Swamp, M.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
Lett. Dim. from Bishop of Peterborough.
O. Cookson, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
F. B. Wright, B.A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.
Letter Dismissory from Bishop of Bristol.
E. Parker, S.C.L. Queen's Coll. Camb.

PRIESTS.

W. H. Bond, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
J. Davies, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
G. Johnston, M.A. Sidney Coll. Camb.
T. H. H. Kelk, B.A. Jesus Coll. Camb.
W. H. Kelk, B.A. Jesus Coll. Camb.
T. H. Langton, B.A. Magd. Coll. Camb.
W. Molson, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
H. I. Nicholson, B.A. Jesus Coll. Camb.
J. Oldknow, B.A. Christ's Coll. Camb.
S. J. Stowe, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
C. Tennyson, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
W. Whall, M.A. Emman. Coll. Camb.
R. Whitehead, B.A. St. Jo. Coll. Camb.
Lett. Dim. from the Bishop of Lincoln.
Hon. G. Wellesley, M.A. Trin. College, Cambridge.

Lett. Dim. from Bishop of Peterborough.
A. A. Straghan, B.A. Cath. Hall, Camb.

At a general Ordination holden at the Cathedral Church of Norwich, on Sunday, June 2, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders.

DEACONS.

G. S. Barrow, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge,
J. Bedingfield, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
M. B. Beavor, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Camb.
J. W. Bird, B.A. Wadham Coll. Oxf.
J. F. Edwards, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,
E. S. Ensor, B.A. Brasen-nose Coll. Oxf.
George Everard.
C. Eyres, B.A. Caius Coll. Camb.
W. K. Groves, B.A. Christ's Coll. Camb.
C. Kent, S.C.L. Queen's Coll. Camb.
R. B. P. Kidd, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

J. Kirkpatrick, B.A. Peterhouse, Cam.
Lawrence Otley, B.A. Trin. Coll. Cam.
J. W. Reeve, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
T. Ridley, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxford.
P. Scholfield, B.A. University Coll. Oxf.
G. Sims, Emmanuel College, Camb.

PRIESTS.

G. Broadhead, B.A. Trinity Coll. Cam.
T. Burningham, B.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.
J. W. Chambers, M.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

W. J. Coope, B.A. St. Mary Hall, Oxf.
B. L. Cubitt, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.
E. T. Daniell, M.A. Balliol Coll. Oxf.
N. R. Drake, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
H. C. Eaton, B.A. St. John's Coll. Oxf.
S. Everard, B.A. Balliol Coll. Oxf.
J. H. Groome, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

J. W. Hamilton, M.A. Trin. Coll. Cam.
A. Hanbury, S.C.L. St. Mary Hall, Oxf.
John Hawtrey.

T. W. Hughes, B.A. St. Edm. Hall, Oxf.
S. Jackson, B.A. Caius College, Camb.
Francis Jickling.

H. C. Long, B.A. Christ's Coll. Camb.
J. Nelson, B.C.L. Trin. Hall, Camb.
J. Penleaze, B.A. Magd. Coll. Oxf.
J. Pyemont, B.A. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.
J. Snelgar, St. John's Coll. Camb.
W. Vickers, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.
S. S. Warmoll, B.A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.
J. G. Webster, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.
D. C. Whalley, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Camb.
T. D. H. Wilson, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

At an Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of OXFORD, on Sunday, June 2, in the Cathedral Church at Oxford, the following gentlemen were ordained.

DEACONS.

W. K. Hamilton, A.M. Merton College, Oxford.

J. Robertson, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.
A. Isham, B.A. All Souls Coll. Oxf.
J. Richardson, M.A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.
R. Liddell, B.A. All Souls Coll. Oxf.
T. Garnier, S.C.L. All Souls Coll. Oxf.
H. Walker, B.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.
F. Thomas, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.
F. Whickham, B.A. New Coll. Oxf.
N. Oxenham, Exeter College, Oxf.
G. Casson, B.A. Brasenose Coll. Oxf.
G. Carr, B.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.
E. W. Foley, B.A. Wadham Coll. Oxf.
W. Kemble, S.C.L. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.
J. May, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.
T. T. Bazeley, M.A. Bras. Coll. Oxf.

PRIESTS.

E. F. Glanville, M.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.

F. Jeune, M.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.

R. W. Browne, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

G. Bellamy, M.A. Lincoln Coll. Oxf.

J. Cox, M.A. Christ Church, Oxf.

J. R. Hall, M.A. Christ Church, Oxf.

A. Goldney, B.A. Trinity Coll. Camb.

J. P. Penson, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

L. E. Brown, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

H. R. Barker, M.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.

J. R. Bloxam, B.A. Magd. Coll. Oxf.

G. Du Heaume, M.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.

E. Hawkins, B.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.

G. G. Lynn, B.A. Christ Coll. Camb.

J. E. Robinson, M.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.

J. H. Hughes, M.A. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

S. T. Adams, B.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.

A. A. Cameron, M.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford.

At a general Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of PETERBOROUGH, in the Cathedral, on Sunday, April 28, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders.

PRIESTS.

J. Bates, B.A. Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb.

E. F. Beynon, M.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

T. S. Bonnin, B.A. Queen's Coll. Camb.

J. L. Crawley, B.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.

E. W. Hughes, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

W. B. Killock, B.A. Peterhouse, Camb.

A. S. Lendon, B.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.

F. H. Y. Powys, M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

C. Warren, B.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.

J. S. Winter, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Let. Dim. from the Bishop of Lincoln.
G. Vigne, B.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.

At an Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER, on Sunday, April 14, in the Chapel within the Palace at Bromley, in the county of Kent, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders.

DEACONS.

Let. Dim. from the Archbishop of York.
J. Stacey, B.A. Christ Coll. Camb.

T. A. Roper, B.A. Magd. Coll. Camb.

J. Owen, Queen's College, Camb.

W. Noble, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.

J. Brooke, jun. B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.

E. Thompson, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.

I. Deans, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.

T.H.Terry, B.A. St.John's Coll. Camb.
A. G. Palk, B.A. Christ Church, Oxf.

PRIESTS.

W. W. Ellis, M.A. Bras. Coll. Oxf.
H. Stevens, B.A. Oriel Coll. Oxf.
I. S. Godmond, M.A. Queen's College, Oxford.
Lett. Dim. from the Archbishop of York.
T. N. Jackson, B.A. Chr. Coll. Camb.

At an Ordination held by the Lord Bishop
of SALISBURY, in the Chapel of his

Palace, on Sunday, April 21, the following gentlemen were ordained.

DEACONS.

E. Hussey, B.A. Exeter College, Oxf.
S. Cotes, B.A. Wadham Coll. Oxf.
G. A. Goddard, B.A. Bras. Coll. Oxf.
W. Rigden, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.
J. Vaughan, B.A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.

PRIESTS.

G. Robbins, B.A. Magd. Coll. Oxf.
R. M. Ashe, M.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.
J. J. Vaughan, M.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.
T. Cottle, M.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.
H. Polson, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxf.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

Renn Dickson Hampden, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Grand Compounder.

BACHELOR AND DOCTOR IN DIVINITY, BY ACCUMULATION.

Rev. Thomas Parfitt, Balliol College.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

William Andrew Rew, Fel. St. John's Col.
Sir Daniel Keyte Sandford, Christ Church.

DOCTORS IN MEDICINE.

Philip Lovell Phillips, Exeter College.
Thomas Heberden Oriël.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Rev. Haynes Gibbs, Fellow of Lin. Col.
Rev. Arthur Bennet Mesham, Fellow of
Corpus Christi College.
Rev. Renn Dickson Hampden, Principal
of St. Mary Hall, Grand Compounder.
Rev. Owen Jenkins, Fellow of Jesus.
Rev. Frederic Francis Edwardes, Fel. Cor.

BACHELORS IN MEDICINE (WITH LICENCE TO PRACTISE.)

Richard Croft, Fellow of Exeter College.
William Travers Cox, Pembroke College.
Robert Bentley Todd, Pembroke College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

William Emanuel Page, Stu. Christ Ch.
Alfred Fisher, St. Alban Hall.
Rev. Thos. Walmsley Teasdale, Lin. Col.
Rev. John Welstead Sharp Powell, St.
Edmund Hall.
Henry Sweeting, Queen's College.
Edward Lowndes, Magdalen Hall.
Rev. William Turbitt, Scholar Pem. Col.
Charles Page Eden, Fellow Oriël Col.
Henry William Wilberforce, Oriël Col.

John Dorney Harding, Oriël College.
Rev. John Marriott, Oriël College.
Rev. Charles Vink, Magdalen Hall.
William Palmer, Fellow Magdalen Col.
Rev. James Stevens, St. John's College.
Henry James Hoskins, University Col.
Digby Latimer, Lincoln Col.
Rev. J. Rudman Drake, Christ Church.
Rev. William Hutton, Queen's Col.
W. Nash Skillicorne, Worcester Col.
W. Cayley, Christ Church, Grand Comp.
Henry Herbert Evans, Magdalen Hall.
Robert John Gould, Wadham Col.
Rev. Edward Rolles, Pembroke Col.
Rev. John Lawson, St. Alban Hall.
Richard Bassett Wilson, University Col.
Henry Sumner Dyer, Worcester Col.
John Richardson, Taberdar Queen's Col.
Rev. Wm. Wilcox Clarke, Wadham Col.
Charles Manners Forster, Oriël Col.
Walter Kerr Hamilton, Fel. Merton Col.
Rev. Thomas Maurice, Merton Col.
Rev. Edw. Acton Davies, St. John's Col.
George Henry Somersset, St. Mary Hall.
Rev. H. Simon Charles Crook, Lin. Col.
Rev. Richard Hardy Blanchard, Lin. Col.
Rev. Griffith Williams, Jesus Col.
Henry Champion Partridge, Brasen. Col.
Rich. Edmund Tyrwhitt, Brasenose Col.
Rev. Henry King Collinson, Queen's Col.
Rev. Fletcher Woodhouse, Queen's Col.
Rev. William Warde, Worcester Col.
Rev. Edw. Charles Harington, Wor. Col.
Hon. Charles John Murray, Christ Church.
Rev. Wm. Cureton, Chaplain Christ Ch.
James Fred. Crouch, Scholar of C. C. C.
Rev. William Gould, Balliol College.
Rev. Archibald Allen Cameron, Scholar
of Pembroke Col.
Rev. Clement Le Hardy, Pembroke Col.
Rev. James Hall Talbot, Pembroke Col.
Rev. Henry Pruett, Oriël Col.
Rev. Frederick Robert Neve, Oriël Col.

Rev. James Corall Roberts, Trinity Col.
 Rev. William Roche, Trinity Col.
 Rev. Edwin Hotham, New Col.
 Rev. Rob. Morris, Christ Ch. Gr. Comp.
 Edward Queenby Ashby, Christ Church.
 Rev. Rowland Webster, Lincoln Col.
 Rev. Henry Edward Manning, Fel. Mer.
 Rev. Henry Digby Serrell, Queen's Col.
 Rev. Robert Charles Kitson, Exeter Col.
 Francis Henry Talman, Magdalen Hall.
 Rev. William Lloyd, Jesus Col.
 Rev. Charles Edw. Armstrong, Worces.
 Thomas Legh Cloughton, Fel. Trin. Col.
 Wm. Bingham, St. Mary Hall, Gr. Comp.
 Rev. T. Staniforth, Christ Ch. Gr. Comp.
 Rev. George Clayton, Christ Church.
 Rev. Edw. Greene, Demy of Magdalen.
 Rev. Jas. Arthur Dunnage, Brasen. Col.
 Rev. Arthur Fred. Daubeny, Brasen. Col.
 Rev. Richard Blackmore, Exeter Col.
 Rev. Henry Hodges Mogg, Exeter Col.
 Rev. William Davy, Exeter Col.
 Edward Stephens, Exeter Col.
 Rev. Benjamin Banning, Trinity Col.
 Rev. John T. C. A. Trenchard, Trin. Col.
 Algernon Perkins, Oriel Col.
 Rev. John Roberts Oldham, Oriel. Col.
 Rev. George Hill Clifton, Fel. Worces. C.
 Rev. Burrell Hayley, Worcester Col.
 Rev. Edward Hawkins, Fel. Pemb. Col.
 Rev. Richard Stranger, Pembroke Col.
 Thos. Small, Magdalen Hall, incorporated
 from Trinity Col. Dublin.
 Rev. Walter Alford, St. Edmund Hall.
 Hon. Henry Barrington, Christ Church.
 Rev. Samuel Hands Feild, Worces. Col.
 James Stovin Lister, Worcester Col.
 Rev. Evan Prichard Morgan, Jesus Col.
 John Francis Stuart, Trinity Col.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Charles Thornton, Christ Ch. Gr. Comp.
 Lord Boscawen, Christ Church.
 George William Lewis, Magdalen Hall.
 George Hodson, Magdalen Hall.
 Edward Henry Blyth, Queen's Col.
 Henry M. B. Barnes, Oriel Col.
 John Whitehead Peard, Exeter Col.
 Henry J. Maddock, Worcester Col.
 R. Rothwell, Brasenose Col. Gr. Comp.
 David Theodore Williams, New Inn Hall.
 John Hodges Sharwood, St. Edmund Hall.
 Michael Thomas Dupre, Lincoln Col.
 Henry Byne Carr, University Col.
 John Dixon Clark, University Col.
 William Cartwright, University Col.
 William Edward Surtees, University Col.
 Hon. James Hewitt, Christ Church.
 Hon. R. Cavendish Boyle, Christ Church.
 Hon. W. H. Dawney, Christ Church.

Frank George Hopwood, Christ Church.
 John Dean Drake, Brasenose Col.
 John Drake, Brasenose Col.
 George Coltman, Brasenose Col.
 Willoughby E. Rooke, Brasenose Col.
 G. Benjamin Sandford, Brasenose Col.
 Richard Jesson Dawes, Worcester Col.
 Edward Mason Crossfield, Magdalen Hall.
 William Charles Sole, Wadham Col.
 Francis Henry Lee Warner, Balliol Col.
 Fitzherbert Adams Marriott, Oriel Col.
 William Henry Pole Carew, Oriel Col.
 John Lockhart Ross, Oriel Col.
 Thomas Baden Powell, Jesus Col.
 James Philips, Jesus Col.
 John A. Bishop, Jesus Col.
 Thomas Boys Ferris, Trinity Hall.
 Nicholas Kendall, New Inn Hall.
 Robert Smith, Christ Church.
 C. Thornton Cunningham, Christ Church.
 Amos Hayton, Queen's Col.
 Henry Herbert, Balliol Col.
 Heneage Drummond, Balliol Col.
 John Phillip Hugo, Wadham Col.
 William Morgan, Wadham Col.
 Abraham Farley Wynter, St. John's Col.
 William Thorold, New Inn Hall, Gr. Com.
 Robert Williams, Oriel Col. Gr. Comp.
 Louis Evans, Oriel Col.
 Thomas Price Jones, New Inn Hall.
 Thomas Forster Barrow, Alban Hall.
 George Woods, University Col.
 George Stephen Woodgate, Univer. Col.
 Robert Lowe, University Col.
 Charles F. Fisher, University Col.
 John Burdon, University Col.
 George Young Bolton, University Col.
 Henry William Weston, All Souls' Col.
 Henry George Liddell, Student Christ Ch.
 Hay Macdowall Erskine, Christ Church.
 George S. Stanley, Christ Church.
 Saville Craven Henry Ogle, Christ Church.
 Samuel Stephen Bankart, Brasenose Col.
 John Maxwell Steele, Brasenose Col.
 Charles George Dick, Worcester Col.
 Henry Boys, Worcester Col.
 Rich. Joseph Luscombe, Worcester Col.
 Wm. Henry Johnson, Worcester Col.
 John Charles Napleton, Worcester Col.
 Henry Hilton, Worcester Col.
 John Inglis, Balliol Col.
 Louis Davison de Visme, Balliol Col.
 Binsteed Gaselee, Balliol Col.
 Robert Cave Wood Collins, Exeter Col.
 John Crosse, Exeter Col.
 Archibald Smith, Exeter Col.
 William Upton Richards, Exeter Col.
 Miles Atkinson, Queen's Col.
 James Bonstead, Queen's Col.
 William Butler, Queen's Col.

G. Ayscoghe Chaplin, Demy of Mag. Col.
 Thomas Harris, Demy of Magdalen Col.
 F. Hastings Stuart Menteth, Mag. Hall.
 William M. Musters, Corpus Christi Col.
 Henry J. Buller, Trinity Col.
 Edward R. Strickland, Trinity Col.
 Richard Griffith, Jesus Col.
 John Lloyd, Jesus Col.
 Charles Browne Dalton, Scholar Wad. Col.
 John Grant Lawford, Wadham Col.
 William Maraden, Wadham Col.
 John Gibbons Longueville, Wadham Col.
 Henry Dampier Phelps, Wadham Col.
 Humphrey John Hare, Wadham Col.
 Francis Geary, Christ Church, Gr. Comp.
 G. T. Bulner, Christ Church, Gr. Comp.
 Howell Jones Phillips, Wor. Col. Gr. Co.
 Wm. Edw. Jelf, Student Christ Ch. Col.
 Robert Scott, Student Christ Church.
 Henry Halford Vaughan, Christ Church.
 Joshua Bennett, Christ Church.
 John Garratt, Christ Church.
 Geo. Campion Courthorpe, Christ Church.
 John Thos. Henry Peter, Christ Church.
 Hon. Fred. Smyth Monckton, Christ Ch.
 Samuel Bradshaw, Brasenose Col.
 John Leigh Spencer, Worcester Col.
 Henry Octavius Coxe, Worcester Col.
 James Roper Hoare, Worcester Col.
 Henry Bennet Pierrepont, New Col.
 Daniel Ward Goddard, Exeter Col.
 Joseph Duncan Cook, Exeter Col.
 Edward Hinxman, Exeter Col.
 Henry Nele Laring, Exeter Col.
 John Graves, Exeter Col.
 Charles Maxwell, Balliol Col.
 John Holbeche Short, Postm. Mer. Col.
 George Henry Chandler, Wadham Col.
 Richard George Stevens, Wadham Col.
 Charles Langford Guyon, Wadham Col.
 Andrew Foster, Wadham Col.
 Edward Fursdon, Oriel Col.
 Chas. Maxwell Provand, Magdalen Hall.
 Thomas Ridley, Magdalen Hall.
 Thomas Eyre Poole, Magdalen Hall.
 Henry Peter Guillemarde, Sch. Trin. Col.
 John Thomas, Scholar of Trinity Col.
 William Alder Strange, Sch. Pemb. Col.
 Henry Knapp, St. John's Col.
 John Mountague Cholmeley, Demy Mag.
 Thomas Henry Whorwood, Demy Mag.
 Hon. Charles John Canning, Stu. Ch. Ch.
 Richard Vaughan Simpson, Balliol Col.
 Geo. Augustus Webb, Postm. Mer. Col.
 Charles Walters, Postmaster Merton Col.
 Frederic J. H. Reeves, Merton Col.
 Arthur Henry Price, Wadham Col.
 Edmund Roberts Larken, Trinity Col.
 Richard Thomas Pulteney, Trinity Col.
 Charles Joseph Harenc, Christ Church.

Edward Fawcett, Queen's Col.
 Thomas Bowser Thompson, Queen's Col.
 Francis Storr, Queen's Col.
 David Cannon Faraday, Queen's Col.
 Francis Smith, Trinity Col.
 Rich. Frankland, Univer. Col. Gr. Comp.
 Rob. Roberts, St. John's Col. Gr. Comp.
 John B. Monck, New Inn, Hall.
 George Rushout, Christ Church.
 Robert Sarjeant, Magdalen Hall.
 William Stone, Wadham Col.
 John Oxley Parker, Oriel Col.
 Joseph Dodd, Queen's Col.
 Lawson, Peter Dykes, Queen's Col.

BACHELORS OF MUSIC.

Wm. Dawson Litledale, Brasenose Col.
 James Harris, Magdalen Hall.

The degree of Master of Arts has been conferred, by decree of Convocation, upon Horace Hayman Wilson, of Exeter Col. Professor of Sanscrit, on the foundation of the late Colonel Boden.

In Convocation, the honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Edw. Dixon, Esq. Gentleman Commoner of Worcester College, to which he was presented by the Rev. Richard Greswell, M.A. Fellow of that college.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

In Convocation it was unanimously resolved to suspend the Bampton Lecture for two years, in consequence of the very heavy expense necessary for repairs on the estate appropriated to the payment of the Lecturer.

Certain alterations in the statutes, by which the Latin Sermons, usually preached by all Candidates for the degree of Bachelor in divinity, will, for the future, be dispensed with, have been unanimously agreed to.

Elections.

Senior Proctor.—The Rev. Henry Allison Dodd, M. A. Fellow of Queen's College.

Junior Proctor.—The Rev. John Prieux Lightfoot, M. A. Fellow of Exeter College.

Pro-Proctors.—Rev. Thomas Pearson, M. A. Fellow of Queen's College; Rev. Septimus Bellas, M. A. Queen's College; Rev. Ernest Hawkins, M. A. Fellow of Exeter College; Rev. Edward Fanshawe Glanville, M. A. Fellow of Exeter Col.

In Convocation, the Rev. John Wm. Hughes, M. A. of Trinity College, the Rev. Peter Hansell, M. A. Fellow of University College, and the Rev. Wm. Harding, M. A. Fellow of Wadham College, were nominated Masters of the Schools for the ensuing year.

The Chancellor of the University has nominated the Rev. Renn Dickson Hampden, M. A. late Fellow of Oriel College, to be Principal of St. Mary Hall, in the room of the late Rev. Dr. Dean.

Charles Marriot, B. A. Scholar of Balliol College; and Frederick Rogers, B. A. of Oriel College, and a Craven Scholar, have been elected Fellows of Oriel College.

The following gentlemen have been elected Students of Christ Church from Westminster:—Wm. Charles Fynes Webber, Robert Hickson, and Wm. Goode-nough Penny.

Errol Hill, Scholar of New College, has been admitted an Actual Fellow of that Society.

The Rev. Francis Atkinson Faber, M. A. of University College, has been elected Fellow of Magdalen College.

The Rev. William John Copeland, M. A. and Thomas Legh Cloughton, M. A. both Probationary Fellows of Trinity College, have been elected and admitted actual Fellows of that Society.

The following elections have taken place at Worcester College:—Rev. Robt. Clifton, M. A. Worcester College, Fellow; H. Shepherd, Merton College, a Scholar on the foundation of Dr. G. Clarke; G. Stott, of Bromsgrove School, a Scholar on the foundation of Sir Thomas Cookes, Bart.; and Robert Govett, Worcester College, a Scholar on the foundation of Mrs. Eaton.

On Trinity Monday, the following elections and admissions took place at Trinity College:—Alfred Menzies, Scholar of Trinity College, Probationary Fellow; William Henry Ley, Blount Scholar of Trinity College; Arthur Kensington, Commoner of Oriel College; and Wm. Dickenson, Commoner of Wadham Col., have been elected Scholars on the Old Foundation; and Whyte Baker, Blount Scholar.

Joseph Dodd, David Cannon Farraday, Lawson Peter Dykes, and Thos. Bowser Thompson, have been elected Taberdars on the Old Foundation at Queen's Col. Thos. Holme, Anthony Raincock Harrison, and Thos. Todd, have been elected Probationary Scholars on the same Foun-

dation. Also, Thomas French, Com. of Worcester College, has been elected an Exhibitioner on Mr. Michel's Foundation at Queen's College; and Joseph Wilding Twist, has been elected one of Sir Francis Bridgman's Exhibitioners.

William Alder Strange, B. A. Scholar of Pembroke College, and Edward Price, Under-Graduate Commoner of Magdalen Hall, have been elected the Boden Sanscrit Scholars.

The examination for the Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew Scholarship terminated in the election of James Robert Burgess, B. A. of Oriel College.

John Edward Giles, Com. of Queen's College, has been elected to the first Lusbey Scholarship in Magdalen Hall.

John Walter Moore, Commoner of Trinity College, and David Anderson, Commoner of Exeter College, have been elected Scholars of Exeter College.

Prizes.

The Prizes of 1833 have been adjudged to the following gentlemen:—

Latin Verse.—"Carthago."—William Norton Smyth, Commoner of Brasenose College.

English Essay.—"On Emulation."—Henry Wall, B. A. St. Alban Hall.

Latin Essay.—"De Atticorum Comœdia."—William Palmer, B. A. Fellow of Magdalen College.

English Verse, Newdigate.—"Granada."—John Graham, Commoner of Wadham College.

Theological Essay. "The Analogy of God's Dealings with Men would not lead us to expect a perpetual Succession of Miraculous Powers in the Church." Henry Wm. Wilberforce, M. A. of Oriel College.

Prize Subjects.

The following is the subject proposed for the *Theological Prize*:—"The Sanctifying Influence of the Holy Ghost is indispensable to Human Salvation."

The following subjects are proposed for the *Chancellor's Prizes* for the ensuing year: viz.

For Latin Verse—"Cicero ab exilio redux Romam ingreditur."

For an English Essay—"The Influence of the Roman Conquests upon Literature and the Arts in Rome."

For a Latin Essay—"De Provincia- rum Romanarum Administrandarum ratione."

The first of the above subjects is intended for those gentlemen who, on the day appointed for sending the exercises to the Registrar of the University, shall not have exceeded four years, and the other two for such as shall have exceeded four, but not completed seven years, from the time of their matriculation.

Sir Roger Newdigate's Prize—For the best composition in English Verse, not limited to fifty lines, by any Under-Graduate who, on the day above specified, shall not have exceeded four years from the time of his matriculation. "The Hospice of St. Bernard."

The names of those Candidates, who at the close of the Public Examinations in Easter Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the Four Classes of *Litteræ Humaniores* according to the alphabetical arrangement in each class prescribed by the statute, stand as follow:—

FIRST CLASS.

Atkinson, Miles, Com. of Queen's Col.
Briace, Thomas, Scholar of Jesus Col.
Canning, Hon. C. John, Stu. of Christ Ch.
Gaselee, Binsteed, Com. of Balliol.
Henney, Thos. Fred. Scholar of Pemb.
Jackson, John, Commoner of Pembroke.
Jelf, Wm. Edw., Student of Christ Ch.
Liddell, H. G., Student of Christ Church.
Longueville, John Gibbons, Commoner of Wadham Col.
Lowe, Robert, Com. of University Col.
Scott, Robert, Student of Christ Church.
Vaughan, H. Hal., Com. of Christ Ch.
Woods, G., Scholar of University Col.

SECOND CLASS.

Austen, H. Edgar, Com. of St. John's C.
Butler, Wm., Com. of Queen's Col.
Collins, Robt. Cave Wood, Commoner of Exeter Col.
Crosse, John, Com. of Exeter Col.
Dalton, Ch. Browne, Scho. Wadh. Col.
Dean, James Parker, Sch. of St. John's C.
De Visme, Louis Davison, Com. of Bal. C.
Dodd, Joseph, Pro. Sch. of Queen's Col.
Faraday, David C. Pro. Sch. of Q. Col.
Garratt, John, Com. of Christ Church.
Guillemard, H. Peter, Sch. of Trin. Col.
Harris, Thomas, Demy of Magd. Hall.
Peter, John Thos. H., Com. Christ Ch.
Simpson, Rich. Vaughan, Com. of Bal. C.
Smith, Edward, Com. of Wadham Col.
Stone, William, Clerk of Wadham Col.
Thomas, John, Scholar of Trinity Col.

THIRD CLASS.

Armstrong, John, Com. of Balliol Col.
Bennett, Joshua, Com. of Ch. Ch. Col.
Boustead, James, Com. of Queen's Col.
Dick, C. G., Com. of Worcester Col.
Dyke, Lawson, P. Pro. Sch. of Q. Col.
Fawcett, Edw., Pro. Sch. of Queen's Col.
Fox, C. James, Gent. Com. of Magd. H.
Fursden, Edward, Com. of Oriel Col.
Hall, G. C., Demy of Magdalen Hall.
Harenc, C. Joseph, Com. of Christ Ch.
Inglis, John, Com. of Balliol Col.
Knapp, H. Com. of St. John's Col.
Marsden, Wm., Com. of Wadham Col.
Maxwell, C., Com. of Balliol Col.
Robson, G. Young, Sch. of Univer. Col.
Short, John Helbeche, Post M. Mer. Col.
Thompson, Thos. Bowser, Sch. Queen's C.
Woodgate, G. Stephen, Com. of Uni. Col.

FOURTH CLASS.

Bagot, Lewis Francis, Stu. Christ Ch.
Belfield, John Finney, Com. of Oriel Col.
Bond, John Bridge, Com. of Uni. Col.
Cameron, Alexander, Com. of Magd. Hall.
Chaplin, G. A., Demy of Magd. Hall.
Clarke, John Dixon, Com. of Uni. Col.
Cooke, G. Wingrove, Com. of Jesus Col.
Crossfield, Edw. L. Com. of Magd. Hall.
Cunningham, C. T., Com. of Christ Ch.
Dawney, Hon. Wm. H. Gent. Com. of Christ Church.
Dineley, Francis P. G. Com. Worc. Col.
Dodds, H. Luke, Com. of Christ Church.
Ellison, John, Com. of Christ Church.
Fisher, C. Forrest, Com. of Univer. Col.
Francis, John, Com. of Worcester Col.
Frankland, Richard, Com. of Uni. Col.
Graves, John, Com. of Exeter Col.
Herbert, Henry, Scholar of Balliol Col.
Hoare, James Raper, Com. of Worc. Col.
Hopwood, Frank G., Com. Ch. Ch. Col.
Hugo, John Philip, Com. Wadham Col.
Izod, Lorenzo Nickson, Gent. Com. of Trinity Col.
Lefroy, Anthony Cottrel, Com. Christ Ch.
Lloyd, John, Com. of Christ Ch.
Maddock, H. John, Sch. of Worc. Col.
Marriot, Fitzh. Adams, Com. of Oriel Col.
Montgomery, Robert, Com. of Lin. Col.
Parker, John Oxley, Com. of Oriel Col.
Phillips, John, Scholar of Pembroke Col.
Powell, Thos. Baden, Com. of Exeter Col.
Price, Arthur H. Com. of Wadham Col.
Provand, C. M. Gent. Com. Magd. Hall.
Richards, Wm. Upton, Com. Exeter Col.
Rickman, Wm. C., Com. of Christ Ch.
Storr, Francis, Com. of Queen's Col.
Strange, Wm. Alder, Sch. of Pemb. Col.
Surtees, Wm. Edw., Com. of Uni. Col.

Wetherell, C. Com. of Worcester. Col.
Wynter, Abraham Farley, Commoner. of
St. John's Col.

C. W. STOCKER,
T. W. LANCASTER,
A. SHORT,
W. SEWELL, } Public Examiners.

The following are the Classes in *Disci-
plinis Math. et Phys.* :—

FIRST CLASS.

Belfield, John Finney, Com. of Oriol Col.
Burdon, John, Com. of University Col.
Gaselee, Binsteed, Com. of Balliol Col.
Hugo, John Philip, Com. of Wad. Col.
Liddell, Hon. H. G. Stu. Ch. Ch.

SECOND CLASS.

Canning, Hon. H. G. Stu. Christ Ch.
Dalton, Ch. Browne, Sch. Wadham Col.

Henney, T. Fred. Sch. of Pembroke Col.
Lowe, Robert, Com. of University Col.

THIRD CLASS.

Bennett, Joshua, Com. of Christ Church.
Knapp, Henry, Com. of St. John's Col.
Deane, James Parker, Sch. of St. John's
Col.
Stone, Wm. Clerk of Wadham Col.

FOURTH CLASS.

Hewitt, Hon. James, Gent. Com. of
Christ Church
Hopwood, Frank G. Com. of Christ Ch.
Hotham, John Hallett, Demy of Magd.
Hall.
Spring, Fred. James, Com. St. Edmund
Hall.
White, John, Exhib. of Corpus Chr. Col.

W. FALCOWER,
A. NEATE, } Examiners.
H. REYNOLDS,

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

Rev. Samuel Lee, Queen's College,
Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Pre-
bendary of Bristol.

DOCTORS IN PHYSIC.

Charles Morgan Lemann, Trinity Coll.
Wm. G. Peene, Trinity Coll. Comp.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Rev. John Aug. Barron, Queen's Coll.
Rev. Cha. Wharton, Queen's College.
Rev. William Hodgson, Fellow of St.
Peter's College.
Rev. Francis William Lodington, Fel-
low of Clare Hall, Compounder.
Rev. T. Crick, Fellow of St. John's Coll.
Rev. Lawrence Stephenson, Fellow of
St. John's College.
Rev. Humphrey Jackson, Fellow of
St. John's College, Compounder.
Rev. Rob. Cory, Fellow of Emm. Coll.
Rev. Rich. Foley, Fell. of Emm. Coll.

HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

Joseline W. Percy, St. John's College.
Frederick de Grey, St. John's College.
Sir Richard Hughes, Trinity College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Tho. Borrow Burcham, Fellow of Tri-
nity College.
Joseph Mann, Fellow of Trinity Coll.
Tho. Henry Steele, Fellow of Trin. Coll.
Tho. Wilkinson, Fellow of Trin. Coll.
John Langton, Trinity College.
John Mitchell Kemble, Trinity Coll.
Rev. Fred. Cha. Crick, St. John's Coll.
Charles C. Babington, St. John's Coll.
Comyns Tucker, Fell. of St. Peter's Coll.
Wm. H. Moineux, Fell. of Clare Hall.
Edwin Steventon, Fellow of Corpus
Joseph Pullen, Corpus Christi Coll.
Wm. D. Rangeley, Fellow of Queen's.
Rev. Frederick Hose, Queen's Coll.
Henry Kuhff, Fellow of Catharine Hall.
Mordaunt Barnard, Christ's College.
Rev. G. Urquhart, Fell. of Magd. Coll.
Rev. Wm. Whall, Emmanuel Coll.
Rev. C. J. Barnard, Emmanuel Coll.
Frederick Watkins, Emmanuel Coll.
Roger Buston, Emmanuel College.
Rev. J. W. L. Heaviside, Fellow of Sid-
ney College.
Charles Merivale, St. John's Coll.
Christopher Clarke, St. John's Coll.

Thomas John Roe, Sidney Coll.
 Rev. R. Hornby, Downing Coll. Comp.
 Rev. Langdale Brown, Clare Hall.
 Rev. John Hooper, Corpus Christi Coll.
 Rev. Fred. Johnson, Catharine Hall.
 Rev. James Penfold, Christ's Coll.
 Richard Hemphorne, St. John's Coll.
 R. B. Clay, Sidney Coll. Compounder.
 Rev. Francis Upjohn, Queen's Coll.
 Christ. Wordsworth, Fell. of Trin. Coll.
 J. M. Herbert, Fell. of St. John's Coll.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

Gregory Rhodes, Trinity Hall, Comp.
 Rev. J. C. Leak, Trin. Hall, Comp.
 Owen Owen, Queen's College.
 John Frederick Churton, Downing Coll.

BACHELORS OF PHYSIC.

James Andrews, Caius College.
 George Edward Paget, Caius Coll.
 Arthur Farre, Caius College.
 Henry Jeffreson, Pembroke Coll.
 C. W. Cumberland Mogg, Caius Coll.
 William Sutton, Caius Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Robert Harries, Trinity College.
 William Potchett, St. John's Coll.
 Isaac Spooner, Caius Coll.
 Thomas Drake Young, Queen's Coll.
 Wm. John Langdale, Catharine Hall.
 John Dawson, Jesus College.
 John Tho. Kitson, Magdalene Coll.
 Miles B. Beevor, Pembroke Coll.
 John Browning Edwards, Jesus Coll.
 Shileto Friele Pemberton, Sidney Coll.
 Thomas Yorke, Queen's Coll.
 Richard Lewis Brown, King's Coll.
 William Ford, King's Coll.
 B. E. G. Warburton, Trinity Coll.
 Thomas O. Bateman, St. John's Coll.
 Wm. Guise Tucker, St. Peter's Coll.
 Henry Allen, Pembroke Coll.
 William Dakins, Corpus Christi Coll.
 Cha. L. F. Curwan, Corpus Christi Coll.
 Rich. King Bedingfield, Queen's Coll.
 Thomas Elye Norris, Jesus Coll.
 John George Fardell, Christ's Coll.
 William Corfield, Christ's Coll.
 Thomas R. Dickinson, Magdalene Coll.
 Christopher Temple, Magdalene Coll.
 William Lowe, Magdalene Coll.
 Robert T. Noble, Sidney Sussex Coll.
 Glanville Martin, Sidney Sussex Coll.
 C. H. Weston, Trin. Coll. Comp.
 Edward G. Winthrop, St. John's Coll.
 Sir William Heathcote, Bart. D.C.L.
 of All Souls' College, Oxford, has been
 admitted *ad eundem* of this University.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

Elections.

The following gentlemen have been appointed Barnaby Lecturers:—

Mathematical.—Rev. W. L. P. Gar-
 rons, Sidney College.

Philosophical.—Rev. William Keeling,
 St. John's College.

Rhetorical.—Rev. James Goodwin, Cor-
 pus Christi College.

Logical.—Rev. James Burdakin, Clare
 Hall.

Henry Thompson, M.A., Christopher
 Clarke, B.A., Charles Merivale, B.A.,
 William Henry Hoare, B.A., and George
 Augustus Selwyn, B.A., have been elected
 Foundation Fellows of St. John's College;
 and the Rev. H. E. Cobden, M.A., and
 the Rev. Solomon Smith, M.A., Platt
 Fellows of the same Society.

James Hildyard, B.A., of Christ's Col-
 lege, has been elected a Foundation Fellow
 of that Society.

James Dalziel Simpson, B.A., of Sidney
 Sussex College, has been elected Mathe-
 matical Lecturer of that Society.

S. G. Fawcett, B.A. of Magdalene Col-
 lege, has been elected a Fellow of that
 Society.

The Rev. Thomas Fleming, B.A., of
 Pembroke College, has been elected a
 Fellow of that Society, on Archbishop
 Grindal's Foundation.

Charles James Johnstone, and Richard
 Norris Russell, Bachelors of Arts, of Gon-
 ville and Caius College, have been elected
 Fellows of that Society, on the Foundation
 of Mr. Wortley.

James Cartmell, B.A., of Emmanuel
 College, has been elected a Foundation
 Fellow of Christ's College.

T. W. Greene, LL.B., of Trinity Hall,
 has been elected a Fellow of that So-
 ciety.

William Wigan Harvey, B.A., of King's
 College, has been elected a Tyrwhitt's He-
 brew Scholar of the first class; and Wil-
 liam Alfred Dawson, B.A., of Christ's
 College, a Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Scholar of
 the second class.

William Arrowsmith, of Trinity Col-
 lege, and George Henry Marsh, of St.
 John's College, have been elected Bell's
 Scholars.

The following gentlemen of Trinity

College have been elected Scholars of that Society :—

Pryor, Donaldson, Morton, F. Williams, A. Hulton, Birks, Gooch, Lushington, Hours, Goulburn, Harris, Rawle, Grote, Le Mottee, Merivale, J. J. Smith.—
Westminster Scholars, Cotton, Carrow.

Graces.

The following Graces have passed the Senate :—

To allow "The British Association for the Advancement of Science," the use of the Senate-House and Public Schools during the week commencing the 24th of June, at such times as they may not be wanted by the University : and to appoint the Vice-Chancellor, the President of Queen's, the Public Orator, Professor Sedgwick, Professor Henslow, Mr. Whewell, and Mr. Chevallier, a Syndicate, who shall take care that these buildings suffer no injury.

To fix the annual stipend of Mr. Glaisher, the Second Assistant at the Observatory, appointed under the authority of a Grace dated March 18, 1829, at the sum of seventy pounds.

To authorise the payment of 118*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* to Messrs. Troughton and Simms, of London, that sum being the excess of their bill for the Mural Circle, lately erected at the Observatory, above the estimate of 1,050*l.* presented to the Observatory Syndicate on July 5, 1820.

To allow the Professor of Botany the sum of 16*l.* 8*s.* for the purchase of a collection of North American Plants, containing 280 species from St. Louis, 280 from New Orleans, and 210 from Alabama.

To allow Mr. Crool, the Hebrew Teacher, 30*l.* out of the University chest, in addition to his annual salary.

To allow John Bowtell, the Library Keeper, an addition to his salary of 20*l.*, in consequence of the additional labour arising from the great increase of books, and the necessity of entering them in the catalogue, for which the usual library hours are insufficient ; which increase of salary is recommended to the Senate by the Syndics of the Library, and agreed to at a special meeting, held March 4, 1833.

To transfer from the common stock of the University so much stock in the Three per cent. Consols as shall amount to the balance due to the Fitzwilliam Fund, and

the amount of interest due from the University to the said fund.

To transfer from the common stock of the University the sum of 400*l.* Three per cent. Consols to the Crane account.

To appoint the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Chafy, Dr. French, Mr. Tatham, Professor Musgrave, Mr. Archdall of Emmanuel College, and Mr. Hodgson of St. Peter's College, a Syndicate, to consult respecting the old printing-house and the adjoining premises belonging to the University, and to report thereon.

To appoint Mr. Craufurd, of King's College, Deputy-Proctor, in the absence of Mr. Skinner ; and Mr. Lund, of St. John's College, Deputy Proctor in the absence of Mr. Howarth.

Syndics.

The Syndics appointed by Grace dated February 18, 1833, "To consider of what standing Candidates for the Degree of B.A. ought to be before they are allowed to be examined for that Degree," have recommended to the Senate :—

1. That no Certificate of Approval for the degree of B.A. delivered by the Examiners to the Registry, be valid, unless it shall appear that, at the date of such certificate, the person obtaining it had entered upon his eleventh term at least, he having previously kept nine terms exclusive of the term in which he was admitted.

2. That, in the case of a person so approved in his eleventh term, such certificate shall not continue in force, unless it shall appear, when such person applies for his admission *ad respondendum questioni*, that he has kept the said eleventh term.

The Syndics further recommend,

That in the Lent term of any year no person be admitted *ad respondendum questioni* on or before Ash-Wednesday, who shall not have been publicly examined at the usual time of examination in the month of January of that year, except those who in consequence of ill health may, by the permission of the Proctors and Examiners, have absented themselves from such Examination.

That these regulations shall not apply to those persons whose names shall appear in the list of Honors at the examination in January 1834.

A Grace has passed the Senate confirming the above regulations.

The Syndics appointed by a Grace dated February 4, 1833, "To consider what alterations should be made in the nature and direction of the Iron Fence of the Senate-house Yard, and to report their opinion before the end of the term," have reported as follows:—

That after the best consideration they can give the subject, they cannot form any decided opinion what alterations should be made; but considering the state of the funds of the University, and the uncertainty of its future plans concerning the disposal of the ground contiguous to the Senate-house, it appears to your Syndics advisable to make no greater change at present in the Senate-house Yard than the improvement of the street absolutely requires. They recommend, therefore, that the corner extending from the front gate of the Senate-house Yard, (the gate nearest King's College,) to the termination of the new iron railing in front of King's College, be thrown into the street, (the University reserving the right to that ground,) substituting for the present fences a curved iron fence.

That the Vice-Chancellor and Syndics be authorised to procure an estimate of the expense of making the alterations above recommended, and do carry them into effect as soon as possible.

A Grace has passed the Senate to carry the alterations recommended in the above report into effect.

At a meeting of the Syndics of the University Library, it was agreed that the order of the 25th of May, 1814, be rescinded, and the following order be substituted for the same:—The Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate for the University Library order, that no Undergraduate or person not belonging to the University be allowed to examine the catalogue, or take down books, unless in company of a

Master of Arts, or a Member of the Senate, or Bachelor of Law and Physic; and that the Library-keepers report to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors any persons *in statu pupillari* who come into the library not in their Academical dress.

Prizes.

MEMBERS' PRIZES for Bachelors of Arts:
James Hildyard, B.A. Christ's College.

Subject—*Quenam precipue sint labentis imperii indicia?*

[No Second Prize adjudged.]

MEMBERS' PRIZES for Undergraduates:

1. Edward Thomas Vaughan,
Christ's College.

2. William Macpherson,
Trinity College.

Subject—*Utrum Servorum manumissio in Insulis Indorum Occidentalium confestim facta, plus boni aut mali secum afferat?*

PERSON PRIZE (for the best translation of a passage from Shakspeare into Greek verse)—

Henry Lushington, Trinity College.

Subject—KING RICHARD II. Act III.
Scene 2. Beginning—

K. RICH. "———Know'st thou not,
"That when the searching eye
of heaven is hid,"

And ending—"For heaven still guards the
right."

SIR WILLIAM BROWNE'S MEDALS:

Greek Ode—T. K. Selwyn, Trinity.

Subject—*Thermopylae.*

Latin Ode—Henry Drury, Caius.

Subject—*Romanorum monumenta in Britannia reperta.*

Epigrams—Charles Clayton, Caius.

Subject—*Prope ad summum prope ad exitum.*

THE CHANCELLOR'S MEDAL for the best English Poem—Clement B. Hue, Trinity.

Subject—*Delphi.*

EXAMINATIONS.

TRINITY COLLEGE EXAMINATIONS.—Alphabetical List of the first classes:—

SENIOR SOPHS.

Birks	Hoare	Pryor	Stevenson
Gooch	Hulton, A.	Selwyn	

JUNIOR SOPHS.

Blackburn	Goulburn	Hawes	Rawle
Burnett	Greatheed	Jeremie	Ross
Cooper, J.	Grote	Le Mottee	Scrivener
Dickson	Heisch	Merivale	White
Dixon, J. D.	Helps	Musgrave	

FRESHMEN.

Aldam	Frere	Pollock	Turner, R.
Atkinson	Gambier	Sargent	Turner, S.
Conway	Hedley	Smith, A.	Turner, W. S.
Conybeare	Mansfield	Smith, J. Ind.	Walford
Cotton	Osborne	Spring Rice	Walton
Currey	Pirie	Tennant	

The following is a list of those gentlemen of St. John's College, who were in the first class in their respective years, at the examinations:—

THIRD YEAR.

Bullock	Low	J. Wood	Weldon } <i>eq.</i>
Hey	Rolfe	Giles	Bryer }

SECOND YEAR.

H. Cotterill	Gipps	Waltham } <i>eq.</i>	Johnstone
H. Smith	Morris	A. Smith }	Bateson
Bishop	Beadon	Legrew	Rudd
Gibbons	Laing	Hutchinson	Rogers
Scudamore } <i>eq.</i>	Lambert	Tillard	Cobb
Sylvester }		Ireland	

FIRST YEAR.

Lane	Robinson	G. Jeudwine	Wilkinson
Colenso	Collison	H. T. Davies } <i>eq.</i>	Dalton
W. H. Smith, sen.	Uwins	Landon }	Phelps
Whitelock	Coleman	J. Jones	Lawson
Haslam	Marsh	Christopherson	Gallwey } <i>eq.</i>
Hudson } <i>eq.</i>	Chapman	Cooke	Bennett }
T. J. Clarké }	Verlander		

The following is the result of the examinations at St. Peter's College:

CLASSICAL—FIRST CLASS.		MATHEMATICAL—FIRST CLASS.	
Russell (Prizeman)	Cooper	Chamberlain (Prizeman)	Duncan
Cousins	Amphlett	Amphlett } <i>eq.</i>	Jones
Meade } <i>eq.</i>	Holley	Meade }	
Duncan	Ford		
Pitts			

SCHOLARS.

Amphlett	Cooper	Ford	Meade (Gisborne)
Chamberlain	Cousins	Jones	

PREVIOUS EXAMINATION,

LENT TERM, 1833.

EXAMINERS.

James Fendall, M.A. Jesus College.

Joseph Watkins Barnes, M.A. Trinity Col.

William Keeling, M.A. St. John's Col.

Charles Currie, M.A. Pembroke College.

FIRST CLASS.

Abbott, Pemb.	Croke, Jesus	Hardman, Joh.	Lowe, Trin.
Acland, Caius	Cross, Joh.	Harris, Trin.	Lushington, Trin.
Addison, Joh.	Crow, Chr.	Harrison, Trin.	Macauley, Jesus
Allen, Trin.	Cumberlege, Chr.	Hartley, Jesus	Mackinson, Joh.
Allen, Qu.	Cumine, Trin.	Hebden, Joh.	Maitland, Trin.
Allott, Joh.	Curry, Trin.	Heisch, Trin.	MannersSutton, Trin.
Almond, Cath.	Curtis, Joh.	Helps, Trin.	Marsh, Cath.
Ashby, Pemb.	Curwen, Trin.	Hepburn, Trin.	Martin, Chr.
Atty, Joh.	Darwall, Trin.	Herring, Corp.	Mason, Trin.
Barber, Joh.	Dashwood, Corp.	Hilditch, Joh.	Meade, Caius
Barnes, Triu.	Davidson, Clare	Hill, Joh.	Meuzies, Qu.
Barron, Qu.	Davies, Corp.	Hodgson, Trin.	Merivale, Trin.
Bates, Chr.	Davis, Chr.	Hogg, Chr.	Morgan, Trin.
Bateson, Joh.	Day, Clare	Hoate, Caius.	Morris, Joh.
Baumgartner, Caius	Deareley, Sidney	Houghton, Corp.	Murray, Trin.
Beadon, Joh.	Denison, Trin.	Howes, Trin.H.	Musgrave, Triu.
Beauford, Magd.	Denman, Trin.	Howes, Trin.	Newby, Joh.
Bennett, Qu.	Dickinson, Trin.	Hue, Trin.	Newlove, Clare
Benstead, Joh.	Dixon, Trin.	Hughes, Trin.	Newman, Trin.
Beresford, Joh.	Dobson, W. Joh.	Hutchinson, Joh.	Newton, Jesus
Berkeley, sen. Jes.	Drake, Joh.	Ibbotson, Trin.	Nichols, Caius
Berkeley, jun. Jes.	Drury, H. Caius	Inman, Sid.	Nightingale, Cath.
Berney, Joh.	Dunn, Trin.	Ireland, Joh.	Nussey, Magd.
Birch, Joh.	Durnford, Joh.	James, Corp.	O'Brien, Trin.
Bishop, Joh.	Ellis, Trin.	Jeffels, Qu.	Oliver, Pet.
Blake, Caius	Ellison, Trin.	Jeremie, Trin.	Orme, Jesus
Blythe, Caius	Elmhirst, Trin.	Johnson, Caius	Palmer, Chr.
Bond, Jes.	Etty, Joh.	Johnston, Emm.	Palmer, Trin.
Booth, Pet.	Eyre, Cath.	Johnstone, Joh.	Parker, Trin.
Boys, Joh.	Ferguson, Trin.	Jollands, Eum.	Penfold, Trin.H.
Bradshaw, Joh.	Fisher, Down	Jones, Caius	Phillipps, Magd.
Bramwell, Chr.	Fox, Qu.	Jowett, Caius	Pidcock, Qu.
Bridge, Qu.	Freuer, Chr.	Karslake, Magd.	Ponsonby, Trin.
Brine, Qu.	Frost, Chr.	Kelly, Cath.	Potchett, Joh.
Bromhead, Jesus	Garvey, Emm.	Kenrick, Trin.	Prescott, Trin.
Bromley, Caius	Gibbons, Joh.	Knight, Pet.	Procter, Cath.
Brown, Cath.	Gibbs, Caius	Knight, Qu.	Quarrell, Qu.
Buckley, Magd.	Gilbert, Corp.	Laing, Joh.	Ramsay, Pemb.
Budd, Pemb.	Gillson, Trin.H.	Lambert, Joh.	Rashdall, Corp.
Burnett, Trin.	Gipps, Joh.	Laurie, Qu.	Rawle, Trin.
Buxton, Trin.	Girdlestone, Trin.	Law, Qu.	Rawlins, Trin.
Clarke, C. Trin.	Goodman, Trin.	Lawrie, Trin.	Ray, Trin.
Clarke, E. Trin.	Goulburn, Trin.	Lazenby, Jesus	Read, Qu.
Claydon, Trin.	Greatheed, Trin.	Ledsam, Joh.	Reynardson, Trin.
Cobb, Joh.	Gregory, Trin.	Leece, Trin.	Richards, Trin.
Cochrane, Qu.	Grote, Trin.	Legrew, Joh.	Rigg, Chr.
Cooke, Corp.	Curdon, Trin.	Le Mottee, Trin.	Robinson, Trin.H.
Cooper, J. Trin.	Hale, M. Trin.	Lillingston, Emm.	Rogers, Joh.
Cotterill, Joh.	Hall, Clare	Lister, Corp.	Ross, Trin.
Courtenay, Jes.	Hall, Chr.	Lister, Trin.	Rudd, Joh.
Creyke, Trin.	Hall, Trin.	Livesey, Trin.	Savage, Joh.

Scott,	Clare	Smith, J.	Chr.	Tillard,	Joh.	Warrington,	Pet.
Scott,	Joh.	Smith, A.	Joh.	Trapp,	Clare	Watkins,	Pet.
Scrivener,	Trin.	Smith, W. H.	Joh.	Troughton,	Corp.	Watson,	Trin.
Scudamore,	Joh.	Smith,	Trin.	Tryon,	Trin.	White,	Trin.
Seager,	Trin.	Storer,	Joh.	Vizard,	Trin.	Wilkinson,	Clare
Shortland,	Pemb.	Strickland,	Qu.	Wackerbarth,	Trin.	Williams,	Qu.
Simpson,	Joh.	Sutton,	Trin.	Walker,	Jesus	Williams,	Magd.
Sims,	Pemb.	Sylvester,	Joh.	Waltham,	Joh.	Williamson,	Caius
Sims,	Emm.	Taynton,	Caius	Wanton,	Chr.	Willott,	Joh.
Skelton,	Chr.	Thompson, E.	Trin.	Ward,	Pet.	Windycaatt,	Pet.
Slade,	Pet.	Thompson,	Sid.	Ward,	Cath.	Wood,	Caius
Smith,	Pemb.	Thomson,	Magd.	Warren,	Trin.		

SECOND CLASS.

Arkwright,	Trin.	Faber,	Trin.	Herring, W.	Trin.	Reid,	Joh.
Aspinall,	Trin.	Farrington,	Magd.	Hollingworth, Sid.		Richardson,	Joh.
Baines,	Chr.	Fellows,	Clare	Hornby,	Joh.	Richardson,	Trin.
Bishopp,	Pet.	Ferguson,	Trin.	Hyndman,	Trin.	Roberts,	Pet.
Blackburn,	Trin.	Finch,	Chr.	James,	Jesus	Rodwell,	Chr.
Bluett,	Qu.	Ford,	Qu.	James,	Joh.	Scratchley,	Trin.
Bradstreet,	Emm.	Fry,	Joh.	Jeason,	Trin.	Sharp,	Magd.
Bruce,	Jesus	Garfit,	Joh.	Johnstone,	Pet.	Simons,	Chr.
Bullock,	Clare	Gausson,	Trin.	Kempe,	Trin.	Slyman,	Qu.
Bush,	Cath.	Giffard,	Emm.	Lamprell,	Clare	Spiller,	Cath.
Cautley,	Jesus	Gilbert,	Emm.	Lascelles,	Cath.	Stocks,	Trin.
Chaloner,	Magd.	Gillum,	Trin.	Maltby,	Caius	Taddy,	Clare
Chichester,	Down.	Golightly,	Joh.	Mayew,	Trin.	Thomas,	Pet.
Clarke,	Caius	Goring,	Chr.	Meadows,	Corp.	Thompson,	Qu.
Clarke,	Pemb.	Gough,	Corp.	Melville,	Pet.	Thompson, T. C.	Trin.
Clarke, H.	Trin.	Grasett,	Trin.	Merewether,	Trin.	Thorold,	Trin.
Cooper, G.	Trin.	Gresham,	Joh.	Merriman,	Caius	Todd,	Chr.
Coventry,	Emm.	Halhed,	Pet.	Micklethwait,	Magd.	Walker,	Pet.
Crompton,	Qu.	Hale, C.	Trin.	Mitchelson,	Trin.	Walker,	Cath.
DeSausmares,	Caius	Hart,	Trin.	Moore,	Joh.	Waters,	Corp.
Drawbridge,	Qu.	Hawkins,	Trin.	Pardoe,	Joh.	Wilson,	Clare
Drew,	Joh.	Hayes,	Joh.	Price,	Joh.	Wynne,	Trin.
Dunkin,	Trin.	Heathcote,	Cath.	Prior,	Qu.		
Eyre,	Trin.	Herring, N.	Trin.	Pritchard,	Joh.		

The Pitt Press.

This elegant building having been completed, Tuesday, April 30, was appointed for the Vice-Chancellor to receive the key of the building from the Marquis Camden and other Members of the Pitt Committee; the deputation was composed of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen:—

The Most Noble John Jeffreys, Marquis of Camden, K. G.—*Chairman*.

The Right Hon. John Charles, Earl of Clarendon.

The Right Hon. Dudley, Earl of Harrowby.

The Right Hon. Charles, Lord Farnborough, G.C.B.

The Rt. Hon. Sir G. H. Rose, G.C.H.

Henry Bankes, Esq.

Samuel Thornton, Esq.

A congregation was held in the Senate-House at Eleven o'clock, when the following degrees were conferred:—

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

The Earl of Clarendon.

The Earl of Harrowby.

Lord Farnborough.

Sir George Rose.

HONORARY MASTER OF ARTS.

Lord Alford, Magdalene College.

A procession was then formed, which was very extensive, consisting of nearly all the members at present resident in the University, and moved in the following order:—

Esquire Bedells.

The Vice-Chancellor, in his robes.

Members of the Pitt Committee.

Noblemen in their robes.

Heads of Colleges, in robes, two and two.

Doctors in Divinity, in robes, two & two.

Doctors in Law & Physic in robes, two & two.

Public Orator.

Professors of the University.

Assessor to the Vice-Chancellor.

Proctors in their Congregation Habits.

Public Registrar and Public Librarian.

Taxors, Scrutators, other Officers of Univ.

Bach. of Div. & Maat. of Arts, two & two.

Bachelors of Arts.

Fellow Communioners.

Undergraduates.

Having arrived at the building, the Marquis Camden and the other Noble-

men proceeded into the grand entrance hall, and having invited the Vice-Chancellor to the door, his Lordship addressed the rev. gent. in an appropriate speech.

His Lordship then presented the key of the building to the Vice-Chancellor, upon receiving which the rev. gent. made a spirited reply.

At the conclusion of the Vice-Chancellor's speech, the deputation, and a considerable number of members of the University, passed through the entrance-hall to an ante-room at the foot of the principal staircase, where a handsome printing-press had been fixed for the occasion, in order to give the Noble Marquis an opportunity of printing off a copy of the following inscription, &c.* upon vellum, for his own preservation:—

IN . HONOREM
GVLIELMI . PITT

HVIVS . ACADEMIÆ . OLIM . ALVMNI
VIRI . ILLVSTRIORIS . QVAM . VT . VLLO . INDIGENT . PRÆCtorio
ÆQVALES . HVIVS . ET . AMICI . SVPERSTITES
QVÆTORES . SECVRNARVM . TVM . AB . IPSIS . TVM . AB . ALIIS .
FAMÆ . HVIVS . TVENDE
ERGO . COLLATARVM
HOC . EDIFICIVM . EXTREVI . VOLVERVNT
LAPIDEM . AVSPICALEM . SOLENNIBVS . CÆREMONIIS . STATVIT
VIR . NOBILISSIMVS
IOANNES . JEFFREIS . MARCHIO . CAMDEN
ASSISTENTIBVS . EI . HONORATISSIMIS . COMITIBVS . CLARENDON .
ET . HARROWBY
HONORABILI . ADMODVM . BARONE . FARNBOROUGH
HENRICO . BANKES . ARMIGERO .
TOTA . INSPECTANTE . ET . PLAVDENTE . ACADEMIA
DECIMO . QVINTO . CAL . NOVEMB . ANNO . M.DCCC.XXXI .
GEORGIO . THACKERAY . S.T.P . COLL . REGAL . PRÆS .
ITERVM . PROCANCELLARIO .

This Copy of the Inscription for the PITT Press

WAS STRUCK OFF BY

The Most Noble JOHN JEFFREYS, MARQUIS CAMDEN,
On the 30th day of April, 1833; when his Lordship, as Chairman of the Pitt Committee, delivered up the key of this splendid Building to the Rev. WILLIAM WEBB, D.D. Vice-Chancellor of this University.

Each of the other noblemen and gentlemen of the committee struck off a copy for himself, his own name being substituted; instead also of reading "when his Lordship," the words were altered to "when the Marquis Camden, as chairman," &c.

Their Lordships, the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and other gentlemen, then passed up into the very elegant

Syndic-room, where they partook of a handsome cold collation, consisting of numerous delicacies, given by the Press Syndicate, and afterwards returned to the Senate-House.

In the evening the noble Lords and a party of nearly forty gentlemen were sumptuously entertained by the Vice-Chancellor in the hall of Clare Hall.

* This is a copy of the inscription inserted on the Foundation-stone, which was laid in Nov. 1831.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1833.

ART. I. — *On the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God as manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.* By the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. 2 vols. 8vo. London. Pickering. 1833.

ALTHOUGH these volumes stand first on the list of the Bridgewater Treatises, their publication was too late for any notice of them in our last number: we should, otherwise, have invited the attention of our readers to the work of Dr. Chalmers, in company with that of his distinguished colleague Mr. Whewell. The adaptation of external nature to the moral and intellectual constitution of the ruling inhabitant of our globe, is a topic which forces itself irresistibly, and almost at every turn, on the mind which is engaged in any department of research or meditation embraced by the design of the founder of these Essays. We have accordingly seen that this subject has been adverted to by Mr. Whewell in one of his masterly and impressive chapters: and we must, of course, expect that all the adventurers on the same expanse of inquiry, will occasionally cross each other's path, in exploring the depths of this great argument. It would be idle to complain of this, as some, we believe, have complained. If there be any inconvenience in it, it is an inconvenience inseparably connected with the nature of the bequest. The Bridgewater Essayists are not to be considered as a sort of joint stock company, bound by the terms of their incorporation to produce a certain amount of disquisition, for the plan and execution of which, each partner is to be held responsible. Every contributor towards the grand purpose in view, is to be considered as wholly independent of the rest; and, therefore, as at liberty to follow out any train of thought or investigation which, in his judgment, is best fitted to assert the dominion, and to vindicate the ways, of the Supreme and Sovereign Intelligence. Perfect unity and symmetry

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of design is, consequently, not to be expected in such a collection of Dissertations. To exact from every Essayist a rigorous abstinence from every topic which may fall, somewhat more appropriately, within the sphere of any other of his brethren, would be neither more or less than to set him to work in manacles and fetters. Besides, we are by no means satisfied that there is not a very considerable positive advantage in this independent search after a great result. It may, indeed, inflict some occasional repetition on the public. But the public must be very impatient, very fastidious, and very childish, if it does not lose all sense of weariness in the contemplation of the same object, as it presents itself to the understandings of various eminent and accomplished men. The counsels, dictated by such strange caprice and indolence, would lead to nothing but an absolute rejection of the munificence of the benefactor.

There is another objection to the whole scheme of these *Bridgewater Treatises*, suggested neither by indolence nor caprice; but by an honest solicitude, lest the majesty and supremacy of Revelation should be compromised, by all this bustling indagation throughout the regions of Natural Theology. For Natural Theology, in the estimation of many a pious and exemplary Christian, is well nigh an obsolete thing,—a collection of low and beggarly elements,—an affair almost as much gone by, as the Levitical law,—a matter nearly as superfluous, in religious inquiry, as the demolition of the Epicycles of Ptolemy, or the Vortices of Des Cartes, would be in Astronomical Science. We ourselves have heard this objection urged, not only with much gravity, but with deep anxiety, and even with no little indignation, by persons entitled to reverence and honour, for the warmth of their zeal, and the simplicity of their faith. By them, the worthy pioneers who labour in levelling the approaches to the citadel, and in making them firm and solid beneath our feet, are treated as if they were little better than secret traitors to the fortress and the sanctuary. What have we to do—they exclaim—with the natural evidences of religion,—we, to whom the Way, the Truth, and the Life have been made manifest? Why is our time to be wasted, and our attention scattered, and our hearts seduced from the words of eternal life, by a vast apparatus of laws and phenomena, and adaptations, and mysteries of corpuscular action? Why are we to listen even to the voice of the firmament, and the testimony of the heavens, when glory to God, and peace on earth, and good will to man, have all been proclaimed to us by the voice of angels? Nay, why are we to endure the vanity and vexation of spirit, which is sure to be engendered in the schools of human lore, whenever they handle the secrets of our moral and intel-

lectual nature, seeing that He who is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things, hath, in these last days, spoken to us by his Son?

Now, all this might be extremely well, if there were no such thing still among us as high thoughts which exalt themselves against God—or low thoughts which crawl away from the light of his countenance. Unhappily, however, there are both these among us. Christendom, it is to be feared, is, in some parts of it, at this moment, swarming with multitudes who *like not to retain God in their knowledge*; or who, if *they feel after him*, do so, much in the spirit and manner of men who are mighty busy in seeking what they are pretty well resolved not to find. What, then, is to be done, in order to arrest the ravages of this gangrene? And how are we to deal with the professors of scepticism, or the adepts of downright atheism? There is perpetually going forth from the high places of philosophy an influence which withers the very heart of hope and faith. Is no effort to be made for the purpose of counteracting the operation of this pernicious element? Numbers around us are sinking into the stagnant “oblivious pool” of utter unbelief. Is natural theology, then, forbidden to stretch out a hand for their deliverance, lest, peradventure, she should land them on the barren shores of Deism, and there leave them, settled in treacherous comfort and security? Surely, the mere statement of such questions as these amounts to no less than a substantial answer to the complaints, and the jealousies, and the misgivings, of those very estimable persons, who, being themselves *rooted and grounded* in the truth, are apt to forget that others may be struggling in the quagmire and the morass. A moment’s temperate thought will, doubtless, satisfy them, that natural theology is but as a solid mole, or causeway, thrown over the Serbonian bog; a bridge constructed, not by way of a foundation whereon men are to erect their dwelling-places, but merely as a pathway, along which they may travel in safety to the realms of a higher theology—even to the city which hath foundations imperishable, and whose builder and maker is the Lord.

The objections to which we have just adverted have not escaped the attention of Dr. Chalmers: and a considerable portion of his concluding chapter is employed in assuaging the disquietudes inflicted by them on the minds that are very zealous for the honour of the faith whereby we live.

“There is,” he says, “a confused imagination with many, that every new accession, whether of evidence or doctrine, made to the *natural*, tends in so far to reduce the claims, or to depreciate the importance, of the *Christian* theology. The apprehension is, that, as the latter was designed to supplement the insufficiency of the former,—then, the more

that the arguments of natural theology are strengthened, or its truths are multiplied, the more are the lessons of the Christian theology unneeded and uncalled for. It is thus that the discoveries of reason are held as superseding, or as casting a shade of insignificance, and even of discredit, over the discoveries of revelation. There is a certain dread or jealousy, with some humble Christians, of all that incense which is offered at the shrine of the Divinity by human science; whose daring incursion on the field of theology, it is thought, will, in very proportion to the brilliancy of its success, administer both to the proud independence of the infidel, and to the pious alarm of the believer."

He then proceeds to show, by a course of luminous exposition, that the pride of the infidel, and the alarm of the believer, are equally destitute of all foundation. The alarm of the believer is needless: for why should he be disturbed by the labours of physical or ethical science, when their very object is to throw a blaze of demonstration over the existence and the attributes of the Deity? They who come to God, even though they come to him through Christ, must first believe that God is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him. And a message addressed to them that believe Him not, would be about as interesting and impressive as an embassy from the city of the cuckoos! But when once we are satisfied that there is a throne in Heaven, and that He who sitteth on the throne is,—not merely one that drives the clouds, and launches the thunder, and wheels the planetary masses in their circuit,—but that he is likewise the Father and the Governor of the spirits of all flesh,—then it is that we are prepared to receive with reverence and adoration whatever might appear to be stamped with the signatures of an embassy from himself. Now, it is precisely the function of natural theology, partially at least to lift up the sacred veil of that pavilion, wherein the Sovereign of the Universe sits enthroned in power and in righteousness. Why then, we repeat, should he, whose anchorage is within the veil, look with an evil eye on these good offices, whereby an entrance may be abundantly provided for the hopes and the desires of all, who are now drifting about in ignorance, or tossed to and fro with every breath of pernicious and deceitful knowledge?

But, again—what reasonable confidence can the triumphs of natural theology afford to the "proud independence of the infidel?" Natural theology, indeed, can overwhelm him with her opulence. It can disclose to him the immensity of the universe, and pour out before him the unspeakable riches of the divine benevolence and wisdom. But what can natural theology do, to solve the dreadful enigma of a race of creatures living in a state of ungrateful revolt in the midst of all this profusion of bounty—this "pomp and prodigality of heaven?" The theology of nature and of con-

science further speaks to us of a law, and sets forth, accordingly, the supreme authority of the law-giver: but what light can it throw on the condition and destiny of a creature who carries the law written on his heart, and yet never passes a day, or even an hour, without some concealed or open breach of it?

"There is," says Dr. Chalmers, "in natural theology, enough of manifestation to awaken the fears of guilt, but not enough to appease them. It emits, audibly, a note of terror; but in vain do we listen for one authentic word of comfort from any of its oracles. It is able to see the danger, but not the deliverance. It can excite the forebodings of the human spirit, but it cannot quell them; knowing just enough to stir the perplexity, but not enough to set the perplexity at rest. It can state the difficulty, but cannot unriddle the difficulty; having just as much knowledge as to enunciate the problem, but not so much as might lead to a solution of the problem. There must be a measure of light, we do allow. But like the lurid gleam of the volcano, it is not a light which guides, but which bewilders and terrifies. It prompts the question, but cannot frame or furnish the reply. Natural theology may see as much as shall draw forth the anxious interrogation, *what shall I do to be saved?* The answer to this comes from a higher theology."

There is, then, no completeness or sufficiency in the system of "*academic theism*," even when advanced to the highest perfection to which it can be carried by the labours of scientific men. It may enlarge its boundaries, and multiply its possessions, beyond all limits which the imagination of man can easily reach: but still its conquests can never be extended to the realms of that peace which passeth understanding. Its very wealth may even be a fatal incumbrance, and may crush out of it the life of hope,—a mere gorgeous burden, until it can be deposited at the foot of the cross. It must, at length, be wearied in *the greatness of its way*, unless the glories of a better country be kept constantly and steadily in view. The land of mere natural *history* or natural *philosophy*, indeed, may seem "a bright and pleasant land" enough, to them who are content that their pilgrimage should terminate within its frontiers. But to the eye of natural *theology*, the light of that land will, at best, be little more than darkness visible, and will serve only to discover sights of terror: and the mental vision will ache, and find no rest, until it is satisfied with the brightness which cometh direct from the dwelling place of him who is the Father of Lights, and *in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning*.

We have thought it as well to offer these remarks at the outset of our notice, in order to dissipate the fears of those good men who may look with some distrust on the services of natural theology, as if she were a sort of comely, but treacherous handmaiden, likely to steal away our allegiance from the rightful object of our

devotions. We believe that all such suspicions are wholly unworthy both of the religion of nature, and of the religion of the Gospel. And, if there be any, who, instead of fixing their affection on the true queen of sciences, suffer them to rest upon their conductress who brings them into her presence,—it is not their conductress who must bear the blame; but even their own light and wayward nature, incapable of faithfulness to the severe majesty of truth.

We now proceed to the speculations of Dr. Chalmers. And, at the outset, we must premise that he proposes to himself the widest range which the language of his *thesis* will allow. The office assigned him is, to prove that the attributes of a supreme mind are manifested in the adaptation of external nature to the moral and intellectual constitution of man. Now the terms of this problem would seem at first sight to limit the search of the inquirer, on the one hand to the properties of mind, and on the other hand to the properties and arrangements of matter, as ordained with an express view to their mutual adaptation. The external world, undoubtedly, in ordinary parlance, is usually understood to embrace only the various provinces of the material universe: and it may possibly be deemed a violation of the conditions appointed to the essayist to give to these words a more comprehensive import. But then, it must be recollected, that, although the world of matter may be called *external*, when considered with reference to the minds which dwell in the midst of it, and make it an object of their contemplation,—yet, to any individual mind, all other minds are, as strictly speaking, external, as matter itself is external to mind either individually or collectively considered. We are, all of us, surrounded by a vast apparatus of complex and extended materialism: and the properties and adjustments of these material elements will be found to exhibit a wonderful correspondence with each individual mind which lives, and moves, and has its being in the midst of them. So that, if there were in this material universe but one solitary mind,—that single mind would find itself encompassed by a cloud of testimony to the skill and the benevolence which had prepared its habitation. But this is not all. Each of us is actually surrounded with other conscious and intelligent creatures. And the social fabric, which is constructed of these materials, may, reasonably enough, be said to form a large department of external nature, with reference to each intellectual unit of which human society is composed. It is evident, therefore, that no justice can be done to the argument, if the inquiry is to be confined to the relations between mind and matter, while the relations between one mind and every other mind are to be excluded from all consideration. Whether the

latitude thus assumed by Dr. Chalmers is legitimately authorized by the terms in which the question has been proposed, is a matter respecting which we are little inclined to trouble ourselves or our readers. We have only to say that, if he has expatiated beyond the sphere assigned him, we cannot do otherwise than heartily rejoice in the spirit of enterprise which has prompted him to exceed the requirements of his commission.

The anxiety of Dr. Chalmers worthily to prosecute the arduous theme before him, has impelled him to enlarge still further the province of his investigations. Having undertaken to examine the fitness of this world for the occupation of intelligent and responsible beings, he has felt himself called upon, first to exhibit the mental or spiritual constitution with which those beings are actually found to be endowed. He has thus secured to himself an occasion to discuss three subjects of transcendent importance;—the supremacy of conscience,—the inherent pleasure of the virtuous, and misery of the vicious, affections,—and, lastly, the power and operation of habit. And having thus established what really is the nature of man, he is, of course, so much the better prepared to ascertain whether the dwelling place and the condition of man is, in all respects, wisely and benevolently adapted to his mental faculties.

The introductory chapter of Dr. Chalmers presents us with a variety of other momentous preliminary considerations; and, among them, one of eminent value and importance. It is well known that whenever the Atheistic School are anxious to avoid the pressure of those arguments, which are derived from the astonishing harmony of the universe, they straightway begin to talk, with prodigious volubility, about the laws of motion—and the properties of matter—and the power of gravitation—and the forces of attraction and repulsion. These, they tell us, are known causes; about their existence there can be no doubt. What, then, they ask, becomes all truly philosophical inquirers, but to acquiesce in these known causes, instead of searching after some ulterior cause, which is utterly unknown? And yet, they exclaim, there is many a dreaming and infatuated slave of prejudice, that falls into an ecstasy at the sight of the heavens above, and of the earth beneath, and of the waters under the earth; as if the wonders exhibited in all these departments of what is called the *creation*, could be accounted for only on the supposition that they were the work of an Omnipotent and Providential Intelligence. Now, for the purpose of our argument, we may be well content to descend, for a moment, to the position which these fool-hardy adventurers have chosen to occupy, and which, as they imagine, they have made so strong for themselves.

A plain untutored man, indeed, might be tempted to ask how the unconscious atoms came to be endowed with all these marvellous affinities or antipathies?—whence it is that these laws and ordinances went forth, to marshal the fighting elements into orderly combination? We, however, are willing (for a time, at least) to abstain from all such popular topics of interrogation. We will grant the philosophers much of what they demand. We will suffer them to provide themselves with a collection of ingredients, gifted, no matter how, with all the qualities which an atheist may chuse to ascribe to them. Let them take the power of gravitation—and the forces of attraction and repulsion—and the laws of motion—and every law and property which was ever supposed to belong to inert unconscious matter. And when they are supplied, to their hearts' content, with all this primitive apparatus, we have only to request that, in return for our liberality, they will be sufficiently accommodating to point out to us the process, by which they imagine that a world of regularity and symmetry could possibly emerge out of all this primordial and potent materialism. We say nothing, at present, of the miracles of consciousness and intelligence. We confine our views entirely to the mere inanimate creation: and we ask them to tell us whether they gravely pretend to believe that matter, thus endowed and constituted, could ever, even in the course of countless ages, have arranged itself into the form which throws the ignorant *dreamer* into *ecstasies*? Let us, for instance, suppose that, at this moment, there were to take place an universal wreck of matter; let

“ ————— the treasure
Of nature's germins tumble all together
E'en till destruction sicken ;”

are we to understand that this congeries of ruins would, in due process of time, work itself, by virtue of its own inherent energies, into any thing resembling a combination of well-ordered and harmonious movements? If they should be prepared to affirm that it would, we, on our part, should, at once, profess ourselves to be completely silenced; as completely, as we should be, if a tenant of Bedlam were to hurl his crown of straw at us, on our attempt to persuade him that he was not the sovereign of a mighty empire. If, however, they should hesitate, we should then seize the opportunity to remind them, that two things are needful to the admissibility of a cause; namely, first, that it should be known to exist; and, secondly, that it should be sufficient for the explanation of appearances: and, lastly, we should ask them whether the latter of these two conditions had not, somehow or other, slipped away from their recollection?

So much for the confirmed worshippers of gravitation, and repulsion, and chemical affinity, and capillary attraction. But, for the sake of the unwary, who might be tempted by them to tread the courts of this philosophical pantheon, it may be proper to state, somewhat more fully, that mere laws and qualities are absolutely powerless *of themselves*; or, at least, that they can have no power but that of embroiling the elemental strife, and stirring up, into the wildest turbulence, the lifeless ingredients of an aboriginal chaos. Let the properties of matter be *what* they may, or *whence* they may, a controlling spirit must first brood over the heaving mass, before confusion can give place to order. The "embryon atoms" may, *from* all eternity, have possessed the qualifications needful for the preservation of a mechanism once set up. But, *to* all eternity, the atoms would never be got to *behave themselves* at all *distinctly*—(to borrow the phraseology of Dandie Dinmont)—unless some other power were at work to separate them, and to sort them, and to arrange them, and to give them their appropriate motion and collocation. Until that should be effected, what would the elements be, but a vast collection of physical units, each putting forth its own peculiar properties? And what could be the result of all these independent and insubordinate energies, but a scene of wild and mutinous confusion, such as the genius of a Milton might be powerful enough to describe, but such as the collective sagacity of all the heaven-defying philosophers that ever lived, could never be keen and far-sighted enough to see an end of?

It is said that Lord Byron, in one of his frantic moods, threw down a favourite watch, and pounded it to pieces with the poker. Now, if we might be allowed to image to ourselves any one form of purgatory more appropriate than another to the case of his lordship, and of all poets or philosophers of the same school, it would be, that the shattered fragments should be collected, and that the unbelieving fraternity should be doomed to look on, till the separate portions should begin, gradually and spontaneously, to resume their respective places and functions, and to reproduce the ruined timepiece in its original beauty and perfection. They might probably complain, indeed, of the inordinate length and tediousness of this purgatorial experiment. And if they should so complain, we should certainly hail the complaint as one favorable symptom of their return to a more reasonable mind. The experiment would, doubtless, be protracted and tedious enough; and, long before many thousands of years were passed, would compel them to acknowledge themselves tolerably familiar with the notions of a penal eternity. On every account, however, we contend, that the retribution

would suit their case, to a nicety. The atheist maintains that matter, with its laws and properties, could marshal itself into a world. What, then, could be a fitter destiny for him, than to watch the self-restoration of a piece of broken mechanism to its original adjustment and power? The laws and the properties of each scattered atom would remain still undestroyed. What right, therefore, could he have to demand the interference of an artist's hand to relieve him from his weariness? He has hardly denied the necessity of any such interference in one case; he may, therefore, be righteously expected to abide by his denial of it in the other.

The simple truth of the matter is, that the power and wisdom of the Deity is seen,—not so much in the establishment of laws, and in the communication of qualities to matter,—as in the whole scheme of disposition and of collocation, which gives to the laws and qualities the means of exhibiting their regulating and conservative efficacy. Even if we could consent to degrade the Deity into a Potentate, who had to make the best he could of the material elements, with their respective principles of action,—we should still be compelled to allow that nothing short of unlimited sagacity and foresight could be sufficient for the office of employing these senseless materials in such a manner as to answer any intelligible purpose. To say that matter is furnished with certain powers,—or that it is, in some inexplicable way, subjected to certain rules of operation,—is to say comparatively nothing. The wise men of the school of Epicurus cannot take a single step in safety on the ground of this concession. It cannot be too often repeated, that there must be some overruling and intelligent cause, to ensure the orderly and beneficial application of those powers. That this is so, was, of course, felt and acknowledged by Newton; for the intellect of Newton was an intellect of the highest order; an intellect as much above the reptile sophistry of mere calculators and analysts, as the mind of the greatest master of jurisprudence is above that of the most acute and skilful pettifogger. And what is the language of Newton relative to this matter? “It became the Deity”—(says that glory of the human race)—“it became the Deity, who created the elements of the world, *to set them in order*. And if he did so, it is *unphilosophical* to seek for any other origin of the world; or to pretend that it might arise out of chaos *by the mere laws of nature*; though, being once formed, it may continue by those laws for many ages.” Let us compare this language with the language in which La Place propounds his nebular hypothesis. We shall then have before us something like a measure of the interval which separates the sphere in which the spirit of genuine philosophy

sits enthroned, from that lower region beyond which the pinion of mere science is not privileged to soar. We will not say of La Place, or others of his school, that they were unworthy to hold a candle to Newton: for, of this office they were most eminently worthy; and they have, undoubtedly, performed their office with an ability so conspicuous, as to challenge the gratitude and admiration of mankind. But when we have said this, we have said all. La Place and his compeers are amply honoured when we say, that they were fit to hold the torch which was originally lighted by Newton, and which was transmitted to them from the hands of that mighty and inventive genius. But it really is almost enough to make one cry out for the bastinado or the tread-wheel, to hear a man like La Place presuming solemnly to assure us, that Newton has departed from the true spirit of *philosophy*, in referring us to an intelligent First Cause as the author of the miracles of the universe!

The prodigious absurdity of the godless Philosophy becomes still more irresistibly manifest on a moment's contemplation of the wonders of the animal structure. The *planetarium* is a piece of mechanism which is governed by a few simple laws, and whose parts are dispersed through an immensity of space; whereas, in the human frame, innumerable evidences of design are exhibited in the most intense concentration. Twenty distinct contingencies are needful to the efficacy of the organ of vision; as many, perhaps to the efficacy of the organ of hearing. Let this thought be followed out through the whole labyrinth of the animal œconomy; and then let the philosophers sit down to their calculations; and estimate, if numbers will enable them to do it, the *improbabilities*, that a succession of generations, thus endowed and thus constructed, should issue out of the womb of chance! They have at their service the oxygen, and the hydrogen, and the carbon, and the phosphorus, and the lime, and all the other modifications of dust and ashes: and they may, possibly, tell us that no reason can be assigned why these ingredients should not appear in the combinations by which the earth is peopled, as well as in any other form. And, in like manner, it may be said, if a printer's fount were to be emptied out of a bag, there is no reason to be assigned, why the types should not fall into hexameter lines, and produce the *Iliad*. But still we should like to see the analysis of what are called *chances*, applied to all this overpowering complication of orderly phenomena. And if it could be so applied, does any sane person doubt that the fraction, expressive of the probability of fortuitous combination, would be minute to a degree beyond the powers of arithmetic to represent? And if this does not amount to a conclusive proof that chance is utterly

out of the question, and that a Disposing Intelligence has been at work, the calculators must surely be beyond the reach of any discipline but that of hellebore, accompanied with shaving and blistering of the head, and with a judicious course of antiphlogistic regimen. They might, possibly, protest against this treatment, upon the strength of their favourite principle, namely, that it becomes us short-sighted beings to rest in causes the existence of which we know instead of reaching after a cause of which we know nothing. But this ingenuous exhibition of methodical madness would hardly serve their turn. We could not consent to bate them a jot, on the score of all this voluntary humiliation. It would be of no sort of service to them to insist eternally on the propriety of confining ourselves to what is certainly known;—for of all things, within the range of human knowledge, nothing can be more certainly known than this,—that, whenever we look upon a system, which answers all the purposes of the the most exquisite contrivance, we are naturally and well nigh irresistibly impelled to think of a contriver; and that nothing but a violent and sustained effort can divert or suppress that thought. The sages will doubtless say that this is the work of prejudice. We, on the contrary, affirm that it is the work of intuition; and that if we cannot safely put our trust in it, we can trust to no one principle of our nature. The process which brings us to this conviction may not be exactly a process of reasoning, but it is a process quite as satisfactory as the most rigorous demonstration, to every unperverted mind. It has all the force of a self-evident proposition. And, we repeat it, they who have wrought themselves into a morbid stubbornness, which can hold out against this sort of evidence, are in a state which might fairly excommunicate them from the society of reasonable men, and consign them to the care of persons accustomed to the treatment of imperfect or distorted intellects.

Similar considerations will be found to pursue the philosophers, if we proceed from the regions of matter to the realms of Mind. The structure of Mind, it is true, presents a spectacle of much greater simplicity than the combinations of matter. We may talk, indeed, of the anatomy of the mind: but this is evidently nothing more than an artifice of compendious speech. Whether the mind be (as some have imagined) a simple uncompounded substance, capable of various modes of action,—or whether (as others have less reasonably surmised) it be a congeries of distinct faculties,—in either case, its structure exhibits nothing to our preception, or even to our imagination, at all analogous to the complex mechanism of the body. But this failure of resemblance implies no failure whatever in the strength of the evidence

by which the doctrine of the atheistical school may be confounded. For the case stands thus,—the whole face of the material universe is inscribed with manifold testimonies to the existence of a Being, whose attributes are Wisdom and Power unlimited; but then occurs the question, whence is that mysterious substance, whose office it is to perceive and estimate the testimony borne by matter to the existence of its author? That the cogitative essence could never be evolved from blind and unconscious matter, by any imaginable action or re-action of its atoms, is “a proposition seen in its own immediate light. It is felt to be true with all the speed and certainty of an axiom.” The materialists, if they be so pleased, may charge this notion with occult mysticism; but the verdict of nearly the whole human species is against them. Mystical or not, the proposition that Mind and Matter are substances essentially distinct, is sanctioned by the instant and well nigh universal consent of mankind. If Mind then be neither a product, nor a result, of material combination, what remains for us but to ascribe Mind, as well as Matter, to some creative energy? And if so, how can we stop short of the conviction that this Creative Power is itself endowed with all the properties of Mind? Whenever we explore the wonders of the visual and auditory apparatus, the intuitive faculty instantly prompts us to exclaim, “He that formed the eye shall he not see, He that planted the ear shall he not hear?” In like manner, when we contemplate the properties of the immaterial and spiritual principle within us, the same intuitive faculty likewise prompts the exclamation, “He that teacheth man knowledge,” and so formed him that he should be able to profit by the teaching, “shall he not understand?” He that gifted man with all his capacities both of thought and emotion, shall he be destitute of spiritual and moral attributes? Here, again, is another instance of certainty attained without any thing which can properly be called an argumentative process:

“That the parent cause of intelligent beings,” says Dr. Chalmers, “shall be itself ‘Intelligent,’ (and we may add that the parent cause of all moral beings shall be itself a moral being,)” is an aphorism which, if not demonstrable in the form of logic, carries with it, in the very announcement of it, a challenging power over the acquiescence of almost all spirits. It is a thing of instant conviction, as if seen in the light of its own evidence, more than a thing of lengthened and laborious proof. It *may* be stigmatized as a mere impression; nevertheless, the most of intellects go as readily along with it, as they would go from one *contiguous* step to another of many a stately argumentation. If it cannot be exhibited as the conclusion of a syllogism, it is because of its own inherent right to be admitted there as the major proposition. To proscribe every such truth, or to disown it from

being truth, merely because incapable of deduction, would be to cast away the principles of all reasoning. *It would be to banish the authority of intuition, and to reduce all philosophy and knowledge to a state of universal scepticism*: for what is the first departure of every argument, but an intuition?—and what but a series of intuitions are its successive stepping stones? We should soon involve ourselves in hopeless perplexity and darkness did we insist on every thing being proved and nothing granted. For valid assumptions are the materials of truth: and the only office of argument is to weave them together into so many pieces of instruction for the bettering and enlightening of the species."

Some individuals, indeed, there may be, here and there, who are prepared to tell us, very gravely, that, in spite of all this talk about intuition, and irresistible persuasion, and so forth, they, for their part, find no more difficulty in imagining a multitude, and a succession, of uncaused intelligences, than they find in imagining a single supreme and uncaused intelligence. Now, to persons of this stamp we really have nothing more to say, than what we already said to those very original and independent thinkers, who can look upon a world actually covered over with characters which speak of contrivance, without having their thoughts forcibly turned towards a sovereign and contriving agent. When we meet with such persons, we feel ourselves in the presence of beings whose faculties are either so differently constituted from our own, or, at least, so differently trained and disciplined, that we might as well be conferring, not with flesh and blood, but with a totally distinct race. To our apprehension, the men who can talk after this fashion, are not men of this world. Whether there be a world whose inhabitants are all so framed as to look upon evidences of design, without dreaming of a designer, or upon intelligent substances without dreaming of intelligent cause, we are utterly unable to pronounce with any confidence. But if there be such a world, that world, we contend, is either the Paradise—(or the Hell)—appropriated to such philosophers. On earth, they are manifestly out of place. *We* have no fitting residence for inhabitants of this stamp, unless it be in such receptacles as the cells of Bedlam or St. Luke's. And here (it may be proper to remark) lies the whole tug of the controversy between the believers, and the unbelievers, in a Creative, Intelligent, and Providential Governor. At this point (after all that can be said) it is that they must come into contact, and grapple with each other. The believer expatiates triumphantly throughout the magnificent provinces of testimony in behalf of a God. The unbeliever stands by and witnesses, with the appearance of profound composure, all this inductive apparatus. To him the most marvellous combinations of matter, and the sublimest

manifestations of mind, are just so many ultimate facts; or, at any rate, they may be resolvable into certain other ultimate facts. But the existence of one Sovereign and Eternal Power is an ultimate fact to which they never think of suspending their chain of causation. The chain hangs upon they know not what. But this is no business of theirs. Their world, like that of the Eastern Sages, is supported by an elephant; and the elephant is supported by a tortoise. If any thing can be found for the tortoise to rest upon,—well. If not, the tortoise must continue his good offices alone, to all eternity! And this being so—what, it may be asked, is the profit of heaping up a mountainous induction, in order to overwhelm the Titans? Since there is no crushing their unbelief out of them, why should we rise early, and rest late, and eat the bread of toil and carefulness, and construct a battery of Boyle Lectures, or Bridgewater Essays, for the purpose of breaking them to pieces? The adventure, it must be confessed, is desperate enough, if undertaken with the hope of utterly exterminating these follies. But it is nevertheless true, that this department of theological labour can never be without its use. It, at least, may serve to brighten the hope and to confirm the faith, of those who feel that, to seek after God, is the main object of their creation. It may impress a salutary horror of the hardihood which exalts itself against a fortress of testimony, of such awful length, and breadth, and depth, and height. It may, perchance, recall from their outrageous folly many a disciple of the Godless School before he shall have become an irreclaimable adept in the mysteries of impiety. As for the mighty masters themselves, *they* must be “left alone with their glory.” They must be suffered to enjoy all the honours of that *strength of character*, of which we have a fit emblem in a certain creature, whereof the wise man hath told us that it may be brayed in a mortar, and yet remain unchanged.

But although we speak thus of those strange beings who are well satisfied to live without God in the world, we are very far from contending that they are left destitute of *this*les to feed upon in their dreary abode. Difficulties, unquestionably, spring up, in formidable abundance, upon the soil of human knowledge; and this sort of prickly diet is as the tree of life to those who obstinately reject the wholesome fruits of the garden. Of these thorny products there is one, which must have been often encountered, even by those who have expatiated with rapture over the regions of natural theology, and which is here emphatically pointed out to our notice by Dr. Chalmers; and it is this;—a human artist often finds himself compelled to achieve his purpose by a very complicated and circuitous process; for matter

is lifeless and inert, and often most untractable ; and, accordingly it demands all the resources of sagacity and invention to render it subservient to the designs of man. And truly marvellous are the contrivances by which its various, and sometimes conflicting properties are combined into systems of regular and useful mechanism. Now if, like certain philosophers of old, we could regard matter as a collection of eternal substances, independent of the Supreme Artist, and wherewith he had to do his work, as he best might,—the task of Natural Theology would, in some important respects, be wonderfully simplified. By this hypothesis, we should be relieved from a considerable portion of the weight that hangs about us, in the shape of certain appearances of irregularity, with which the whole scheme of providence is, to our apprehension, encumbered. Much of the seeming imperfection which now adheres to many of the phenomena of the world might then be shifted, from the artist himself, to the stubbornness and intractability of the elements before him : and we might, on that supposition, be left to contemplate, with unqualified admiration, the boundless wisdom put forth in mastering the difficulties of the case. The hypothesis in question however is, at this day, utterly repudiated. It is at mortal variance with the independence and majesty of God, and therefore must not be listened to for a moment. The Deity is *not* only the artist who moulds the material ingredients according to his pleasure. He is likewise the Creative Power who called those ingredients into existence, and endowed them with their various qualities, and assigned to each of them the laws of its operation. And here it is that the difficulty adverted to starts up before our feet. Why—(we may humbly and cautiously ask one another, though we dare not ask it of Him)—why is all this complex and elaborate workmanship needful for the accomplishment of His designs? He had but to speak the word and the whole would have been effected as by a direct and immediate agency. Why then is the Sovereign Artificer to work, like created intelligences, in a manner which seems to imply that he has difficulties to conquer? Or rather, why are difficulties, to all appearance, raised by Him, which He must put forth the resources of his power and wisdom to subdue? Consider the lavish application of ingenuity displayed in the structure of the organs of hearing and of sight. On the supposition that the Artist was compelled to employ the elements of matter, as he found them, in the establishment of those functions, nothing can be more complete than the testimony which they bear to his consummate intelligence. But we dare not for an instant to doubt that the omnipotent God could have grafted all the capacities of sense—and not of sense only,

but of emotion and of thought,—upon a single elementary atom. What a fathomless mystery therefore is it, that there should be all this laborious workmanship, “to uphold a living principle, which could, by a single fiat of Omnipotence, have sprung forth at once from the great source and centre of the spiritual system, and mingled with the world of spirits,—just as each new particle of light is sent forth by the emanation of a sunbeam, to play and glisten among the fields of radiance!”

No one, we apprehend, can have passed an hour in thinking how fearfully and wonderfully we are made, without feeling himself oppressed and bewildered with this impracticable enigma: and, for aught that we can tell, the contemplation of this enigma may have helped to entangle many an adventurous spirit more deeply in the mazes of his unhappy scepticism. It is scarcely a solution of the difficulty, to say, that the complexity of expedients displayed throughout the fabric of the creation was graciously designed for our guidance to the Deity, as a manifold inscription of Himself. “For how can we venture positively to pronounce that any such inscription was indispensable?” How can we presume to question that the Deity could, if it had so pleased Him, have revealed himself and his perfections by a direct and simple manifestation, instead of leaving us to seek Him through that labyrinth of argument and inference, which Natural Theology must now be content to explore? And what can we reply, in conference with the gainsayer, but that the mystery in question is wholly transcendental,—that there must ever be some such mysteries, when the dealings of Omnipotence are scanned by any inferior intelligence,—and that to reject the evidence we have, because we can figure to ourselves other evidence less circuitous and equally conclusive, is almost to deify our own capacities? These are things which the angels reverently desire to look into. To what class of beings then are they to be referred, who are not fearful of rushing in where angels may fear to tread?

There is actually no limit to the molestations which may be inflicted on the outposts of Natural Theology, by this species of warfare. Nay, the sacred precincts of Revealed Religion itself are not safe from such incursions. What, for instance, is the aspect under which the whole scheme of redemption presents itself to our apprehension? Is it not, throughout, a spectacle of impediments, which it required the might of irresistible love and power to overcome? Is it not exhibited to us under every image which can convey to us the notion of agony and conflict? Is it not a warfare to be accomplished—a wine press to be trodden—a travail of soul to be undergone by One who alone is mighty to save? Is not the whole a dispensation, in which,

though the head of the adversary is crushed, his venom still inflicts a fearful wound upon our heel? And if we are rash enough to indulge the searchings of heart, which a moral economy like this is apt to engender, where are our wanderings to find an end? The circuitous and indirect contrivances, by which the phenomena of the material world are evolved, are nothing—absolutely nothing—when compared with the mysterious moral instrumentality, whereby the counsels of the Almighty, as touching the destiny of man's immortal spirit, are carried into execution. The mechanical and physical combination, it is true, are unspeakably curious. But the moral combinations are more than curious; they are inexpressibly awful. And, unless the thoughts, which they call up, are placed under stern controul, they will be sure to bring us at last to the very brink of that dark abyss, where all human sagacity is lost,—even that fathomless question, why or how evil should exist, or how a remedial system should be needful, in the creation of a Being Supreme and Independent, and incapable of wrong? And, if any one should say to us, that he is resolved to remain an infidel or an atheist until these seemingly crooked things shall be made straight before our face,—an infidel or an atheist he *must* remain, for any thing that mortal counsellors can propound or do, until the day which shall disclose the secrets of all hearts. And, in that day, it will be seen what madness it is for the potshards of the earth to dash themselves against the Everlasting Rock!

We fear that we have been betrayed into something like preaching. And if this should seem to require an apology, we have only to say, that we can never think of the frantic absurdity of the Atheistic *wisdom* without feeling the words of the Apostle impressed upon our souls—*Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel*. With the Gospel, indeed, mere Natural Theology may seem to have no immediate concern. And yet, woe be to us, if we forget the Gospel, even when dealing with the scorers and the despisers. There may, it is true, be some, with whom, but for the preliminary discipline of Natural Theology, the Gospel would never obtain a moment's hearing. But even with them, the analogy between what is called the Religion of Nature and the Religion of Revelation has been often found a *piaculum* of mighty efficacy. It is, in fact, good for all of us to keep in mind, that a scheme of elaborate instrumentality pervades the universe; that no important purpose is accomplished, either in the physical, the intellectual, or the moral world, without a process; and that this process involves a multitude of steps, at each one of which there is a fatal stumbling-block in the way of the worshippers of chance. And if, in spite of these impediments, the

worshipper of chance will go blundering onwards upon his desperate journey, what can be the end thereof, but that he must be dashed to pieces?

But it is high time for us to go on to the main argument of Dr. Chalmers. His more immediate business is to show that man has been placed in a sphere of action exactly adapted to his capacities. It is almost needless to say, that he has executed his task with his usual affluence of thought and cogency of statement. It is impossible to think without compassion on the condition of that mind which resists the appeal. Dreadful indeed must be the pangs of that parturition, which gives birth to the monstrous hypothesis, that the *adaptation* here exhibited is the work of blind necessity or hazard! We have already stated that Dr. Chalmers has considered the moral nature of man as under the dominion of three great laws; each of them abundantly demonstrative of the moral perfections of the Legislator, and each of them such as to qualify man for the place he occupies in the creation. First, there is a great master faculty inserted in every bosom, all of whose decisions are on the side of justice, benevolence, and truth. Secondly, the emotions and exercises of virtue and of vice are, in themselves, respectively pleasurable or painful; and this, without reference to any ulterior object. Thirdly, the character of man, as a moral agent, is gradually fixed, by the repetition of virtuous or vicious actions. "These form the important generalities of our moral nature." And these, even when exemplified in any individual mind, are sufficiently indicative of the truth, that man was framed by One who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity. But this truth becomes in a tenfold degree more palpable, when we consider the action and re-action of individual minds upon each other, throughout the whole compass of human society. For example—conscience is often apt to slumber in the dormitory of an individual heart. But then, with what instantaneous power is the spell of this stupefaction frequently broken by the rebuke of a friend, or the taunt of an enemy, or the murmurs of an indignant neighbourhood? Furthermore—conscience, if it does not actually drop into slumber, is frequently apt to fall into languor and feebleness. But how wonderfully is the creeping lethargy arrested by the audible discussion and debate, which is perpetually kept up among communities of men, whose thoughts are ever employed in *accusing or else excusing one another*. By all these means, the power of conscience is kept alert and wakeful, and "acts more powerfully and purely than if left to the decay and self-deception of its own withering solitude. And this law of interchange between mind

and mind forms one important adaptation in the mechanism of human society."

Again—the delight of virtue and the misery of vice are among the ordained principles of each individual mind. But this is not all; for it is likewise admirably provided that these feelings are capable of astonishing accumulation, in the course of that purely mental interchange of the affections, which takes place between man and man. For example,—the "festivities" of a benevolent heart, are not solitary emotions of kindness,—it may be truly said, that "they bless him that gives and him that takes." And to the giver they are twice-blessed. For they first secure to him the pleasure of that complacency which is the natural accompaniment of all generous deeds; and, subsequently, their light and warmth are reflected back to the heart of the benefactor from the bright countenance of gratitude. Lastly—the law and operation of habit is a mighty instrument both of individual and of public happiness. As exemplified in any single mind, its efficacy is prodigious. But the full extent of its power is seen, in the close intercourse of domestic and social life. It is in this wider sphere of action, that it may be said to mould the character and the destinies of the world. It is of little comparative importance to investigate the philosophical theory of its operation. Be that what it may, its services in securing the empire of conscience are inestimable. By virtue of its power it is, that single acts coalesce and become *confluent*; and the result is, the formation or the establishment of a virtuous complexion. And if this be the effect produced by it upon a single and solitary mind, how wondrous must be its energy, when aided by that contagious sympathy which pervades the whole region of a household, or a neighbourhood, or a large community? In scenes like these, each man may almost be said to be armed and accomplished with the collective virtue of the society in which he dwells. The dominion of righteousness may thus become, day by day, more peaceably and firmly established, till it acquires a title as venerable and as firm as that, which the law of *prescription* confers on visible and tangible possessions. So that here we have another indication that He who framed the mental constitution of man, framed it with a view to the perpetual advancement of human society on the career of moral perfection.

It will here, however, be possibly whispered to us, that the power of habit is, after all, but a dangerous and two-edged implement; that it is potent alike for evil and for good; that conscience may find in it either a trusty auxiliary, or an inveterate and sleepless foe. It would be idle to gainsay this. Nay, it

must further, we fear, be confessed, that a survey of the world, in its actual condition, would, at first sight, dispose us to look rather with terror than with confidence on this ambiguous confederate. We cannot think, without dismay, upon the sorcery wherewith it consigns many a crowded district to a perpetuity of licentiousness and villany: and the spectacle is sometimes so dreadful, as to bid us well nigh to despair of the destiny of our species. This feeling, however, will be greatly assuaged, if not wholly dissipated, by the recollection, that it is still in the power of enlightened philanthropy to seize upon this potent magician, and to compel him to the service of holiness and virtue. It must not be forgotten, that when habit and example are busy in fixing upon a family, or a neighbourhood, the bondage of a moral degeneracy, they act under the scowl of general reprobation and abhorrence. Their proceedings, it is true, are formidably pernicious; and it may be a matter of agonizing difficulty to put down their iniquitous craft. But these proceedings are regarded by the public eye, much as the practices of contraband traders, and forgers of counterfeit money, are watched by the vigilance of fiscal authority. Their trade and mystery is that of outlaws and enemies to order; and therefore they are afraid to face the light. "No man," says Dr. Chalmers, "could dare to front the public eye with a scheme of discipleship in the lessons whether of fraud or profligacy:" for no man, however steeped in villany, but knows that the sympathies of the world would be up in arms against such a project. On the other hand, all the powers of intelligence, of learning, of law, of government, are, at all times, more or less faithfully and actively, employed to counteract the works of darkness. And if their proceedings should be animated by an untiring spirit, and concentrated by the adoption of a judicious system, they might, at last, succeed in giving a right direction to the giant power of education; and then we should "behold, in the operation of habit, a guarantee for the progressive conquests, and, at length, the ultimate and universal triumph, of good over evil in society."

There is a spirit of noble and courageous optimism pervading all the speculations of Dr. Chalmers;—a spirit which his long familiarity with the miseries and the profligacy of a crowded parish has been wholly unable to suppress. And never does this spirit breathe more freely, than when he is expatiating on the powers of religious education to develop the moral capacities of man. We desire nothing better for our country than the spread of this salutary infection throughout those ranks, from which the ruling influences emanate upon society. The wisdom, the patriotism, the resources of whatever kind, in which our land is so

marvellously abundant, cannot be better directed than into this magnificent channel. The waters of life might then be seen to go forth into every corner of the realm, for the healing and purification of those festering masses, which now form the disgrace and the peril of the empire. In the mean time, (to turn aside, for a moment, to a very subordinate matter,) we, most respectfully, venture to recommend to Dr. Chalmers a careful abstinence from illustrations, which are sometimes suggested by the vivacity of his fancy,—but which, in truth, do little justice to the solid strength of his cause. An example of this kind is now before us. That education may accomplish great and glorious things, is beyond all question. But then, it is a mournful consideration, that the progress of its chariot wheels has been hitherto so tardy, that human intelligence is lost in the comparison between the impetuous march of evil, and the lingering pace of the remedial power. But this, says Dr. Chalmers, is only among many instances of our poverty of knowledge.

“ We know not the reason why, in the moral world, so many ages of darkness and depravity should have been permitted to pass by,—any more than we know the reason why, in the natural world, the trees of a forest, instead of starting all at once into the full efflorescence and stateliness of their manhood, have to make their slow and laborious advancement to maturity, cradled in storms, and alternately drooping or expanding with the vicissitudes of the seasons.”

Now, here, (as Dr. Chalmers, on a moment's recollection, will doubtless perceive,) is an utter failure of all useful or intelligible analogy. If we knew all the secrets of the vegetable creation, such knowledge would cast no gleam of light upon the mysteries attendant upon the moral progress of human society. What resemblance is there (except for the purposes of mere poetry or rhetoric) between the tardy growth of timber, and the lingering advance of moral improvement? The timber suffers nothing by the delay. The mushroom and the oak might, indeed, bandy odious comparisons in the pages of *Æsop* or *Bidpai*. But what business could they have in the volume of a grave and manly ethical writer? To the trees of the forest, it is, of course, a matter of profound indifference whether ten days, or ten centuries, are necessary to bring them to their maturity and perfection: and we may, therefore, well dismiss all anxiety respecting the reasons by which the period is adjusted. But how is this consideration to reconcile us to the thought of all the misery inflicted upon sentient and spiritual beings by ages of imperfection and depravity? Our ignorance in the one of these cases can never help to make us contented with our ignorance in the other. And, if so, — the illustration (we repeat) is wholly ineffective: and it

must be remembered that an ineffective illustration is apt to produce upon some minds all the bad consequences of an insufficient argument.

But to return to the author's train of speculation. Besides those great and simple phenomena of human minds, which speak to us of another mind supreme and independent,—there are found to be certain special and subordinate adaptations which help to deepen the chorus of testimony. For example—there are parts of our nature, which it is the custom of certain writers to represent as merely a sort of secondary formations; as the result, not of the wisdom of God, but of the intelligence and sagacity of man. As one instance of these, we may fix upon the general tendency to appropriation. This principle, we all know, has been frequently exposed to a process of most ingenious analysis. Property, we have been told, is an institution for which we are indebted, solely, to our experience of its manifold benefits, or rather, of its absolute necessity to the stability of all other social institutions. Dr. Chalmers, on the other hand, maintains, and we maintain with him, that property is not the creature of reason, or of prudence, or of experience,—but that it is the creature of a special and instinctive feeling. Its origin is, in truth, almost as simple and undignified as the emotion which prompts a beast of prey to growl and show his teeth, on the appearance of a competitor for the carcass which it has torn down. The tendency to appropriate, manifests itself in a child, quite as strongly, and much in the same manner, as in a mastiff, while snarling over his bone.

“Whatever an infant grasps, it feels to be as much its own as the finger which grasps it. And not only do its claims extend to all within its reach, but to all within the field of its vision; insomuch, that it will stretch forth its hands to the moon in the firmament, and wreak its vengeance on the nurse, for not bringing the splendid bauble within its grasp.”

Instead, therefore, of saying that the fondness for property is something which gradually develops itself, with the expansion of thought, and the widening range of experience or of foresight, it would be more accurate to say that the emotion is a part of our nature; and that it is the office of thought, and experience, and foresight, to apply the limitations and the corrections, by which this monopolizing instinct is converted into an inestimable guardian of all social establishments. The child feels itself impelled to lay its hands on whatever it can touch, and to storm and rave whenever the impulse is disturbed or checked. The advance of reason, however, enables it to perceive that no individual can be entitled to erect himself into a universal proprietor,

and that the right of possession and enjoyment must be circumscribed by certain rules of expediency and of justice. And thus it is, that the material products of the world are gradually subjected to a course of orderly distribution, and the powers of industry and enterprize brought out into constant and useful operation.

It is true that the results obtained by the action of this native impulse are capable of being abundantly verified; for, by the application of thought and judgment, we are able to demonstrate, at our leisure, the advantages derived from the establishment of property. But the initial movement towards the establishment of property, is long anterior to the construction or the vindication of any social system. It is, in fact, one of the most effective causes to which we may ascribe the formation of social systems, with their complex apparatus of jurisprudence and legislation. "Justice did not create property, but found it already created; her only office being to decide between the antecedent claims of one man and another." And here, we are presented with a remarkable analogy between two distinct parts of our mental constitution. There is within us a moral faculty, which decides with instantaneous promptitude, and without reference to any ulterior consequences. But the decisions of this faculty may always be fully verified by an appeal to our deliberate judgment. And thus it is with what may be called the instinct of property. It is this instinct which impels each man to defend his house as his castle, and his field as his empire; while the solidity and the usefulness of his claim are sure to be sanctioned by the deepest investigation of the social interests of man. And, in either case, it is well for man, as a social being, that he has been endowed with a prompt and expeditious principle of action. Had it been otherwise, the interests of society would have been most lamely and impotently provided for. As it is, we have before us the most cogent evidence that we were ordained to live in the sphere we actually occupy. There is pre-appointed harmony between the results of emotion and of reason, which speaks to us, irresistibly, of an intelligent and providential author,—of one who is the God, not of confusion, but of order and of peace.

These simple views of the *proprietary* constitution of human societies appear to us extremely important. They are important as opposed to the metaphysical subtlety of certain strange fictions which have frequently been resorted to for the purpose of explaining the acquiescence of man in the present stupendous inequality of distribution. They are likewise important as opposed to the sweeping theory of Paley, which pronounces that property has no other foundation but the law of the land. The

whole matter is wonderfully simplified by the hypothesis, that He who created man, was likewise the author of that peculiarity in man's nature, which, when duly regulated, tends to a peaceable apportionment of the earth, and of all the good things in it. According to this better theory, property has its foundation in something anterior to law; and the only business of law is, so to rectify and moderate this propensity, as to make it subservient to the welfare and stability of families and of kingdoms. And if it should be enquired, whence it is that law derives its authority to arbitrate between the conflicting claims which this powerful impulse is perpetually setting up,—the answer is, that this authority is founded on that natural sense of equity which soon pervades all civilized collections of men. It is not any abstract respect for justice as a moral quality, which produces a magnanimous conformity with the decisions of jurisprudence, respecting the distribution of earthly possessions. It is rather the consciousness that some system of regulations is absolutely necessary to preserve us from a state of incessant and furious warfare. Every man knows the tenacity with which he himself adheres to the maintenance of his own right. Every man, therefore, is distinctly aware that his neighbour will always be as firmly bent as himself upon resistance to encroachment. And nothing can be more admirable or more beneficent than the conservative influence of this equitable feeling, combined, as it is, with a native and indelible veneration for proprietary rights. It spreads a sort of equal sacredness over the palace and the hovel; and, what is still more wonderful, it tends to keep the portionless multitudes of mankind, for the most part, in a state of peaceful abstinence from the acquisitions of the rest. The appetite for possession, if uncontrolled, would soon let loose the indigent, both upon the lordly domains of the wealthy, and upon the pittance of successful industry. But, in the actual state of mankind, there seems to prevail an almost universal recollection, that even the hopes and aspirations of the indigent themselves would, in the end, be fatally blighted by this indiscriminate cupidity. And who, let us ask, can look upon this spirit of discipline, which perpetually hovers over the turbulent elements of society, without adoring the benevolence and wisdom which ordained it?

These views of Dr. Chalmers, respecting the foundations of property, are wrought out and illustrated by him with an almost oppressive copiousness. We can, however, easily forgive the diffuseness, with which he has insisted upon this obviously favourite principle; for it has evidently been dictated, not by the puerile desire of saying all that can be said upon a given theme, but by a laudable anxiety for the demolition of pernicious error. The

writer is deeply impressed with the importance of recalling the attention of legislators and statesmen to the actual constitution of those beings, whose interests are intrusted to their care. Incalculable and almost irretrievable mischief has been the result of ignorance relative to this matter; and all our hopes of better things for the future, must, under Providence, depend upon an improved knowledge of our own nature. One instance, however, of the tremendous evil, inflicted by a violation of natural principles, is produced by Dr. Chalmers, which will probably excite some controversial feeling. It is well known that he is a decided enemy to the tithe system. But then, it is equally well known that his hostility is prompted, not by any sinister feelings towards the members of the sacred profession. On the contrary, there is nothing which ever seems to stir his indignation more vehemently, than the spirit of unrighteous and ruinous economy which looks with an evil eye upon the encouragements and the rewards of service, whether performed by clerical or secular functionaries. His objection to tithes rests on very different grounds. In the first place, he considers them as a species of property, adverse, in its effects, to the full developement of our agricultural resources; and this objection (which he entertains in common with many other writers) is fully expounded in his work on Political Economy. But his main impeachment of the system is, that it involves neither more or less than a perpetual warfare against the aboriginal and instinctive proprietary feeling. The title of the Church to her possessions he regards as sacred and inviolable. But then, he maintains that tithes are a species of property, which, virtually, inflicts the grossest injustice upon the clergy. Their right to the tenth sheaf or the tenth haycock may be unquestionable. But, unhappily, it is a right which cannot be enforced, without the appearance of aggression and invasion. It is in vain to remind the farmer that the abolition of this right would only transfer the claim, in another shape, from the parson to the landlord. It is in vain to remind the landlord that he has purchased his acres with this liability upon them. It is in vain to remind either landlords, or farmers, or any other class of the community, that the clergy have "with a disinterestedness almost heroic, in deed and in practice, forborne, to the average extent of at least one-half, the assertion of their dues." All this profiteth nothing; for "the constant intromission of the tithe-agent or proctor with the fields, and the *ipsa corpora* that are within the limits of the property, exposes this strong natural affection (the possessory instinct) to an annoyance which is felt to be intolerable." And the result has been that, although the clergy have, in general, practised, to an unexampled extent, the charity that

seeketh not its own, they are too often scowled upon, as if they were monsters of iniquitous rapacity. The conclusion is, that,—although “the alienation of the Church’s wealth would be a deadly blow to the best and highest interests of England,—yet there are few things which would more conduce to the strength and peace of our nation, than a *fair and right* commutation for it.”

So says Dr. Chalmers: and so should we say, if we could be once convinced that a fair, and right, and safe, and adequate commutation could ever be effected. But here, alas! lies the main difficulty of the case! Still, we greatly fear that there is but too much truth in his representation of the matter. We fear that the widest diffusion of “*useful knowledge*” will never secure a patient hearing, in the present day, for the ancient and prescriptive title to a tenth part of the produce of the land. At all events, it is much to be apprehended that *the clergy* will never participate in the benefit to be derived from the dissemination of correct notions relative to this species of property. If the whole ownership of tithes, indeed, were in the hands of laymen, the case might possibly be very different; for, strange as it may seem, the title of laymen actually derives its chief strength from that very circumstance, which ought, in all equity and common-sense, rather to constitute its weakness: for they hold the property without any obligation to render the slightest service to the public in return for it. They have no sacred responsibilities to fulfil—no moral influence to exercise. They are, accordingly, in a condition to enforce their claims without any compunctious visitings of delicacy or remorse: and the consequence is, that *their* claims are endured with a comparatively submissive temper; while the odium attached to this sort of property falls, with nearly undivided weight, upon the clergy! Yes—the clergy, who hold about two-thirds of the tithes in England, and most of whom work hard for what they hold, are frequently the objects of execration, and sometimes of persecution; while a syllable of outcry is scarcely ever heard against the lay impropiators, who hold the remaining third—whose title originated in confiscation—who do nothing for the community but consume the produce of the farmer’s industry—and who enforce their rights without a thought of mitigation! Dr. Chalmers may perhaps be very right in affirming that tithes are a species of property at variance with an ordained propensity of human nature. At the same time, it is impossible to think, without burning indignation, on the fact, that this propensity should manifest itself, principally, in a dastardly inclination to oppress the weaker party; while resistance generally cowers before the strength of a mere dry legal title, unfettered by any conditions,—

unembarrassed by any feeling of responsibility or trust,—and unconnected with any benefit, either moral or political, to the interests of the community.

The strength of the possessory feelings is further manifested by their fierce insurrection against another part of our social system,—namely, our code of poor laws. Every one knows that Dr. Chalmers has been long waging an implacable war against this “legalized enormity.” He lifts up against it the voice of a loud and incessant testimony. The public, by this time, are perfectly familiar with the formidable catalogue of mischiefs which he, and many other enlightened philanthropists, have exhibited to the public, as the work of this prodigy of legislation. On the present occasion, however, he has brought forward against it another capital item of arraignment,—namely, that a compulsory provision for indigence is an insane violation of one manifest law of our nature. By this system “each man who can make good his plea of necessity, has a claim to the relief of it, from the owners and occupiers of the soil, or from the owners and occupiers of houses. But never, till the end of time, will all the authority, and all the enactments of the statute book, be able to divest them of the feeling, that their property is invaded.” This, he says, is one of the manifold instances in which the law of the land says one thing, while the law of our mental constitution says another thing. And what has been the effect of this unnatural violence, but frequently to turn the milk of human kindness into gall, and to put a deadly enmity between those classes of mankind, who should be bound to each other by an interchange of friendly offices and of grateful emotion? The affluent *ought* to regard the poor as objects consigned to their guidance and protection, whereas “it may be doubted whether there is much difference between the actual feelings of the affluent towards the poor, and their feelings towards poachers!” The multitudes that beset the parish pay-table are probably looked upon with about as much complacency, as the plunderers of a preserve of pheasants. The legalized inroad of the parish pauper, and the lawless aggressions of the nightly prowler, “are resented, as if both alike were a sort of trespass or invasion.”

This, if it be rightly described, is, most undoubtedly, a very vicious constitution of society; and one of its most appalling consequences is, that it substitutes positive enactment for the spontaneous outpourings of benevolence. It may be truly said, that compassion, like love,

“ ————— at sight of human ties,
Claps her light wings, and in a moment flies.”

“Never,” says Dr. Chalmers, “will law be able to lay a personal arrest upon beneficence. It may lessen or limit her means, or even

starve her into utter annihilation; but never can it make a living captive of her. It is altogether a vain and hopeless thing to legislate on the duties of beneficence, for the very nature of this virtue is to do good, freely and willingly, with its own. But the moment that law interposes to any given extent with one's property, to that extent it ceases to be his own, and any good that is done by it is not done freely. . . . We cannot translate beneficence into the statute book of law without expunging it from the statute book of the heart; and to whatever extent we make it the object of compulsion, to that extent we must destroy it."

But then come certain of the utility men, who tell us that the existing economy may, after all, be right; for that justice and benevolence, if not absolutely identical, at least have much in common with each other; and that their whole virtue is resolvable into their efficacy for promoting the general interest and happiness. According to these views, it matters very little whether justice and humanity are confounded by a compulsory provision for the indigent; and it matters as little whether or not such a provision involves an incessant conflict against one indelible principle of our nature. The only question is, whether, in this instance, the law is actually useful; whether it works well, upon the whole, for the general prosperity and comfort? If it does not, it ought to be abandoned. If it does, it is mere waste of thought to speculate upon its conformity, or its opposition, to any supposed instincts or feelings implanted in our constitution. If it is found to endure the only test by which all institutions can be reasonably tried, there is an end of the matter. All ethical or metaphysical inquiry are then wholly misplaced; and the only office left for legislation, will be, to apply, from time to time, such beneficial modifications as may extract the greatest good from the existing system. Thus speaketh the oracle consulted by the worshippers of utility; and, for years past, in obedience to its responses, the writers have written, and the inquirers have inquired, and committees have sat, and evidence has been heard, and reports have been compiled by the waggon-load—and all for the purpose of ascertaining *how the system works*. And the result seems to be, that the system works marvellously ill; just as the theory of Dr. Chalmers, and the investigations of Mr. Malthus, might teach us to expect. It has been found here, as it always must be found, that *nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit*. Nature tells us plainly enough, by a voice within us, that justice is one quality, and that benevolence is another and totally distinct quality. And what does experience tell us, but precisely the same tale? What but confusion and mischief have been the result of that legislation, which has wrought in utter defiance, or forgetfulness, of the distinction? Nature, again, tells us, that the love

of property is a principle inherent in the constitution of human beings. And what says experience to this? Has she not taught us that ruinous disorder is the effect of law, when law attempts to set up its enactments in daring violation of this indelible affection? And what is the grand lesson to be learned from the contemplation of these calamitous mistakes, but the necessity of conforming the proceedings of human wisdom to the proceedings of that Supreme Intelligence, who has adapted the moral constitution of man to the manifold exigencies of that state of being, in which man is ordained to live and act?

On the whole matter then the case, according to Dr. Chalmers, may be represented thus. We are born with a strong propensity to seize and to appropriate whatever ministers to our enjoyment. This propensity (which, unless corrected and controlled, would lead to universal turbulence and conflict,) is subsequently moderated and restrained by the sense of equity, which, also, is connatural with us, and which is gradually developed and matured by intercourse with our fellow-men. These two principles, however, would, of themselves, be utterly insufficient for the social exigencies of mankind. They might be able to keep the leviathans and the minnows of property in safe and peaceable neighbourhood with each other; but they would make no provision whatever for the necessitous outcasts, who have no other inheritance but that of poverty and toil, together with all the deplorable vicissitudes incident to such a condition. For the relief of these children of adversity, the Supreme Intelligence has, accordingly, provided an appropriate fund. In addition to the instinct of property, and the perception of justice, it has furnished man with the feeling of compassion—a feeling of all others, perhaps, the most irresistible, with the exception of those impulses which are more immediately subservient to our own personal preservation. This is the ministering angel, to whose good offices the care of the indigent and the destitute has been committed by the God of Nature; and (if we may venture on such an application of sacred words) she will not endure that her office or her glory should be given to another. When the law presumes to step into her place, it, virtually, obliterates and destroys her. And, what may be called the posthumous effects of her resentment, are sure to be felt in the eventual accumulation of those very miseries, which it is the express design and purpose of the law to prevent or remedy.

We are, of course, distinctly aware that these primary elements of our nature are far from doing their office with that entire precision and regularity, which are required for the fulfilment of the purpose of their author. The moral world, we all know and feel, is in a state of disorder. The fondness for acquisition is

frequently too powerful for justice; and justice herself is a somewhat austere monitress, whose eye is, occasionally, evil towards the intrusions of benevolence. And then there are many overbearing passions, which are apt to array themselves on the side of the possessory instinct; so that justice and benevolence are in danger of being thrust aside from the exercise of their appropriate prerogative and influence. And such, we apprehend, is, at this moment, the state of Ireland; which, though hitherto exempt from the fearful operation of a system of poor laws, has, nevertheless, been condemned, by a combination of disastrous circumstances, to groan under an unexampled burden of indigence and destitution. Whether, or not, the dreadful distempers of that country may require the application of a desperate remedy, is a question which here we leave untouched. But, whatever may be the decision of the legislature upon it, of this we may be assured, that no remedy can well be more desperate than the investment of an overflowing population with a positive *right* to live upon the industry and the capital of their more fortunate brethren. It may be true that we have nothing before us but a choice of evils. But it well becomes us to consider whether any evil can well be greater than that of an experiment, which has to traverse the laws and ordinances of human nature.

It is very possible that there are numbers to whom all this will appear insufferably strange and heartless. Nay, it is beyond all doubt, that, to this hour, the views and principles of Mr. Malthus and of Dr. Chalmers have to encounter, not only the opposition, but the loud execration, of many a philanthropic economist. But, to us, the outcry of these estimable persons proves nothing but the strength of that very feeling which, as we contend, is the appropriate advocate for the poor in the human breast. What is it but the instinct of compassion which dictates this clamorous demand for the establishment of a legal right to maintenance in favour of the indigent? What influence less powerful than this could possibly blind these protectors of the poor to the *whole* constitution of human nature? It is literally true of these persons, that their zeal for the interests of their destitute brethren hath even devoured their discretion, and their judgment, and their capacity of profiting by history or experience. We do gravely hold, that the power of compassion has never achieved a more signal, though less legitimate, triumph, than in the propagation of that notable maxim, that every man has a *right* to the means of subsistence; for it is neither more nor less than a triumph over common sense. This aphorism we are sometimes in the habit of hearing from the lips of certain well-meaning, kind-hearted, but (we fear we must add) rather ignorant magistrates, whenever

a pitiable object of destitution is brought before their tribunals. And it is impossible to listen, without the deepest respect, to these out-breakings of charitable emotion, occurring, as they do, among men who have but scanty opportunities of studying the nature or the history of their species. But this is not all. The sentiment is by no means confined to the regions of our police. It has long found its way into the legislature. *Immò, etiam in senatum venit!* We, however, at the hazard of being thought to abjure all the most amiable charities of our nature, must confess, that, with Dr. Chalmers, we are ready to protest against this *axiom*, as utterly inconsistent with the constitution of man, or the economy under which man is ordained to live. The proposition might, indeed, be true if we lived under a different economy. It might be true, if the means of subsistence were supplied to us in the same manner as the light of heaven or the air we breathe. To make these elements the subject of appropriation, even if it were possible, would be most iniquitous. It so happens, however, that it is not possible to "hide the sun in a blanket, or to put the moon into our pockets," or to circumscribe the breath of heaven within walls, or fences, or iron chests. But what resemblance is there, in this respect, between these vital elements, and the bread, which is the staff of life, or the clothing which protects human shame and nakedness? It requires neither capital, nor industry, nor intelligence, to work up and to distribute the atmosphere and the light. By their very nature and constitution they are common to all. But only consider the capital, the industry, the intelligence, which must be called into play before we can produce a loaf, or a pair of breeches. And how can it enter the head of a reasonable man, that any one who happens to want a loaf, or a pair of breeches, is invested with a positive *right* to those articles, out of the store accumulated by the diligence and ingenuity of his fellow-creatures. One really might imagine, to hear these benevolent philosophers, that shirts and trowsers were hanging ready-made on every hedge—that buttered rolls grew on every bramble—that roasted pigs were running about, clamorously soliciting the attention of the hungry; and that all these bounties of nature had been defeated by the cupidity of ownership, and iniquitously converted into property. In a certain sense it may be true, that every man has a right to subsistence; for it may be said, intelligibly enough, that, when *love waxeth cold*, the indigent are defrauded; when compassion, the appointed guardian of the necessitous, grows languid and slothful in her office, the cry of the poor goes up to the mercy-seat in heaven, and presents a fearful arraignment against the abandonment of a sacred duty, though a duty of what is called imperfect obligation. But in any other

sense than this, the proposition is unquestionably false. To the "common air, the sun, the skies," every man has an indefeasible *right*. But no man, whatever may be his necessities, can have a *right* to the fruits of his neighbour's toil, or skill, or enterprize. And if it should be urged, that law *must* step in to remedy the deficiencies occasioned by the flagging sympathies of the prosperous,—we reply, that law never can step in for this purpose, without *eventually* heaping up a larger amount of evil than its interference can ever prevent or cure; and further, that when benevolence calls in the aid of law, she invites a treacherous ally, who will ultimately be fatal to her own dominion.

It is, perhaps, too much to hope that these principles (even if their soundness should be admitted) will be powerful enough at once to eradicate a system, which has, for more than two centuries, been fixing itself, like a sort of cancer, in our social constitution. The disease, it is to be feared, is too deeply seated to admit of extirpation by the knife. Something, however, may possibly be done to get rid of the malady, in the way of dispersion: and measures may be taken for restoring the moral energies of the country, in a degree which may enable it gradually to shake off a distemper, which threatens to eat into its very vitals. At all events, it is fit that the state physicians should be intimately familiar with the nature of the plague with which they have to contend; for, otherwise, they may be tempted to a course of palliatives, which, instead of mitigating, must ultimately tend to perpetuate the evil. It is absolutely needful that they should be on their guard against the perils of a regular, systematic, persevering, conflict with the nature of man, as framed and appointed by his Maker. And, above all things, let them beware of giving ear to the termagant invectives, wherewith a certain school of philanthropists are perpetually assailing men, who are not less benevolent, and who are much more wise, than themselves. As for Mr. Malthus, indeed, we suppose it is a vain thing to attempt to suspend the outpouring of the phials of their wrath upon his head. He is, God help him, as every friend of the poor well knows, in the very gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity; a dark, incorrigible conspirator against the *rights* of humanity! But what will they say of Dr. Chalmers? He, at least, is any thing but a retired and heartless speculator upon the miseries of the destitute. His office and his ministration have been among the friendless and the indigent, for a great portion of his life. His whole faculties of mind and body have long been devoted both to the practice and to the *science* of charity. If they will not allow Mr. Malthus to be (what, in fact, he most eminently is,) a philosopher of the *inductive* school, they cannot

deny this praise to Dr. Chalmers. All *his* views are founded upon personal observation and experience. Our legislators, therefore, must be under some unaccountable infatuation, if they listen to anathemas which would involve him, and men like him, in infamy and proscription.

But though Dr. Chalmers is the unflinching advocate of the rights of property, as founded in the constitution of man, or (in other words) as resting on the ordinance of the Deity himself, no man living is more alive than he to a sense of the tremendous responsibility imposed on them that are entrusted with those rights. He considers them as receiving their trusteeship, not indeed from human law, but from God himself. He has set forth, in language which the wealthy may well tremble to hear, the perils which may be brought upon the land by "a vain and frivolous aristocracy," forgetful of the sacred tenure by which they hold their possessions, averse from all severe and intellectual discipline, and content to use their privileges as a charter of exemption from those glorious toils, which alone can "keep their honours bright." There is, it is true, a strong natural veneration for wealth; but there is also a strong natural veneration for wisdom, and for virtue. And if wealth disdains or disregards the alliance of wisdom and of virtue, its hold upon the public mind and feeling is likely to become even as the thread of tow when it toucheth the fire, as soon as the scorching breath of revolutionary madness goes forth among the people. The acquiescence in the existing distribution of property is a sort of *vis inertiae* which tends, most happily, to secure the stability of human institutions. But this stability is always more or less precarious. It may be fearfully shaken by the giant arm of popular distress and discontent; and we all know that traitorous spirits are never wanting to direct the energies of brutal strength against the walls and battlements of every time-honoured institution under heaven. That these powers of insurrection fight against God is undeniable. But it is likewise undeniable that they who man the battlements are unfaithful to the charge, which God hath laid upon them, whenever they fail to prepare themselves for the conflict by putting on the whole armour of God, even the panoply of righteousness and holiness. They are, moreover, false to their country and to themselves, if they neglect to fortify their cause with all the resources of knowledge as well as virtue. The veneration which mankind always renders to superior intellectual might, is a tower of strength which it would be mere insanity for the opulent to abandon:

"Did our high-born children of affluence," says Dr. Chalmers, "for every ten among them,—the mere loungers of effeminacy and

fashion, or the mere lovers of sport, and sensuality, and splendour,—did they, for every ten such, furnish but one, enamoured of the higher gymnastics, the gymnastics of the mind; one, who accomplished himself for the work and warfare of the senate by his deep and comprehensive views in all the proper sciences of a statesman, the science of government, and politics, and commerce, and economics, and history and human nature—by a few gigantic men among them, thus girded for the services of patriotism, a nation might be saved; because arrested on that headlong descent, which, as the impulse of the popular will, it might else have made, from one measure of fair but treacherous promise, from one ruinous plausibility to another."

To exemplify this, let us imagine that the genius of innovation is on the wing; and that he is scattering abroad the dragon's teeth on every side; so that the hearts of all thoughtful men are oppressed with the presage of a sanguinary harvest. What in such a crisis, is most to be dreaded, but a "hasty and superficial legislation, into which a government may be hurried by the successive onsets of public impatience, and under the impulse of a popular and prevailing cry?" And what is the thing most needed, at such a season, "as a counteractive of this evil, but a thoroughly intellectual parliament, where shall predominate that masculine sense which has been trained for act and application by masculine studies; and where the silly watchword, *theory*, shall not be employed, as heretofore, to overhear the lessons of soundly generalized truth, because, instead of being discerned at a glance, they are fetched from the depths of philosophic observation, or shone upon by lights from afar, in the accumulated experience of ages? We have infinitely more to apprehend from the Demagogues, than from the Doctrinaires, of our present crisis; and it will require far profounder attention to the principles of every question, than many deem to be necessary, or than almost any are found to bestow, to save us from the crudities of a blindfold legislation!"

We know not whether our readers will be able to peruse the above sentences with a steady countenance, and a healthful regularity of pulse. If not, we fear their perturbations will not be much assuaged by the following reflections on the wild work which is now going on around us!

"And it argues portentously for the coming destinies of our land, that, in the present rage for economy, such an indiscriminate havock should have been made—so that pensions and endowments for the reward or encouragement of science, should have had the same sentence of extinction passed upon them, as the most worthless sinecures. The difficulties of our most sublime, and often too our most useful knowledge, make it inaccessible to all but to those who are exempt from the care of their own maintenance—so that unless a certain, though truly

insignificant portion of the country's wealth, be expended in this way, all high and transcendental philosophy, however conducive as it often is to the strength as well as glory of a nation, must vanish from the land. When the original possessors of wealth neglect individually this application of it; and, whether from indolence or the love of pleasure, fall short of that superiority in mental culture, of which the means have been put into their hands—we can only reproach their ignoble preference, and lament the ascendant force of sordid and merely animal propensities, over the principles of their better and higher nature. But when that which individuals do in slavish compliance with their indolence and passions, the state is also found to do in the exercise of its deliberative wisdom, and on the maxims of a settled policy—when instead of ordaining any new destination of wealth in favour of science, it would divorce and break asunder the goodly alliance by a remorseless attack on the destinations of wiser and better days—such a gothic spoliation as this, not a deed of lawless cupidity but the mandate of a senate-house, were a still more direct and glaring contravention to the wisdom of nature, and to the laws of that economy which nature hath instituted. The adaptation of which we now speak, between the external system of the universe, and the intellectual system of man, were grossly violated by such an outrage; and it is a violence which nature would resent by one of those signal chastisements, the examples of which are so frequent in history. The truth is, that, viewed as a manifestation of the popular will, which tumultuates against all that wont to command the respect and admiration of society, and is strong enough to enforce its dictations—it may well be regarded, as one of the deadliest symptoms of a nation ripening for anarchy; that dread consummation, by which, however, the social state, relieved of its distempers, is at length renovated like the atmosphere by a storm, after throwing off from it the dregs and the degeneracy of an iron age.”—p. 168—171.

The effect which is here predicted from this frantic violation of the “economy of nature” (says Dr. Chalmers in a note) “is still more likely to ensue from the spoliation and secularization of ecclesiastical property.” It is well known how amply, and how faithfully, this position has been enforced in the other writings of Dr. Chalmers. But alas! when we look to Ireland, it would seem that even he has written almost in vain!

We utterly despair of being able to present our readers with any thing like a satisfactory *analysis* of the whole of this interesting work, which is, itself, no less than an *analysis* of the whole mental constitution of the human species. We must therefore content ourselves with earnestly recommending his meditations to our readers, and with offering a desultory notice of one or two more points. We have said that Dr. Chalmers is, in the best sense of the word, an *optimist*: and it is in the true spirit of Christian optimism that he has addressed himself, in the course of these volumes, to the consideration of certain difficulties in the economy

of the world, the thoughts of which have well nigh murdered the optimism of many an adventurous inquirer. The most resolute optimist must, of course, be utterly unable so to shape his path through these vast regions of inquiry, as to avoid being crossed by the dreadful phenomenon of physical and moral evil, under the administration of a Being himself absolutely perfect. Dr. Chalmers does not affect to shun this appalling vision. But he meets it in the genuine temper of religious heroism; and if his success with it is but very partial, assuredly no strange thing hath happened unto him. His business is to explore and to exhibit the wondrous adaptations by which the nature of human beings is accommodated to the condition in which they have been placed. But still he finds himself haunted, at every turn, by the indestructible truth, that the dwelling place of man is, after all, and in spite of these adaptations, the abode of misery and degradation. How then shall he deal with this stubborn fact? Will it do to adopt the process of arithmetic, which some have resorted to for the solution of the problem? Will it do "to balance the phenomena on each side of the question, as we would the columns of a ledger?—to institute respective summations of the good and the evil, and, by the preponderance of the good over the evil, to hold the difficulty to be resolved?" No—says Dr. Chalmers—this proceeding will never answer: for, in the first place, the computation is neither sure nor easy; and, secondly, even under the admission of its justness, it still remains an impracticable puzzle, why, under a Being of infinite power, and infinite benevolence, there should be suffering *at all*? Will the doctrine of the soul's immortality, then, and of a state of future retribution, serve to unriddle the difficulties of our present condition? Alas! the only argument which mere natural theology can produce, in support of this doctrine, is one that travels for ever in a vicious circle. The thing to be proved, in spite of the adverse phenomena, is the perfect benevolence of the Deity; while that same benevolence must, inevitably, be assumed, in order to establish the certainty of a future state, in which the gracious designs of the Deity shall attain their full development. And, further than this, it would, after all, still remain true, that this final exhibition of the divine benevolence, had been *preceded* by a measureless amount of suffering, in the time of our mortal life. The stubborn fact in question, therefore, yields not an inch of ground before the weight of these popular and customary considerations. What, then, is the process by which Dr. Chalmers proposes to approximate to the solution of the difficulty?—Why, he tells us—(and, no doubt, he tells us very truly)—that benevolence is not the only attribute of the Deity. He is not only the God who is careful

for the welfare of his creatures; but he is also the God who loveth righteousness, and hateth iniquity. But then the untoward question must instantly occur,—if God hates iniquity, why should iniquity abound in a world of his own creation? Surely it is too much for man to affirm, that God was unable to produce a world, and a world of moral agency too, in which there should be no iniquity whatever; for such a world of moral agency will be exemplified hereafter among the spirits of just men made perfect.—Again—God (he tells us) is the moral governor of a kingdom, as well as the father of a family. But here the same difficulty rushes upon us once more. This *kingdom* is the work of his own hands. It is he that made us and not we ourselves, and it is, precisely, this circumstance which produces—(so far as we can discern)—a relation between himself and his creatures, distinct, in one essential respect, from that which exists between an earthly sovereign and his subjects. An earthly sovereign is compelled to take his subjects such as he finds them, and to do the best he can for their happiness and their improvement. But it is beyond our capacities to imagine how the Deity should be under any such necessity; for who will venture to deny that the Deity could, by an act of mere volition, make all his subjects—(as he *nearly* makes some of them)—just such as he would have them. In short, throughout his whole investigation, Dr. Chalmers is guilty of the same defective reasoning which is triumphantly exposed by Samuel Johnson, in his review of Soame Jenyns. He is constantly producing one class of evils to account for another class of evils. The world, we are told, abounds with fitnesses to make a virtuous species happy. It so happens, however, that the species is not virtuous, but miserably *depraved*, and the consequence is, a terrible apparent failure of all these gracious expedients. Even so is the fact; but why, or how it is so, we have yet to learn. The existence of the *depraved species* is, after all, the grand thing to be accounted for; for, if the existence of such a species is to be numbered among our postulates, or data, all further inquiry or discussion is little better than nugatory. Poverty, says Dr. Chalmers, frequently springs from indolence or dissipation; and disgrace comes on the back of misconduct; and anguish festers in every heart which is the prey of licentious or malignant passions. But if poverty, and disgrace, and mental anguish be evils, why should there be such things as indolence, or dissipation, or misconduct, or licentiousness, or malignity? And,—even if there were any thing satisfactory in the statement, that a vast amount of human wretchedness may be directly referred to the morbid state of the human will,—to the character of man, and not to the condition which he occupies,—there would

yet remain behind a frightful aggregate of physical evil to be accounted for, sufficient to baffle all the resources of natural theology.

It is true that these views are not produced by Dr. Chalmers with any hope of completely removing, but only of alleviating, the mystery. But, in truth, to our apprehension the alleviation is so trifling, that it might almost as well be let alone. We will not say that no approach is made, by considerations like these, towards an explanation of the difficulty. But we do say, that it is much such an approach as a man might make towards the sun, by mounting to the summit of the Andes, or towards the fixed stars, by crossing the radius of the earth's orbit. In offering this statement, however, we are not to be understood as preferring a charge against Dr. Chalmers for having failed in his attempt to elucidate a matter which we firmly believe to be almost as far beyond the reach of mortal faculties, as the very essence of the Deity himself. But we have great doubts whether all such attempts are not worse than useless. And, fortunately, we are all endowed with a faculty which completely dispenses with the necessity of such investigations. By no effort of mere reason can we detach the existence even of permitted evil from the positive will and ordinance of God. But there is a monitor within us, whose authority is at least co-ordinate with that of reason, and which tells us, not only that we are responsible creatures, but that whatever may be the appearances around us, He to whom we are responsible is altogether perfect in goodness. And, with this oracle in our bosom, we may well be content to say to all inquirers, with reference to this greatest of mysteries, what Augustine said with reference to Time, *si nemo quærat, scio ; si quis interroget, nescio*.* The difficulty sleeps in the mind of duteous and simple men, who refrain from the knowledge that is too lofty for them. It is the meddling of rash curiosity that rouses the tormentor from its slumbers ; and then it straightway falls upon the intruders and rends them.

But although it is beyond the luminous capacity of Dr. Chalmers, or of any mortal inquirer, to pierce the thick darkness by which this question is encompassed, the tendency of his reflections is, *for other purposes*, unquestionably most animating and beneficial. Even natural theology shows us, that it is sin which brings misery into the world. And, if we can but resist the temptation to "reason high" upon the introduction of sin, there is, over the rest of the prospect, sunshine enough to give abundant life and warmth to the spirit of optimism :

* It is also, somewhere, very justly said by Augustine, that they who inquire too deeply into the origin of evil, are very apt to see nothing but evil.

"It is," he says, "from the native and proper tendency of what is made that we conclude as to the mind and disposition of the maker; and not from the actual effect, where that tendency has been rendered abortive, by the extrinsic operation of some disturbing force, on an else goodly and well-going mechanism."

Well then—let us abstain from all speculation respecting the transcendental mystery of a force sufficient to disturb the trajectory of Omnipotence;—we, then, may surrender ourselves, with all our faculties, to the exhibition of the Divine purposes and attributes, which discloses itself to the contemplations of Dr. Chalmers:

"The original design of the Creator," he continues, "may be read in the universal tendency of things; and surely, it speaks strongly both for his benevolence and his righteousness, that nothing is so fitted to ensure the general happiness of society as the general virtue of them who compose it. And if, instead of this, we behold a world ill at ease, with its many heart-burnings, and many disquietudes, the fair conclusion is, that the beneficial tendencies which have been established therein, and which are therefore due to the benevolence of God, have all been thwarted by the moral perversity of man. The compound lesson to be gathered from such a contemplation, is, that God is the friend of human happiness, but the enemy of human vice,—seeing that He hath set up an economy in which the former would have grown up and prospered universally, had not the latter stepped in and overborne it."

We have here, it must be confessed, nothing to dissipate the shadows which veil the most secret counsels of the Almighty from the search of human curiosity: but we have something which concerns us much more nearly; something which concentrates the scattered rays that break through the darkness from his Holy Tabernacle, and brings them to bear, with irresistible brightness, upon the duties and the hopes of man.

Dr. Chalmers has a very profound and very interesting chapter on the connection between the intellect and the will. And here he has entered upon another wilderness of inquiry, in which the spirit of man hath, for ages, been wandering over dry places, seeking rest, and finding none. We verily believe that Dr. Chalmers is as near to the right path as mortal perspicacity can go; but we have no room to trace out the course of his investigations. For our own part, we verily believe that we must be content to consider human volitions as ultimate facts. At all events, it appears that every attempt to account for them is nothing more than treading back the series of certain antecedent volitions, until the first links of the chain are lost in obscurity. According to Dr. Chalmers, and to Dr. Reid, and to Dr. Brown, the faculty of attention forms the great bond between the intel-

lectual and the moral departments of our nature. The corporeal eye enables us to see objects. But merely to see an object is a very different thing from *looking* at it. And so it is with the mental eye. It may *perceive* a thousand things; but it can scarcely do more than *contemplate* a single one at the same time; and this it can only do by the faculty of *attention*. It is this faculty which enables the mind to direct the thoughts to some one object, and to banish others; and "it is the control of the will over this faculty that makes man responsible for the objects which he chuses to entertain; and so, responsible for the emotions which pathologically result from them." The account here given of the moral process may be very just: but, still, it seems to us, to leave the main aboriginal difficulty in its primeval darkness. For thus it is—our will is influenced by our emotions; and our emotions are excited by corresponding objects; and objects are fixed upon, and detained, by the power of attention; and the power of attention is under the control of the will; and the will, again, is under the control of—what—but certain antecedent emotions? and how are these antecedent emotions produced, but by a process similar to the former? and whither is the series to be traced back, but to the earliest volitions in our moral history? "From the undoubted part"—says Dr. Chalmers—"which the will has in the guidance and exercise of this faculty of attention, a man comes to the sound conclusion, that a great part of wisdom and virtue consists in giving a proper direction to it."* Even so. But how is the will itself to be so disciplined, as habitually to give a proper direction to this faculty? The very discipline, by which this important object is to be effected, is, really, resolvable into nothing else than a long series of anterior determinations; and, of this series, where is the beginning to be found? We grievously fear that, to explain, by any logical process, the responsible nature of man, is, after all, a task far beyond human power. The object is perpetually receding before us, "like the circle bounding earth and skies." And, fortunately, there is little need for us to disquiet ourselves in vain with the pursuit of it. Nature has provided us with a very plain and direct path to our conclusion; or rather, she enables us to get at it, as it were, *per saltum*. Reason, indeed, can never tell us very clearly what is the origin of our volitions. But conscience tells us, infallibly, what is beyond all comparison

* "It is this," says Dr. Chalmers, "which *virtuefies* emotion." We are afraid that Polonius would say—"that is a vile phrase! *virtuefy* is a vile phrase!" And we must confess that we should be greatly disposed to agree with that ancient, though somewhat musty-witted, lord. The phrase, to be sure, is intelligible enough: but, somehow or other, it looks and sounds very odd.

more valuable, namely, that, whatever may be their origin, they originate in some way or other perfectly consistent with our condition as free, responsible, and moral agents. That we are responsible, we know and feel. The persuasion that we are so, is indestructible. There consequently can be no necessity to prove it. We can further perceive that the power of *willing* is the faculty that makes us responsible. But how it makes us responsible—or how it is *originally* excited—or how its training or discipline commences—these, we believe, are mysteries which it is not given to man ever perfectly to comprehend.

We are happy to see that there is one piece of most egregious absurdity and dishonesty, which Dr. Chalmers has taken in hand, and fairly shaken to pieces. Nothing is more common than to hear the gentlemen of “liberal ideas” proclaiming that our belief is wholly independent of our will; and nothing can possibly be better adapted than this notable aphorism for the convenience of those great men, who are impatient of the *house of bondage*; namely, the precinct of certain ancient, but very incommodious opinions. These opinions—say they—may, perhaps, be very just; but if a man finds himself unable to adopt them, how is he to help himself? His persuasions are utterly beyond his own control; how therefore can it ever be supposed that they will enter into the account which he has to render as a moral agent? And how beautifully is the problem of our moral probation simplified, by the rejection of this most untractable and most perplexing element? Unfortunately, however, for the glorious liberty of these children of light, there is one momentous consideration, which, somehow or other, they have chanced to overlook. It may be true that our belief is frequently beyond the *actual power* of the will. But who shall venture to affirm that belief is beyond the *jurisdiction* of the will? It happens, too often, that our passions and our conduct are beyond the *power* of conscience; but our passions and our conduct assuredly are not beyond the *jurisdiction* of conscience, “If conscience”—says Butler—“had power, as it has right, it would govern the world.” In like manner, where the will has been enfeebled or depraved, it may have but little influence in the formation of sound opinions. But how does it follow from this, that the will has no legitimate authority or influence in the matter? We have no doubt whatever, that any man, who has long been the slave of a licentious imagination, or a wayward understanding, is as much disqualified for the office of sound intellectual judgment, as a man who has long been in fetters is disqualified for natural freedom of motion. But what could be more ridiculous than to hear one of Jack Falstaff’s ragged knaves, “that marched wide

betwixt the legs as if they had gyves on," laughing at the rest of the king's subjects, for the ludicrous and undignified suppleness of their muscles? The truth of the matter is, that these choice spirits, who despise the herd of mankind for their flexible acquiescence in established notions, are themselves, very frequently, in a state of pitiable restraint and servitude. Perhaps they know it not; but they are, nevertheless, the slaves of passion, or the dupes of prejudice, or the victims of mental effeminacy and indolence; and this, too, while they are scornfully curling their lip at the servility of their fellow creatures. And the way in which their slavery hath come upon them, is no other than this; that, by long disuse, their will has lost one of its most legitimate prerogatives,—its control over the *attention*,—its power to fix their thoughts intently upon the evidence which lies within their reach. When this power is gone, what is the man but a slave?—a slave, that has abjured the dominion of his lawful governor, only to be enthralled to many masters, and, possibly, to a succession of masters.

That this is so, is made abundantly manifest by Dr. Chalmers: "Attention"—he says—"is the *looking* organ of the mind,—the link of connection between man's moral nature and his intellectual nature,—the messenger, as it were, by which the interchange between these two departments is carried on,—a messenger, too, at the bidding of the will, which saith to it, at one time, go, and it goeth—at another time, come, and it cometh—and, again, do this, and it doeth it. It is thus that man becomes directly responsible for the conclusions of his understanding; for these conclusions depend altogether, not on the evidence which exists, but on that portion of the evidence which is attended to. He is not to be reckoned with, either for the lack or the sufficiency of the existent evidence; but he might most justly be reckoned with for the lack or the sufficiency of his attention. It is *not* for him to create the light of day; but it *is* for him to open and present his eye to all its manifestations. Neither is it for him to fetch down to earth the light from the upper Sanctuary. But if it indeed be true that light hath come from thence into the world, then is it for him to guide the eye of the understanding towards it."

And the philosophy of the whole matter is summed up in the words of Uncreated Wisdom. He that searches into the will of God, with a desire and a resolution to do it, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.

It is idle, then, to talk of belief as something entirely independent of the will; almost as idle as it would be to talk of the conduct as something independent of the conscience. It may indeed happen, and it perpetually does happen, that both the will and the conscience exercise their authority but languidly and irregularly. But in proportion as this is so, man falls beneath the

dignity, aye, and beneath the freedom of his nature: for he is then transferred from a rightful government to the capricious tyranny of usurpers. The precise extent of the abuse, and the exact degree of guilt which may attach to it in each particular case, is a matter of course too deep for mortal inquisition. This must be left to Him who searcheth the thoughts of our hearts. All that we contend for is, that there is herein a responsibility which man cannot abjure; and if he attempts to abjure it, he attempts to absolve himself from one of the conditions of his being. By his opinions (as well as by his actions and his words) shall he be justified, and by his opinions shall he be condemned.

The concluding chapter of Dr. Chalmers relates to the "Defects and Uses of Natural Theology." To this chapter we have already adverted, and we can now do no more than recommend it urgently to the attention of those sensitive and apprehensive persons, who look with some jealousy on the services of natural theology, lest it should withdraw our regards from the claims of a theology more gracious and more sublime. We accordingly take our leave of Dr. Chalmers for the present—(for we hope to have frequent opportunities of meeting him again)—with emotions of the deepest admiration and reverence. Whether all his abstruse speculations will, without exception, be sanctioned by the assent of the great moralists and metaphysicians of the present day, is more than we can venture confidently to pronounce. But this, in our humble judgment, is a matter of very subordinate moment: for of one thing we are perfectly assured, that the *general* tendency of his meditations is to elevate and purify the human race, and to bring them into closer converse with Eternal Truth. And not only so, but we are further satisfied that this, like all his other writings, is fitted to call forth into action the noblest energies of genuine religious patriotism. It is one great merit of Dr. Chalmers, that if there be left one element of generous feeling or of noble daring in the breast of his reader, his appeal to it is always irresistible. It is impossible to rise from the perusal of his works without an elevation of heart that makes us spurn the ignobler parts of our nature, and fills us with aspirations after all that is venerable, and just, and lovely. The man who can do this is a philosopher of the highest order. To such men it is that Providence occasionally assigns the office of breathing into corrupt communities the breath of life. And, in spite of a multitude of deadly symptoms, we are unwilling to believe that our own country is beyond the reach of their good and righteous offices.

ART. II.—1. *Affection between the Church and the Dissenters. A Sermon on Luke IX. 49, 50. Preached before the University of Oxford, January 27, 1833.* By the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, A.M., Vicar of Sedgley, and Late Fellow of Balliol College. Oxford: Parker. London: Rivingtons, Hatchard, and Seeley. 1833.

2. *Sentiments of the Clergy on the Question of Church Reform briefly stated, in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Colchester, in June, 1833.* By William Rowe Lyall, A.M., Archdeacon of Colchester; Rector of Fairsted and Weeley, in the County of Essex. London: Rivingtons. 1833.

PERHAPS at no former period of our history have the Church and its concerns excited so large a share of attention in the public mind of England as at the present day. It is not in any single aspect that the eyes of the country are now turned towards the Ecclesiastical Establishment; but its spiritualities and its temporalities, its doctrines and its discipline, its external estimation and the state of parties within itself, the nature of its property and the amount of its property, the conduct of the clergy and the best method of paying the clergy, the relative position in which the Church stands towards the Dissenters and towards the people in general, are all subjects of frequent and animated, not to say fierce and often virulent, discussion. On the one side, it is a truism to affirm that the assailants of the Church were never, in the memory at least of the living generation, so eager in their hostility, or so sanguine in their expectations of success; on the other side, we are happy to declare our belief, that the Church never contained within her sacred pale men more capable of adorning or of defending her. Be the taunts and sarcasms of her enemies what they may, we hesitate not to assert, that the English Church now comprehends among her ministers more of sound knowledge and sound virtue, more of real ability and genuine eloquence, than any other profession or body of men can exhibit in this kingdom. Only let them do justice to themselves and their cause, and exert the energies which they unquestionably possess.

To traverse at any one time the whole field which the Church displays to us, with its wide and complicated array of affairs and interests, is a manifest impossibility. We, who are confined to the narrow limits of an article in a Review, can do little more than touch upon some particular topic, which presents as it were a salient angle at the existing moment; trusting, however, that we may be enabled to grapple with every point of the inquiry in its

turn, by means of that same division of matter, which prevents us from grasping the entire extent of its vastness and multifariousness in a single and comprehensive survey.

The immediate point, which now presses itself upon our notice, is the broad line of temper and behaviour which Churchmen will be wise to observe both towards the Dissenters and towards the nation at large, under the new combination of circumstances, which has been introduced by modern changes of legislation and opinion. Here is an examination, in fact, which is forced upon us by a great deal that we see and hear, while we are naturally led to it by the two publications, of which we have placed the titles at the head of this article. A separate and rapid consideration of them will be the best introduction to a few general remarks, with which we are anxious to conclude.

Of Mr. Girdlestone's Sermon we would say at once, that we consider it just as ill-advised, as we have no doubt it is well-intentioned. We cannot understand its exact object; and we must take the liberty of questioning, whether Mr. Girdlestone understands it himself? One aim, we allow, of this discourse, is to inculcate affection between the Church and the Dissenter, by recommending both parties to look at the points of agreement between them rather than the points of difference; but another aim, if the words have any definite meaning, is to point at an alteration of the Articles and Liturgy of our Church, for the purpose of meeting the views of the Dissenters, and in the hope of attaching them to the Establishment again. Mr. Girdlestone even seems to imagine, by some strange confusion of ideas, that these two objects, if not in reality the same, are at least so intimately connected as to be necessary to the accomplishment one of the other; and that harmony and union can be re-established by a mutual oblivion of the matters in dispute.

Upon a point, however, of so much importance, it is only fair to let an author speak in his own words. Mr. Girdlestone then says, in a brief introduction to his sermon, "As no man could do better service to both these parties" (namely "the pious Christians both within the pale of the Establishment and without it") "than to bring them nearer to each other: so he may be thought no ill friend to either, who labours to convince them that they are not really so far apart as they are apt to imagine." "To this, the chief object of the following discourse, the writer has added, at the conclusion, a slight reference to the importance of a disposition in the Church to *acknowledge and amend its real defects*." He then extracts from the preface to the Book of Common Prayer the passage, which states that "the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and

so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that, upon weighty and important consideration, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient:" a passage, just as wise and fit for the period when it was written, and the place where it is put, as, we humbly conceive, it is inapplicable under existing circumstances for adoption and quotation by Mr. Girdlestone.

Again, towards the close of his sermon, he says: "Lastly, if there be in our own ecclesiastic system any just ground of scandal to the consciences of our brethren, it would be no small advantage we should derive from their remonstrances, it would be no slight evidence of our own proficiency in the Gospel, if we were freely to confess our faults and diligently to labour in their reform. For if even every thing were quite perfect in a church, whose reformers themselves regretted that they were not allowed to complete their work; it would still be profitable, both to others and to ourselves, to behave as if we felt that we might possibly be wrong." "Let us watch then against our own spirit rather than complain of the spirit of our brethren. Let us be glad to think in how many points we are agreed. Where we differ, let us examine with the more care whether we may not ourselves be guilty."

Now, if these remarks were of a directly personal application, we might assent at once to their propriety. As individuals, heaven knows we have all enough, and more than enough, to correct and amend. But what is the fact? The author is not addressing himself to his audience in their personal individual capacity, but as members of an establishment which has been subsisting for centuries. A beneficed clergyman of the Established Church preaches before the University of Oxford, and enjoins reconsideration and re-examination upon the hypothesis that the Church is in the wrong. Did not Mr. Girdlestone's hearers examine and consider, before they became candidates for Holy Orders? Did they not then satisfy themselves as to the purity, and spirituality, and orthodoxy of the Church,—the soundness of its doctrines and the excellence of its forms? But how uncomfortable a feeling must now be created in their minds? No specific grievance is marked out,—no particular point susceptible of immediate and practical reformation. But there is thrown over the whole ecclesiastical establishment of the country a damp sheet of general suspicion. Vague hints and suggestions are scattered about of "*real faults*"—"grounds of scandal"—"*reformers regretting that they were not allowed to complete their work*:"—and by a man, who is not an enemy to the Church, who

displays nothing of the exacerbation of disappointment, but whose talents and character reflect honour upon the establishment to which he belongs. Who can wonder that this discourse of Mr. Girdlestone has been hailed with acclamations by many among the Dissenters, who find in it an excuse and justification for their own Dissent?

“Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.”

And yet, if Mr. Girdlestone had not trimmed the balance of his opinions with so curious a nicety, there are many passages in his sermon, which could hardly be agreeable to the feelings of a conscientious Dissenter. Sundry benefits are described, as having their origin in Dissent and Dissenters of various classes and denominations:

“But,” adds Mr. Girdlestone, “let no one hence suppose it to be here intended, that religious dissension is upon the whole productive of more good than evil. Let no one go away with the impression, that the affectionate and brotherly regard, recommended in favour of Dissenters, implies any the slightest palliation of the principles or the practice of Dissent. Religious dissension is abomination in itself. Its sinfulness is not lessened, but increased, in proportion to the fewness and indifference of the points which are at issue. And most of all must this sin be offensive, when tenderness of conscience, in matters of faith, is made the cloke of covetousness, the mask of insubordination, or the stalking horse of robbery and wrong.”—pp. 19, 20.

On the other side, however, he subjoins, “the more we are persuaded that dissent is evil, let us be the more kindly affectioned towards Dissenters.” But then what comes next? “Their errors we must in no wise countenance. This would be no kindness. But we may be ready rather to dwell on our many points of mutual agreement in the truth. This will neither shock their principles nor compromise our own.” And yet do we not in some measure countenance their errors, if we are anxious to overlook them; and, according to Mr. Girdlestone’s advice, “are not to vie with the Dissenters in urging by argument that we must be right?”

Mr. Girdlestone, however, keeps up this kind of *see-saw* throughout the conclusion of his discourse; alternately acknowledging the mischief of schism, and then seeming to insinuate that the mischief may be after all attributable to the Church and its adherents, rather than to the Seceders and Separatists, whom we should be inclined to term Schismatical. But we shall have a more palpable notion of the cloud of uncertainty, in which Mr. Girdlestone involves his readers and himself, by continuing our quotation at the point where we broke it off.

“Their ministry we cannot allow to be on a par with that which was,

as we believe, ordained by Christ, under a commission which we know to have been handed down, from the first times of the Gospel to the present. But their ministers we may respect for piety, we may emulate for zeal; their members also we may welcome to our society on earth, as we hope to meet them in heaven. Their places of worship we must not help to build; for this would be, according to our notions, to do evil that good might come. And yet their preaching we may not forbid, nor eye with jealousy its success; seeing that though they follow not with us, yet they cast out many devils; and knowing, as St. Paul has written to the Corinthians, that 'no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' (1 Cor. xii. 3.) Rather we should look upon their most flourishing communities as fruitful nurseries of the universal Church; waiting only for God's blessing, on our more earnest prayers, more lively faith, and more fervent charity, to conform to the more manifest supremacy of truth, and to the more resplendent beauty of holiness."—p. 21.

Thus does Mr. Girdlestone proceed, neutralizing the former clause of almost every sentence by the latter, so that the equation would best be simplified, if both were cancelled altogether. So indefinite indeed, not to say vacillating, is his language, that we think the most acute of his hearers must have been completely in the dark, when he had finished his last paragraph, as to the precise course to be adopted, or the proper manner in which the affection between the Church and the Dissenters was to be practically displayed. What a pity it is, that so really able and pious a man did not strain his thoughts a little more through the alembic of his own brain, instead of pouring them forth upon the public in the still lingering crudity of their first imperfect concoction!

We turn with much satisfaction to the charge of Archdeacon Lyall, and are happy to give our unqualified assent to almost every proposition which it contains. We admire it as being a plain and straight-forward, but not a political or *Tory* address; as being firm and uncompromising, and yet as breathing nothing of an intolerant, or illiberal, or uncharitable spirit. It rejoices us to find Mr. Lyall stating in his preface—"In departing from this intention, (that is, the intention of *not* publishing his charge) the author has been influenced not so much by the kind approbation with which it was received by the clergy present, as by the reason on which they grounded their wish for its publication, namely, that it conveyed not only their own unanimous sentiments, but the sentiments (as they believed) of the great majority of the clergy, on the important question to which the charge chiefly adverts." It does rejoice us to think that the unanimous sentiments of the clergy are an echo to the subjoined opinions expressed by

the archdeacon, as to the temper and behaviour wisest and most suited to the existing conjuncture.

“ Whatever may be our private opinions as *individuals*, concerning the probable good or evil that is likely to result from the changes that have been introduced in the constitution of Parliament,—a subject upon which a person of the longest foresight can only form dark conjectures;—there can be no division of sentiment among us, as to the line of *duty*, in respect of those changes, that is chalked out for us, as ministers of the Gospel; of that Gospel, whose especial title is—the Gospel of Peace.

“ It was lawful for the Clergy, under proper restrictions, to join with their fellow citizens, either in resisting or promoting those changes, while they were in progress, if they deemed them likely to affect the future happiness and prosperity of their country;—for the constitution of the country is not a subject of mere vulgar politics, but a matter in which every man ought to feel an interest; to be indifferent on such a subject would indicate a blamable and selfish disposition. But now that those changes have received the sanction of the legislature, and have become a part of the actual frame-work of the constitution, our opinions as to the probable working of those changes must not be allowed to exercise any influence upon our conduct, as teachers of religion. If it was the duty, and if it has been the practice of the Clergy heretofore, to preach up to their people the obligations of loyalty to the king, and obedience to the laws, to ‘put them in mind,’ as St. Paul admonishes Titus, ‘to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates;’ this duty is rendered only more incumbent upon us, by what has lately passed, inasmuch as the temptations to forget these obligations have necessarily received a temporary addition of strength, from the violent excitement and agitation to which the minds of the people have been exposed. It is not, indeed, by public exhortation from the pulpit, that we can hope to be greatly influential in restoring peace and harmony among our flocks, where they have been interrupted; but rather by private persuasion and example. In this way let it be our endeavour, then, laying aside all party feeling and distinctions, to do as much good, and to prevent as much evil, as shall be in our power; by devoting ourselves to the task of healing divisions, allaying animosities, and restoring harmony and good will, wherever either the weight of our authority, or the influence of our example, may be supposed likely to extend. Men may and will dispute about the theoretical forms of government; but after all, that government is *practically* the best, in which the peaceful fruits of religion and social order spring up in most abundance. May God grant his blessing upon our endeavours to promote and cherish these fruits among our respective flocks! If we can only make our people content with the government under which they are destined to live, and dispose them to pay a ready and cheerful submission to all the laws, which it is their duty to observe;—these are the great ends of all government; and by co-operating in these ends, we shall at once fulfil our duties, both as members of society, and as ministers of religion.”—pp. 8, 9.

The following observations appear to us true in fact, and admirable in sentiment.

"Are we to infer from what I have here said, that the Clergy, as a body, were or are unfavourable to Church reform, considered in itself? So far from it, that I am persuaded the very contrary is the fact. The Clergy, no doubt, cannot be supposed to look with very favourable eyes upon plans of reform, devised by persons who seek temporal objects only; or which are to be carried into execution by persons who neither understand nor care about any other:—but sure I am, that if any abuses can be pointed out, which may properly be removed, or if any improvements can be suggested that are really practicable, not only will the Clergy be found willing to encourage all reform of this kind, but there is no class of persons in the kingdom, who will so zealously and sincerely co-operate in any plan for reducing it to practice."—pp. 11, 12.

Again :

"Do what you will with the property of the Church; make what arrangements you please respecting the appointment of her rulers; in short, introduce what changes you think proper in your ecclesiastical system; it will still be true, that those changes can in no other way promote the cause of true religion in the country, except through the medium of the parochial Clergy. Whatever shall tend to lower the parochial Clergy, either as individuals or as a body, will as surely lower the tone of religion in the country; nor will any reforms, that can be proposed, deserve the name of improvements, which shall not have this part of our ecclesiastical polity principally in view. It is the parochial Clergy who constitute what is technically called the Established Church. They are the sinews upon which the whole strength of religion depends. I think we may even go farther, and add, that without them, the permanence even of civilization itself would almost become a problem."—pp. 13, 14.

Nor can we refrain from quoting Mr. Lyall's spirited and noble reply to the charge which may be made, that "however invaluable and important the duties of the clergy may be in theory, and supposing them actually to be performed, yet that in fact the clergy neglect their duty."

"No doubt, my reverend Brethren, the charge is in one sense true—we do *not* do our duty;—and let him, who is a minister of any other denomination, and who does *his* duty, throw the first stone at the Clergy of the Establishment. Weighed in God's righteous balance, each and all of us must be found wanting; and except that we serve a Master who will not be extreme to mark what is done amiss, and are the ministers of one who was himself touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and was tempted in all points like as we are, and who has promised that no sin, except wilful and unrepented sin, shall be imputed to such as rest their faith in Him:—except, I say, this were so, awful, indeed, would be the charge which we have taken upon us, of feeding the flock of Christ. It would be a burthen such as no man, who had a proper

sense of his own weakness and imperfections, would voluntarily undertake to support.

“ But while we bow down and humble ourselves in the dust, in the presence of our heavenly Lord and Master, yet this is no reason why, with false humility, we should plead guilty, as a body, to the charge of not fulfilling our duties to the state. Such a charge would be utterly unjust. Suppose, however, it were otherwise, suppose that the Clergy *did* neglect their duty, not in that sense in which all men will be found wanting, but according to the meaning of those who put forward the charge:—yet what would that prove, except that means ought to be adopted for obtaining a clergy more highly qualified than at present; for devising new motives to animate their zeal, and for contriving a system of more strict and efficient discipline?”—p. 17.

It would be scarcely fair to make further extracts from a publication of twenty-four pages; and therefore we would simply reiterate our conviction, that the Charge of Archdeacon Lyall is framed upon juster and sounder views of religious policy than the Sermon of Mr. Girdlestone: and we shall now offer a few closing observations of our own upon the main points which the two publications have embraced.

We may be asked whether, by our observations on Mr. Girdlestone's discourse, we intend to go the length of affirming that there are no abuses in the Church which require correction; and no points, connected with the Establishment, that are capable of reformation and improvement? Now we mean nothing of the kind: but neither shall we be tempted to make any abstract and general assertions either one way or the other: partly because we are at a loss to discern their utility, and partly because we wish not to see the Church in such a position, that defects in it are vaguely admitted, without the discovery of remedies, or even of the precise place where remedies are to be applied. Wherever tangible abuses shall be pointed out, which impair the value and efficiency of the Establishment, or practicable measures shall be proposed, by which its value and efficiency can be increased, no reformers in the country will be found more anxious or more strenuous than ourselves. But we do deny that there are any grievous or prominent evils, as far as the question rests between the Church and the Dissenters. A man might even take what is called the popular side in many matters of ecclesiastical discussion: he might say, for instance, that such parts of the system ought to be commuted as tend to create unpleasant collisions between the payers and the receivers of tithes: that new laws are still required to prevent the enormous accumulation of emoluments in particular hands, and reduce the prodigious inequalities now existing in the incomes of the clergy: that the translation of bishops is a prolific source of secular ambition: or that in some

parishes a stricter and closer attention to their spiritual duties is demanded of the resident ministers: and yet maintain the entire spotlessness and excellence of the Church, as far as any differences with Separatists are concerned. Even the sore subjects of Church rates is rather between the Dissenters and the Legislature than between the Dissenters and the Church: or, at all events, it is not one of those matters to which Mr. Girdlestone in his sermon refers.

Upon the same principles then we would argue that the reforms, if for the sake of argument we suppose that any reform is needed, must relate to the collection of Church revenues, and the distribution of Church property, much more than to alterations in the articles or ritual of our Establishment. In conjunction with Mr. Lyall, we would exhort the clergy to look *forward* rather than *backward*, and accommodate themselves as well as they can to the changes which are actually made, or actually inevitable, instead of merely casting their retrospective glances upon the past with a fond and unavailing regret. And if we protest against the diversion of ecclesiastical property to other than ecclesiastical purposes, it is far more for the sake of the nation than for the sake of those persons who may receive the immediate benefit. The Church has not more property than can be employed with infinite advantage within itself: and sure we are that no ultimate good will arise from having ministers of religion, who are too dependent upon their congregations, or too poor to maintain that station in society which they have hitherto occupied. If there be any point, upon which we are inclined to disagree with Mr. Lyall, we should say that he hardly appreciates the temporal value of religion to the rich. Its value to the poor, indeed, he cannot estimate too highly: but when he draws a contrast, and says, "the rich and affluent, those who live at ease, and often with no business except what the pursuit of pleasure affords, may, so far as *this* world is concerned, do well enough without religion;" we would refer him to a splendid passage of Burke, which we cannot refrain from quoting; and to the inference, which that great and good man derives, as to the necessity, that the ministers of the Gospel, some of them at least, should be so far on a par with the wealthy and exalted in points of worldly consideration, as to be removed from strong temptations to meanness and servility.

"The Christian statesmen of this land would indeed first provide for the *multitude*, because it is the *multitude*; and is therefore, as such, the first object in the ecclesiastical institution, and in all institutions. They have been taught that the circumstance of the Gospel's being preached to the poor, was one of the great tests of its true mission. They think, therefore, that those do not believe it, who do not take care it should be

preached to the poor. But as they know that charity is not confined to any one description, but ought to apply itself to all men who have wants, they are not deprived of a due and anxious sensation of pity to the distresses of the miserable great. They are not repelled through a fastidious delicacy, at the stench of their arrogance and presumption, from a medicinal attention to their mental blotches and running sores. They are sensible, that religious instruction is of more consequence to them than to any others; from the greatness of the temptation to which they are exposed; from the important consequences that attend their faults; from the contagion of their ill example; from the necessity of bowing down the stubborn neck of their pride and ambition to the yoke of moderation and virtue; from a consideration of the fat stupidity and gross ignorance concerning what imports men most to know, which prevails at courts, and at the head of armies, and in senates, as much as at the loom and in the field.

“The English people are satisfied, that to the great the consolations of religion are as necessary as its instructions. They too are among the unhappy. They feel personal pain and domestic sorrow. In these they have no privilege, but are subject to pay their full contingent to the contributions levied on mortality. They want this sovereign balm under their gnawing cares and anxieties, which, being less conversant about the limited wants of animal life, range without limit, and are diversified by infinite combinations in the wild and unbounded regions of imagination. Some charitable dole is wanting to these, our often very unhappy brethren, to fill the gloomy void which reigns in minds which have nothing on earth to hope or fear; something to relieve in the killing languor and over-laboured lassitude of those who have nothing to do; something to excite an appetite to existence in the palled satiety which attends on all pleasures which may be bought, where nature is not left to her own process, where even desire is anticipated, and therefore fruition defeated by meditated schemes and contrivances of delight; and no interval, no obstacle, is interposed between the wish and the accomplishment.

“The people of England know how little influence the teachers of religion are likely to have with the wealthy and powerful of long standing, and how much less with the newly fortunate, if they appear in a manner no way assorted to those with whom they must associate, and over whom they must even exercise, in some cases, something like an authority. What must they think of that body of teachers, if they see it in no part above the establishment of their domestic servants? If the poverty were voluntary, there might be some difference. Strong instances of self-denial operate powerfully on our minds; and a man who has no wants has obtained great freedom and firmness, and even dignity. But as the mass of any description of men are but men, and their poverty cannot be voluntary, that disrespect which attends upon all lay poverty, will not depart from the ecclesiastical. Our provident constitution has therefore taken care that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, those who are to be censors over insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt, nor live upon their alms; nor will it tempt the rich to a neglect of the true medicine of their minds. For these

reasons, whilst we provide first for the poor, and with a parental solicitude, we have not relegated religion (like something we were ashamed to show) to obscure municipalities or rustic villages. No! We will have her to exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments. We will have her mixed throughout the whole mass of life, and blended with all the classes of society. The people of England will show to the haughty potentates of the world, and to their talking sophisters, that a free, a generous, an informed nation, honours the high magistrates of its Church; that it will not suffer the insolence of wealth and titles, or any other species of proud pretension, to look down with scorn upon what they look up to with reverence; nor presume to trample on that acquired personal nobility, which they intend always to be, and which often is the fruit, not the reward, (for what can be the reward?) of learning, piety, and virtue."—*Burke's Thoughts on the French Revolution*, pp. 151—154.

These brilliant paragraphs have, we fear, led us far away from Mr. Girdlestone and Mr. Lyall. Let us return to them by saying, that if it be thus shown that little benefit could result from cutting away or paring down the general amount of property now in the hands of the ministers of the Church, still less benefit could be expected from making extravagant, nay, as we think, unwarrantable and unscriptural concessions to all or any classes of Dissenters. We are not mad enough to put forward a claim of infallibility in behalf of the Church of England: but we most entirely dislike and deprecate the principle, that we are to enter into discussion with its enemies, upon a kind of preliminary admission that the Church is in the wrong. In such a case, it is equal folly to predicate absolute exemption from error, and to *suppose* faults before we find them.

And we say this, not so much in answer to Mr. Girdlestone, who hardly seems to have ascertained and matured his own notions upon the subject, as to men like the Archbishop of Dublin and Dr. Arnold, who talk and write, as if they had been visited by some phantom in their dreams, recommending that we should conciliate the Dissenters by widening the Articles, or tampering with the Liturgy of the Establishment; and establish Christian union, by having a Church utterly loose and latitudinarian in its doctrines and discipline.

Let it be understood, that is, understood by the parliament, not less than by the Dissenters, and by the infidels of the country, that the Church of England, (and might we not add, the people of England?) will not consent to an attempt at Church reform upon either of these processes. Dr. Whately may stand up in his place in the House of Peers, and propose that a commission should be issued, which would have the effect of *inviting* objections to the Liturgy and Formularies of our Church, instead of calmly considering them, when *pressed* upon the attention of the

legislature: and Dr. Arnold (or some one else, with the *crotchets* of Dr. Arnold in his head without his talents and his virtues,) may wish to open the doors of the Establishment to men of every strange and heretical opinion; but it is not thus that the real interests of Christianity will be promoted, or that the structure of our religious polity can be placed upon a solid and permanent foundation. The time will perhaps come, when some very few erasures may be made from the Book of Common Prayer, and some very few substitutions: but at least let an earnest and conscientious and general desire be expressed by the religious community, before we incur the positive evil, which must be a necessary concomitant of any shape of change. The Book of Common Prayer is now invested in the eyes of the people with a sanctity and reverence, second only to the glory of holiness which surrounds the Scriptures themselves. It has been consecrated by time, and long, if not immemorial, usage: it has become an integral part of our history and our religion. Most unwise, therefore, would it be to make any alteration without some very powerful and urgent inducement. For if this prevailing notion—this prejudice, if you will, but still a salutary and hallowed prejudice—be once shaken and unsettled, who can say what mischiefs, what dangers, what perpetual and wanton unhingements will arise. That the Book of Common Prayer is “alterable,” as being a compilation merely human, is in itself an obvious truth: but let not the point of alteration be mooted as lightly and heedlessly, as if the Liturgy of the Church of England were but an ill-worded preamble to a common act of parliament.

Still less let the rash and hasty hand of innovation meddle with the Prayer-book, upon the fancy that any thing will be gained by making concessions to the Dissenters. We must choose one alternative and abide by it: but it is idle to think of having both. We cannot propitiate the Dissenters and uphold the Establishment. Christian union is so lovely and excellent a thing, that we do not wonder, when sacrifices are recommended in order to obtain it. But we unequivocally reject and denounce the fallacy, that we can advance one step nearer to the goal of union by sweeping changes and omissions in our Liturgy, or by a latitudinarian extension of our Articles. Christian union can only be attained by the establishment of Christian truth. Nothing else deserves the name. But will Christian truth be elicited and ascertained by a compromise or suppression of honest opinion? When men consent to *swamp* their own sentiments, instead of endeavouring to produce conviction in the minds of each other by dispassionate argument and research, the fires of controversy are not extinguished, but merely smothered for the moment with fresh

fuel. The attempt to combine jarring principles in harmony is only to give tenfold force to the elements of discord. A hollow truce has never yet been the forerunner of eventual tranquillity. If therefore Dr. Arnold's plan should be adopted, or any plan similar to Dr. Arnold's, and the articles and ceremonies of our Church should be remodelled for the sake of affording admission to the widest range of belief; not a single spark of disagreement will be quenched; but the effect will be to introduce the flames within the pale of the Establishment, instead of leaving them outside. In former periods many proposals and some actual endeavours have been made to reunite Protestants and Roman Catholics into the same community: but they have always signally failed. And the failure will be still more signal, if we attempt, by any other means than sound and searching discussion of the points of difference, to reunite Churchmen and Dissenters. And why? For the simple reason, that the very principle of a dominant and Established Church, in connection with the state, is wormwood and abomination to the large body of seceders. No concessions, however vast in matters of detail, can remove, by a hair's breadth, this stumbling block of everlasting offence. In a word, unless we are prepared to give up the *principle* of the Establishment, we can *never* conciliate the majority of separatists from the Church.

And even suppose that by the substitution of fewer and looser and more pliant articles for the Thirty-nine, to which we subscribe at present, some portion of the Dissenters should be reclaimed and brought back into the fold, at what expense would this apparent benefit be secured? How many parties, how many disputes, would be engendered within the bosom of the Church! How many men would be shocked, and estranged, and outraged, who are now the firmest supporters of the Church; and on whom her only reliance can be placed, when the hour of trial and difficulty shall arrive! How entirely would that great use of a Church Establishment be destroyed, by which it now in some measure sets up the landmarks of faith, and restrains the wild extravagances of doctrine and modes of worship! They who are well acquainted with the internal state of the Church of England, and the hundred shapes and shades of feeling and sentiment already contained within her precincts, will hardly perhaps think that her Articles do not at present allow a sufficient variety of opinions among her ministers: or at least will hardly be desirous to take down the existing bulwarks of our orthodoxy, for the purpose of erecting some new edifice in their stead of so loose and flimsy and uncemented a fabric, as to admit every body, and give shelter to nobody. And yet *how* could *all* be admitted? Or if they

should be, what kind of religion would be left us? For at what point would we stop? If the door is to be wide enough for Methodists and Anabaptists, ought it not also to be wide enough for Quakers and Unitarians? For ourselves we hesitate not to say, that it would be better entirely to do away with a Church established by law, and connected with the state, than to have an Established Church, with articles embracing only the lax generalities of religion. In the one case, that religious community which now constitutes the Church of England, would still maintain an imposing and venerable aspect, would still be the most Scriptural, the most popular, the most influential of sects; in the other case, we should have an Established Church, which would soon become the very laughing stock of the unbeliever: the same doctrines would not be preached for ten years in succession from the same pulpit: but the widest extremes would be comprehended under a nominal unity, as if we could thus approximate the frozen pole of Rationalism and Deism to the torrid zone of Fanaticism and Superstition.

It is in vain to ask, "Is not religious schism a nuisance and a scandal?" We agree that it is. "Are there not thousands among the Dissenters whose characters and abilities we must reverence and admire; and whom we could most cordially wish to see enrolled in the same Christian communion with ourselves?" Unquestionably there are. "Are not charity and brotherly love to be inculcated and exhibited by all members of the Church of England?" God forbid that they should not. But what then? There is no wisdom in flying from one evil to a greater: nor can charity and brotherly love find any stable and enduring resting-place, unless they are based upon mutual respect. But what respect could we entertain for a man, who wore his religious sentiments so loosely about him, that he could drop them or throw them off, from considerations of temporal expediency? The argument is of universal applicability, which we might use as an *argumentum ad hominem*, to Dr. Arnold or Mr. Girdlestone. We may admire, for instance, the kind and Christian spirit in which either of them writes; we may esteem either of them for sterling qualities of head and heart: but are we therefore to waive our conscientious opposition upon points, where we believe them to be in error, and where we believe their error to be of a pernicious tendency: or is our admiration or our esteem one jot the less, because with calmness and candour we express and act upon our difference of opinion? Let but this reasoning be enlarged to the case of Dissenters in general, and the conclusion is inevitable.

For the sake then of *truth*—for the sake of *charity*—for the

sake of *common honesty*—we would repudiate the idea of Christian union without Christian conviction. And we have written at some length, because we know that in *many* and in *influential* quarters, the idea has been, and even is, entertained. The thing cannot prosper, and cannot last. And if we think the end impracticable, we may well repudiate the means proposed for its attainment: especially where those means must carry with them much of immediate and attendant mischief. Let us pause then before we immolate any portion of our Articles and our Liturgy on the altar of dissent: not refusing indeed to co-operate with Dissenters, where the objects are fairly common, and where co-operation is necessary for the efficient management of the work; but otherwise proceeding upon our own path, with an honest spirit of open and generous competition. The best of Church reforms will be attained by persevering individual efforts to inspire the people with a stronger reverence and affection for the doctrines and formularies of our Establishment as they are: by active and unremitting exertions, on the part of ministers, in their respective parishes: by having good schools, and by taking good care of them: by building churches, wherever they are wanted, and by labouring, in humble anxiety, to have them well filled. All that the legislature can do is nothing, absolutely nothing, in comparison with what may be effected by personal zeal and private philanthropy.

Upon the whole, this cry of Christian union is one of the wildest delusions of the day. Either it has no meaning at all, or it means a contradiction. Does it mean thinking alike? But we cannot think alike by merely *wishing* to think alike, or *saying* that we think alike. Is it pretending to think alike, when we think differently? This is sheer folly, or sheer hypocrisy. To suppose that men can unite to any beneficial purpose, while their sentiments are opposed, or that they can cling together, while they have no possible bond of cohesion or affinity, is just as preposterous, as to imagine that they can bury their differences of opinion without burying and merging in some disgraceful compromise their opinions themselves. The entire system is born of a false liberality, and a spurious conciliation, and a bastard prudence. Too often its source is not kindness, but indifference; is not charity, but cowardice. Frankness, however, and boldness, are what the times require. They require decision, but not intemperance: they require moderation, but not pusillanimous lukewarmness. They require that every man should determine and avow his own principles. A man may be mistaken: but an honest man, in any crisis of importance to his country or his religion, can hardly be neutral. We have no words to express our contempt for those waiters upon Providence, who can stand aloof,

until they shall see which side it may be safest to take. But, alas, how frequently does it happen in periods of emergency that men of the coolest temperament and clearest judgment leave the whole game to be played, to the destruction of a state, by the fiery enthusiasts on the one side, and, on the other, the timid alarmists, whose violence is directly in proportion to their consternation.

It is our confirmed opinion, that at no distant period the battle between the Church and her antagonists must be seriously fought. We have therefore thrown out these suggestions, that the clergy may consider well on what points their stand is to be made; and in what manner the contest, on their part purely and altogether defensive, is to be carried on. Our limits will not now permit us to inquire, what the pious and well-affected among the laity owe at such a moment to the Church of which they are members. Assuredly they owe *much*; and unless their duty is adequately performed, the stability of our ecclesiastical institutions becomes precarious in the extreme. One obligation, we think, which they incur, is to take off the hands of the clergy much of that warfare which concerns the *temporal* interests of the Church. It is a graceful and honourable task for the laity to defend the Church and its ministers from spoliation: but the office of the clergy is somewhat interrupted, and their tone of character is somewhat impaired, if *they* are compelled, in matters of a pecuniary nature, to make the press—or still more, the pulpit—resound with their own remonstrances or complaints. How many things are there, which men can do more naturally and more becomingly for others than for themselves: and with what peculiar force will this observation apply in the case of the emoluments or worldly fortunes of the ministers of religion!

For the rest, it is because we believe that the great battle must soon be fought, and be fought *out*, and because we would have the clergy equal to the struggle when it comes, that we would advise them not to waste their energies upon petty squabbles of perpetual recurrence: but pursue the even tenor of their way, and sedulously discharge their unobtrusive functions in the spirit of peace and charity, until some urgent occasion commands them to step forward, and expose themselves to any and every obloquy, to any and every hazard, for the honour of God, and the true welfare, temporal and eternal, of mankind. There is no contradiction between this and our previous remarks. Let them not be wanting to themselves: but neither let them plunge and flounder about in the precipitation of alarm. Be it their first care to bear in mind, that the most important of all imaginable interests are at stake—interests far too mighty and too sacred for the interference

of any sore and *fidgelty* irritation—the exhibition of any querulous and fretful impatience. So will the Church maintain an attitude of majesty and sanctity, which will compel the respect even of her adversaries: and either, by the blessing of Providence, preserve her rights and authority amidst the political tempests already engendered in the atmosphere; or, if fall she must, preserve her dignity even in the moment of her ruin.

But we stop: for we find ourselves unable to exhaust or do justice to that small part of a most extensive subject, which we had selected for immediate discussion. Perhaps some early opportunity may occur, at which we can resume it.

ART. III.—*History of France during the French Revolution: embracing the Period from the Assembly of the Notables in 1789, to the Establishment of the Directory in 1795.* By Archibald Alison, F.R.S.E. Advocate. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: Blackwood. London: Cadell. 1833.

It was a saying of Napoleon, that a “revolution in France is sooner or later followed by a revolution in the rest of Europe.” Constituting, as it were, the heart of a great political body, its pulsations are felt in the remotest extremities; and its motions, whether they be regular or disordered, never fail to be communicated throughout the system for good or for bad, either directly or by means of a secret but very powerful sympathy. This fact, recorded by one so well qualified to form a correct judgment, bestows an immense interest on every work which undertakes to trace the history of that memorable shaking of the nations which, beginning in 1789, has perpetuated its effects down to the present day. The experience of nearly half a century has confirmed the soundness of the remark just quoted; for, during that period, there has been manifested by the other European states, an eager desire to imitate the French in all their innovations, notwithstanding the proof, everywhere presented, that the happiness of the people has been usually sacrificed to the intrigues of faction or to the love of power. Even among the better informed there is much willingness displayed to forget the evil and remember only the good which resulted from the terrific commotions consequent on the execution of Louis the Sixteenth; to draw a veil over the horrors which disgraced the rule of the republicans; and to place in a vivid light those political improvements which the tyranny of the Convention did not altogether prevent. It is therefore expedient that from time to time there should be laid before the British

public, a picture of the frightful scene which occupied the interval from 1792 to 1795, accompanied with a description of its unparalleled sufferings and losses; of the murders and confiscations; the desolation of whole towns and provinces put under the ban of Jacobinical fury; of the thousands who perished by famine; and of the tens of thousands who were massacred in prison, dragged forth to the guillotine, or drowned in rivers. Could the misery have been anticipated which attended the footsteps of the great political change in France, the stoutest heart would have recoiled from the undertaking, and the most ardent patriot would have readily consented to the continuance, for another age, of the disabilities under which the mass of his countrymen laboured.

In an able introduction, the author traces the causes which ultimately led to that particular condition of things whence the French revolution drew its origin. Delineating the progress of liberty from its cradle, in the independence of the desert, till it acquires confirmed strength in the industry of manufacturing and mercantile life, he follows it to its decline in the domination of feudal institutions on the one hand, or on the other, in the selfishness and jealousy of republican ambition. The history of Europe, during the middle ages, supplies ample materials for illustrating the principles on which this survey is conducted. The great monarchies which arose on the Rhine and the Danube, and the small commonwealths that erected their cities and fortified their harbours along the shores of Italy, afford very instructive instances of the expansion of political power in a certain class, without the accompaniment of corresponding privileges to the lower orders. Even the barons themselves gradually yielded to the solicitations of ease and luxury the hold which they had long possessed on the administration of affairs. It is accordingly observed, that notwithstanding the long and hereditary attachment even of the English people to free institutions, the usual causes of decline had begun to operate, and the feudal independence of the great lords was gradually giving way to the corrupt subservience of more opulent times. The desolating wars of York and Lancaster thinned the ranks of the nobles, while the increased expense of living, by changing the current of their ambition, undermined the foundations of their power. Under the Tudor princes, the indifference of parliament to the liberties of the people had already commenced. Europe could not exhibit a monarch who governed his people with more absolute sway than Henry the Eighth, nor is any thing in modern times more remarkable than the pliant servility with which both the legislature and the people obeyed his despotic commands. History can hardly exhibit an example of a reign in which a greater number of violent

invasions were made not only on public rights but private property, in which justice was more disgracefully prostituted in courts of law, liberty more completely abandoned in the measures of parliament, or caprice more tyrannically exerted on the throne.

Influenced by the painful impression that nations, like individuals, were doomed to run a fixed and limited course, from youth to age, from vigour to decay, historians were wont to compare the destiny of the former to that of the latter; figuring to themselves that even the most glorious empires had a determined length of vital thread spun out to them by the fates, in one part uniform and strong, in another weakened and shattered by use, to be cut when the appointed era is come, and to make way for a renewal of the emblem in the case of those which were to succeed.

But it appears to Mr. Alison, that in modern times there have been introduced into operation certain causes which tend to counteract the decline incident to all human institutions, and which infuse into the political systems of the present day some portion of the vigour belonging to the youth of the human race. The first of these causes is the Christian religion, which proclaiming the universal equality of mankind in the sight of heaven, and addressing its revelations in an especial manner to the poor, removes the hateful distinction that so long corrupted the higher classes and alienated the affections of all below them.

The art of printing, too, by extending the influence of divine truth on a field of intellect continually improving, has added a powerful buttress to the support of the social fabric, in all countries where due attention has been paid to the rights and instruction of the people. The discoveries of science, the charms of genius, it is observed, "may attract a few in every age; but it is by religious emotion that the great body of mankind are chiefly to be moved; and it was by the diffusion of its enthusiasm accordingly, that the greatest efforts of European liberty were sustained. But the diffusion of knowledge by means of the press is not destined to awaken merely transient bursts of enthusiasm. By imbuing the minds of those master-spirits who direct human thought, it produces lasting impressions on society, and is perpetually renewed in the successive generations, who inhale, during the ardour of youth, the maxims and the spirit of classical freedom." The whole face of society has been modified by this mighty discovery; the causes of ancient decay seem checked by new principles of life, derived from the immense number of individuals whose talents are brought to bear on the fortunes of the state; and the influence of despotic power, shaken by the attacks of

independent principle, is weakened even in the armies which are called to support its authority.

But the good which has arisen from the diffusion of knowledge is not unmixed. On the contrary, it is admitted, that if the principles of improvement have acquired a hardier growth, those of evil have been more generally disseminated; the contests of society have grown in magnitude and increased in violence; and the passions of nations, instead of the ambition of individuals, have in these latter times been brought into collision.

"In the progress of time, however, whatever in injurious in human affairs is extinguished, while the causes of improvement are lasting in their effects: the contests of the Greek republics, the cruelty of the Athenian democracy, have long ceased to trouble the world; but the maxims of Grecian virtue, the works of Grecian genius, will permanently continue to elevate mankind. The turbulence, the insecurity, the convulsions to which the extension of knowledge to the lower orders gives rise, will in time be forgotten, but the improved fabric of society which it induces, the increased vigour which it communicates, may ultimately compensate all its evils, and permanently bless and improve the species."

The invention of gunpowder is regarded as the third security for the existence of freedom as the inheritance of the people, and consequently for the permanence of the ground on which all government must have its foundation. As long as the nobles were clad in steel, armed with expensive weapons, and mounted on chargers, the peasantry, furnished only with clubs or the implements of their labours, had no chance in the field of battle. Hence the facility with which all insurrections were suppressed in England, France, and Germany, where the great tenants of the crown and their immediate retainers were the only class regularly trained to martial exercises. But fire-arms placed the lord and his meanest serf nearly on a level; and the inhabitants of towns more particularly, whose arts and industry supplied in abundance the munitions of war, soon proved extremely formidable to the proud barons, who seldom viewed with a favourable eye the increasing privileges of the royal boroughs.

The power of the people, in the fourth place, advanced in proportion to the increase of their own riches, and the diminished resources of the aristocracy. In France especially, the introduction of artificial wants completed the ruin of the feudal power. When the elegancies of life were comparatively unknown, and the barons lived in rude magnificence on their estates, the distribution of their wealth kept a multitude of dependents round their castles, who were always ready to defend the authority from which they derived their subsistence. But by degrees the progress of

opulence carried the nobility to the metropolis, the increase of luxury augmented their expenses beyond their means, and from that moment their ascendancy was brought to a close. The importance of this change, like that of all others introduced by nature, was not perceived till its effects were manifested. The aristocracy of France, it is remarked, was still an object of dread, even when it stood on the very brink of destruction; and the people were doubtful of their ability to resist its power, when it was about to sink before them without a struggle.

It is obvious that the antidote contemplated by Mr. Alison, in the remarks which we have abridged, applies only to the abuse of power on the part of rulers, and of what are called the privileged classes of society—the evil which was most to be dreaded before the commencement of the eighteenth century. But it requires not to be mentioned, that the elements of social order may be disturbed or destroyed not less certainly by popular rage than by aristocratical ambition. He readily acknowledges this solemn truth, and gives expression to the feeling which it excites in the following words:

“ The former history of the world is chiefly occupied with the struggles of freedom against bondage; the efforts of laborious industry to emancipate itself from the yoke of aristocratic power. Our sympathies are all with the oppressed, our fears are lest the pristine servitude of the species should be re-established; but with the rise of the French revolution, a new set of perils have been developed, and the historian finds it his duty to keep chiefly in view the terrible evils of democratic oppression. The causes which have been mentioned have at length given such an extraordinary and irresistible weight to the popular party, that the danger now sets in from another quarter, and the tyranny which is to be apprehended is not that of the few over the many, but of the many over the few. The obvious risk now is, that the influence of knowledge, virtue, and worth, will be overwhelmed in the vehemence of popular ambition or the turbulence of democratic power. This evil is of a far more acute and terrible kind than the severity of regal or the weight of aristocratic oppression. In a few years, when fully developed, it destroys the whole frame of society and extinguishes the very elements of freedom, by annihilating the classes whose intermixture is essential to its existence. It is beneath this fiery torrent that the civilized world is now passing, and all the efforts of philosophy are therefore required to observe its course and mitigate its devastation. Happy if the historian can find, in the record of former suffering, ought to justify future hope, or in the errors of past inexperience the lessons of ultimate wisdom. It is by slow degrees and imperceptible additions, that all the great changes of nature are accomplished; and it is by similar steps, and as slow a progress, that the great fabric of society is formed. Regulated liberty, the chief spring of human improvement, is of the most tardy development; ages elapse before it acquires any firm consistency; nations disappear

during the contest for its establishment. The continued observation of this important truth is fitted both to inspire hope and encourage moderation; hope, by showing how unceasing has been the progress of improvement through all the revolutions of the world; moderation, by demonstrating how vain and dangerous are all attempts to outstrip the march of nature, or confer upon one age the institutions or habits of another. The annals of the French Revolution, more than any other event in human affairs, are calculated to demonstrate these important truths; and by evincing in equally striking colours the irresistible growth of liberty, and the terrible evils of precipitate innovation, to impress moderation upon the rulers and caution upon the agitators of mankind, and thus sever from the future progress of freedom those bloody triumphs by which its past history has been stained."

It has been frequently remarked that there are many points of resemblance between the Revolution in France and the Grand Rebellion in our own country. Nor will it be denied that, in regard to the main results, the murder of the two kings and the temporary triumph of the popular faction, the coincidence is sufficiently striking; and yet the features in which these historical occurrences differ are much more numerous and important than those wherein they agree. In England, the monarch, backed by the greater part of the landed proprietors, carried on a protracted contest with the cultivators of the soil and the inhabitants of the towns; whereas in the territories of Louis, the nobility, to the amount of seventy thousand, shrunk at once from the conflict, and allowed their sovereign to fall into the hands of the people, without raising their arm in his defence. From the days of Elizabeth the influence of religion ranged itself on the side of freedom; and, in all the struggles which followed, the civil interests at issue between the hostile parties were always considered as subordinate to their theological differences. In France, on the contrary, the faith and precepts of the Gospel were held in the utmost contempt by those who opposed the court and levelled their blows at the foundation of all monarchical institutions. The Jacobins established their authority on the ridicule of every species of devotion, save that which was directed to the altar of Reason. Nor was this "irreligious fanaticism," as the author justly defines it, restricted to the citizens of the metropolis. It pervaded equally every department of the kingdom where the republican principles were embraced, and every class of men who were attached to its fortunes. During the Reign of Terror the churches were everywhere closed, the professors of religion were dispersed, and its rites abandoned; and it was not until the restoration of a regular government, that the places of Christian worship were once more opened, and belief in the doctrines of Christ was again acknowledged.

But the circumstance which affected most deeply the character of the French Revolution was the hostility manifested by the lower orders against all who were above them in birth, wealth, or talent. It was sufficient to put a man's life in danger, to expose his estate to confiscation and his family to banishment, that he was from *any cause* elevated above the populace. The gifts of nature, destined to please or bless mankind, the splendour of genius, the powers of thought, the grace of beauty, were, says Mr. Alison, as fatal to their possessors as the adventitious advantages of fortune or the invidious distinctions of rank. Liberty and *Equality* was the universal cry of the Revolutionary party; and this liberty consisted in the complete spoliation of the opulent classes, while the equality was to be accomplished by the destruction of all who outshone them in talent or exceeded them in acquirement. The storming of the Bastile, accordingly, was the signal for a general dissolution of all the bands of authority, and an universal invasion of private property. The peasantry, on almost every estate between the British Channel and the Pyrenees, rose against their landlords, burnt their houses, and plundered their effects; and the higher ranks in every part of the country, excepting La Vendee, were subjected to the most frightful cruelties.

In England, on the other hand, the Republicans counted in their ranks many persons of distinction, and drew their chief strength from the respectable class of the yeomanry. As the power of each party was more equally balanced, the moderation of both was increased; and hence no massacres or proscriptions took place, no mansion was destroyed, and no secret murders were perpetrated. The war terminated in the establishment of the rights for which the popular leaders had contended, but the great features of the constitution remained unchanged; the law was administered on the old precedents, and the great body of the people scarcely felt the important change which had occurred in the executive government of the country.

" In France the triumph of the popular party was followed by an immediate change of institutions, private rights and laws; the nobility in a single night surrendered the whole privileges which they had inherited from their ancestors; the descent of property was turned into a different channel by the abolition of the rights of primogeniture; and the administration of justice between man and man was founded on a new code destined to survive the perishable empire of its author. Every thing in England remained the same after the Revolution, with the exception of the privileges which were confirmed to the people, and the pretensions which were abandoned by the crown. Every thing in France was changed but the dynasty that ultimately obtained the throne. In France the whole landed property of the Church and the greater part of that belonging to the nobility, was confiscated during the Revolution; and

such was the weight of the new proprietors, that the Bourbons were compelled, as the fundamental condition of their restoration, to guarantee the security of the revolutionary estates. The effects of this difference have been in the highest degree important. The whole proprietors, who live on the fruits of the soil of Great Britain and Ireland, at this moment, notwithstanding the prodigious increase of wealth which has since taken place, probably do not amount to 300,000; whilst above 3,000,000 heads of families, and 15,000,000 of persons, dependent on their labour, subsist on the wages they receive. In France, on the other hand, there are near four millions of proprietors, most of them in a state of great indigence, and above fourteen millions of souls, constituting their families, independent of the wages of labour; being a greater number than the whole remainder of the community. In France the proprietors are as numerous as all the other members of the state: in England they hardly amount to a tenth part of their number."

The natural inference from the statement now given is, that the political influence of England must rest in the great families. In France, on the contrary, the Upper House is comparatively insignificant, because a great proportion of its members derive their subsistence from the bounty of the crown, while none of them directly or indirectly possess any weight in the constitution. The struggle in Britain, as in ancient Rome, must henceforth be between the patricians and plebeians: in France, as in the monarchies of the East, it will be between the crown and the people. Such, said Mr. Alison, when he composed this part of his work, though circumstances are already changed, is the natural consequence of the maintenance of the aristocracy in the one country, and its destruction in the other; as political weight in the end always centers where the greater part of the natural property is to be found.

It is a wise observation of the author, that the fury of the civil war in England was very much mitigated by the happy circumstance that our countrymen had some definite object in view throughout the whole of the struggle—the recovery of privileges, which they were pleased to describe as hereditary, and the restoration of political power, which they maintained once belonged to the nation. In quest of the object on which they had set their hearts, they did not find themselves wandering in a wide and unknown desert, but rather following a path in which their fathers had walked, at the end of which they were satisfied they should find the treasure they so highly valued. The long-continued strife between the Saxon inhabitants of this island and the Normans, by whom they were partially vanquished, gave rise to a military spirit, which enabled the former to resist the current of oppression that threatened to overwhelm them, and to establish in the midst of their conquerors rights approaching very nearly to independence. During five centuries the fields of England had been in-

cessantly drenched with blood; every county was in its turn the scene of mortal conflict; until at length the effeminate character of the Britons was completely changed, while the invaders were prevented from sinking into that corruption, which in barbarous times is usually found to succeed any marked success. Hence, when the disciplined squadrons of William secured a permanent footing at the point of the sword, they found a people who would not be content to become slaves, but who, retiring as far as possible from the society of the warlike chiefs who claimed the mastery of the land, cherished the sentiments of liberty, and gradually laid the foundations of that middle class, to which the kingdom has ever since owed much of its strength and respectability. It was not the native inhabitants, the pusillanimous subjects of the Roman empire, who from that period composed the lower orders of the state, but the descendants of the free Anglo-Saxon and Danish settlers, who had acquired independence by centuries of freedom, and courageous feelings from frequent success in arms. Habits, the growth of ages, survived the oppression of particular sovereigns. One defeat could not extinguish the recollection of a hundred victories. The power of the Normans, indeed, prevented them from rising into the higher stations whether of civil or of military life, and the slaves already filled the lowest walk in society; but, between the two, they found a vigorous and determined body, who neither sank in the contest with feudal domination, nor perished in the obscurity of ignoble bondage. They persevered in their noble efforts to regain the position which for a time they had been compelled to relinquish, and finally succeeded in preserving their name and language to the country of their adoption.

“ The effects of this soon appeared in the measures of government. At the accession of each successive monarch, in every crisis of national danger, it was deemed indispensable to make some sacrifice to the popular wishes and abate a little of the wonted severity of the Norman rule, to secure the fidelity of the English subjects. When Henry I. came to the throne his first step was to grant the famous charter which was long referred to as the foundation of English liberties, in order to secure the support of his insular subjects against the preferable claims of his brother Robert; and in consequence he was enabled to lead a victorious army into Normandy, and revenge on the field of Tenchebray the slaughter and calamities of Hastings. When Stephen seized the sceptre, he instantly passed a charter confirming the grants of Henry, promising to remit the Danish tax and restore the laws of Edward the Confessor. Henry II. deemed it prudent, in the most solemn manner, to ratify the same instrument. The pusillanimity and disasters of John led to the extortion of Magna Charta, by which the old charter of Henry I. was again confirmed, and the rights of all classes of freemen enlarged and esta-

blished. The Great Charter itself was ratified no less than two and thirty different times in the succeeding reigns, on occasion of every extraordinary grant from the subjects, or any unusual weakness of the crown."

These circumstances had a very important effect on the character of the struggle for freedom which was maintained in England during the government of the Stuart family. From perpetually recurring to the past the habit was acquired of regarding liberty, not as a boon to be solicited, but as a right to be claimed; not as an invasion of the constitution, but as a restoration of its pristine purity. The love of independence came in this way to be inseparably blended with veneration for antiquity; and the passion for freedom was thus divested of its most dangerous impulse by being entirely disunited from the desire of innovation. The people mingled the recollection of their ancient laws with the days of their national greatness, and looked back to the reign of Edward the Confessor, as the happy era when their political privileges were secured, and before they had yet tasted the severity of foreign dominion. Hence the exertions of the friends of liberty in this kingdom acquired a *definite and practical object*; and instead of being wasted in aspirations after visionary schemes, settled down, as Mr. Alison remarks, into a strong and inextinguishable desire for the restoration of an order of things *once actually established*, and of which the benefits were still engraven on their recollections. For several centuries, accordingly, the continued effort of the English people was to obtain the restitution of their Saxon privileges; which, after the lapse of a thousand years, are still regarded by the best of our historians as the true foundation of that regulated liberty whereby our country continues to be distinguished.

It is mentioned by the author as a fortunate circumstance in our early constitution, that the power and immunities of the nobility were confined to the eldest son of every family; and he has no doubt that this arrangement was owing to the influence of the commons, which prevented the formation of a privileged class, by confining its prerogatives to the individual who inherited the paternal estate. In this way were taken from the descendants of the great barons all temptation and opportunity to establish a caste, to whom, as in the continental monarchies, the exclusive right of filling certain situations was limited. The younger branches of the aristocracy, after a few generations, relapsed into the rank and became identified with the interests of the commons; and that fatal separation of noble and plebeian, which has been the principal cause of the destruction of freedom in all the European states, was from the earliest times softened in

this country. The nobility in the actual possession of estates were too few in number to excite either suspicion or fear; while their relations, possessing no power above the commoners, ceased either to be an object of envy to their inferiors or to be identified in interest with the class from which they sprang; and thus, it is observed, the different ranks of society were blended together, by a link descending from the higher and ultimately resting on the lower orders.

No reader of history can be ignorant that the interests of liberty in England decayed with the declining power of the nobles, after the war of the Roses, and the alienation of estates encouraged by Henry the Seventh. The barrier, which had so long intervened between the people and the throne, restraining the power of both, being then broken down, there was admitted into the constitution a rush of despotic authority, which finally led to the Grand Rebellion. In the subsequent reign, even the commons appear to have lost their former spirit; the most arbitrary taxation, the most repeated violations of their liberties, produced no popular convulsion; mandates issued from court were universally obeyed in the election of members of parliament; and though they saw the national religion destroyed, one-third of the national property seized, and seventy-two thousand persons executed, their feelings sought no vent in any enterprise against the government. This, it is truly observed, was the critical period of English liberty. The country had reached that crisis which in all the great continental monarchies has proved fatal to public freedom. Notwithstanding her insular situation; notwithstanding the independent spirit of her Saxon ancestry; notwithstanding the efforts of her feudal nobility, the liberty of England was all but extinct when the enthusiasm of the Reformation fanned the dying spark, and kept alive in a sect which soon became predominant the last glow of independence.

Every lover of his country will endeavour to maintain that balance in the constitution which has been found so effectual in protecting the freedom of the people as well from the tyranny of the crown as from the oppression of the aristocracy, while it confers upon the sovereign authority such a degree of unrestrained and even discretionary power as appears best suited to the successful administration of affairs. The experience of many centuries supplies satisfactory proof that the rights of the commons are most securely sustained by the influence of the great landholders, whose weight in the legislature can alone check the undue exercise of the royal prerogative. In countries where there is neither an hereditary nobility nor a wealthy class of rural proprietors, the people must either be rulers or slaves. There will soon appear the

despotism of oriental states, or the ill-regulated freedom of republican institutions. The happy distribution of power and property in England saved her in the day of her revolution. While the current of popular feeling ran strong in favour of a commonwealth, the effect of ancient and fondly-cherished establishments soon developed itself among the more reflecting, and the nation reaped the benefit of the long struggle maintained by their progenitors in the cause of constitutional freedom. But for this happy circumstance, the ardent spirit awakened by the Reformation might have wasted itself, as in Scotland, in visionary and impracticable schemes, until the public, tired of speculations from which no real advantage could accrue, would have willingly returned to their wonted servitude.

It is a remark of Turgot, that while England is the country in the world where public freedom has longest subsisted, and political institutions are most the subject of discussion, it is at the same time the one into which innovations are with the most difficulty introduced, and where the most obstinate resistance is made to the most obvious improvements. You might, says he, alter the whole political frame of government in France with more facility than you could introduce the most insignificant change into the customs or fashions of England. The principle here alluded to is regarded by our author as at once the consequence and the reward of free institutions. Universally it will be found that the attachment of men to the customs and usages of their forefathers is greatest where they have the largest share in the establishment or enjoyment of them, and that the danger of innovation is most to be feared when the exercise of rights has been unknown to the people. For example, in the Petition of Right, composed by Selden and other great lawyers, the parliament said to the king, "your subjects have inherited this freedom:" and in the preamble of the Declaration of Rights, the States do not pretend to frame a government for themselves, but strive only to *secure* the religion, laws, and liberties long possessed and lately endangered: and their prayer is only, "that it may be declared and enacted that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and declared, are the true, *ancient* and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom." "By adhering in this manner to our forefathers," says Burke, "we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians but the spirit of philosophical analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of policy the image of a relation in blood, binding up the constitution of our country with the dearest domestic ties, adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections: keeping inseparable, and cherish-

ing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars."

We conclude this portion of our article by quoting the following remarks, which while they breathe an air of great political wisdom, mark, in very distinct terms, the real ground of difference between the civil war in England, and the revolting horrors of the French Revolution.

"The humane and temperate spirit of the English Rebellion must be ascribed to the circumstances in which the contest there began—the rights previously acquired, the privileges long exercised, the attachments descending from a remote age, the moderation flowing from the possession of freedom. It was disgraced by no violent innovations, because it arose among a people attached by long habit to old institutions. It was followed by no proscriptions, because it was headed by the greater part of the intelligence of the state, and not abandoned to the passions of the populace. It was distinguished by singular moderation in the use of power, because it was conducted by men to whom its exercise had long been habitual; it was attended by little confiscation of property, because among its ranks was to be found a large portion of the wealth of the kingdom. The remarkable moderation of public opinion which has ever since distinguished this country from the neighbouring states, and attracted equal attention among foreigners as ourselves, has arisen from the continued operation of the same circumstances."

"The extraordinary character of the French Revolution," it is added, "arose not from any peculiarities in the people, nor from any faults exclusively belonging to the government, but from the weight of the despotism which had preceded, and the magnitude of the changes it involved. It was distinguished by violence and stained with blood, because it originated solely with the labouring classes, and partook of the savage character of a servile revolt. It totally subverted the institutions of the country, because it condensed within a few years the changes which ought to have taken place in as many centuries. It speedily fell under the direction of the most depraved of the people, because its guidance was abandoned by the highest to the lowest orders; and it led to a general spoliation of property, because it was founded on an universal insurrection of the poor against the rich. France would have done less at the Revolution, if she had done more before it; she would not have unsheathed the sword to govern, if she had not long been governed by the sword; she would not have fallen for years under the guillotine of the populace, if she had not groaned for centuries under the fetters of the nobility."

These remarks, it is obvious, require some modification, for it is acknowledged that, notwithstanding the many evils attached to the feudal system in France, the people were gradually advancing in wealth and influence. The privileges of the noblesse were indeed numerous and extremely mortifying to the more ambitious

among the lower orders; but the members of that favoured body admitted that the system was theoretically wrong, approved all such speculations on the Rights of man as aimed at an equality of condition, and even lent their assistance to those popular writers whose works avowed an object quite incompatible with the existence of hereditary distinctions. In truth, it is observed by Madame de Staël that during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and particularly after the peace of 1763, a growing discontent constantly prevailed in the nation, headed in the first instance by a portion of the noblesse, who were impelled by the force of public opinion or dazzled by the desire of popular applause. No doubt, the faults of the government and the corrupt effeminacy of the court under Louis XV. increased the dissatisfaction of all ranks, and paved the way for that miserable catastrophe which darkened the reign of his successor. "I have had great difficulty," said the former monarch, "in extricating myself from quarrels with the parliaments all the time I have been on the throne; but let my grandson take care of them, for it is more than probable that they will endanger his crown."

Louis the Sixteenth was little qualified to guide the helm of affairs at a period when the opinions of men were thrown loose, and their interests, real or imaginary, were brought into collision. By those who were most familiar with his character, he has been described as steady in principle, pure in morals, humane in feeling, beneficent in intention, possessing all the qualities fitted to adorn a pacific throne, or which are estimable in private life; but as having neither the genius to prevent, nor the firmness to resist, a revolution. Many of his virtues were calculated to allay the public discontents, but not to repress them. The people were tired of the arbitrary powers of their monarch, and he was disposed to relinquish them; they were provoked at the expensive corruptions of the court, and he was both innocent in his manners, and frugal in his habits; they demanded a reformation in the conduct of public affairs, and he placed his chief glory in yielding to their voice. But while he made haste to concede to one party, he failed to exercise proper direction and control in regard to the others. Irresolution was the main defect in the structure of his mind; and hence his conduct, in difficult periods, vacillated between the nobility and the people to such a degree that both abandoned his cause; the first from distrusting his constancy, and the latter from doubt whether he was sincere. He wished sincerely for the national good, without possessing the firmness requisite to secure it; and it has been justly observed, in respect to him, that reforms were more fatal to his power than

the continuance of abuses would have been to any other sovereign distinguished by activity and decision.

The pressure of the finances soon added to the fears occasioned by the growing spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. No expedient promised relief but the Assembly of the States-General, which was announced to take place on the 1st of May, 1789. Neckar, then at the head of affairs, recommended that the numbers of the *tiers état* should be doubled, hoping that the crown would thereby obtain sufficient strength to combat the opposition of the noblesse and dignified clergy, should these bodies be inclined to resist such reforms as now seemed indispensable. The parochial ministers or curés were likewise admitted to a seat in the legislature. Of these concessions Napoleon afterwards remarked that they were

“ ‘ The work of a man ignorant of the first principles of the government of mankind. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Marat, Danton, Robespierre himself did less mischief to France; he brought on the revolution which they consummated. Such reformers as M. Neckar do infinite mischief. The thoughtful read their books; the populace are carried away by them; the public happiness is in every mouth, and soon after the people find themselves without bread; they revolt, and society is overturned. Neckar was the author of all the evils which desolated France during the revolution; all the blood that was shed rests on his head.’ ”

The fate of France ought to be held as a warning to all other countries where the love of innovation has superseded the love of order. The power given to the *tiers état* by the short-sighted policy of Neckar has found a parallel in the conduct of our own government within the last two years. The influence of the lower orders has been immensely increased, while that of the aristocracy has sustained more than an equal diminution; and accordingly the balance of the constitution has been to the same extent paralysed or destroyed. Nor does it afford any consolation that this boon to the operative class of society was conceded, not extorted; for hereafter the power, thereby obtained, will be employed without any reference to the manner in which it was granted, without gratitude for the privilege or docility towards those to whom they stand indebted for the supposed benefaction. In France, the loudest advocates of popular rights were found among the nobles; and the eldest brother of the king, afterwards Louis XVIII., voted for the duplication of the Commons at the meeting of the States-General.

“ ‘ No revolution (says the daughter of Neckar) can succeed in a great country unless it is commenced by the aristocratical class; the

'people afterwards get possession of it, but they cannot strike the first blow. When I recollect that it was the parliament, the nobles, the clergy, who first strove to limit the royal authority, I am far from intending to insinuate that their design therein was culpable. A sincere enthusiasm then animated all ranks of Frenchmen; public spirit had spread universally, and among the higher classes the most enlightened and generous were those who ardently desired that public opinion should have its due sway on the direction of affairs. But can the privileged ranks, who commenced the revolution, accuse those who only carried it on? Some will say, we wished only that the changes should proceed a certain length; others, that they should go a step farther; but who can regulate the impulse of a great people when once put in motion?'

It is somewhere said that individuals occasionally profit by experience, but nations never. The men who direct the counsels of Great Britain are not less patriotic than were Neckar, Mounier, Brissot, and Bailly, but neither are they less liable to be impelled in a career of destructive change, or driven with contempt from their posts than were those aristocratic reformers. Both may be charged with the error of bending too easily to the bias of the age, instead of cautiously and steadily counteracting its tendency to innovation. The disorders which followed in France might all be traced to the pride of a little knowledge—to the weakness which rejects the experience of ages—to the blind worship of an inordinate ambition—to dreams of ideal perfection in political forms, and to an unhappy reverence for the models of government in the celebrated republics of Greece and Rome, which presented hardly any thing analogous to the feudal kingdoms of modern Europe.

The States-General had not met since the year 1614, and, of course, the mode of conducting business in that august assembly was entirely new to the generation who were now to witness its convocation. On the evening of the 4th of May, a religious ceremony preceded the installation of the members. The king, his family, his ministers, and the deputies of the three orders, walked from the church of Notre Dame to that of St. Louis to hear mass. The appearance of the several bodies collected together, and the reflection that a national solemnity, so long fallen into disuse, was about to be revived, excited the most lively enthusiasm in the multitude. The weather was fine; the benevolent and dignified air of the king, the graceful manners of the queen, the pomp and splendour of the ceremony, and the undefined hopes which it excited, raised the spirits of all who witnessed it. First marched the clergy in grand costume, decked with violet-coloured robes; next the noblesse in black dresses, with gold waistcoats, lace cravats, and hats adorned with white plumes;

last, the *tiers etat* dressed also in black, with short cloaks, muslin cravats, and hats without feathers. But the friends of the people consoled themselves with the observation that, however humble their attire, the numbers of this class greatly preponderated over those of the other orders. Next day the assembly was opened, —and that was the first day of the French revolution.

Two ladies from a gallery beheld the spectacle with very different feelings, namely, Madame Montmorin, wife of the minister of foreign affairs, and Mademoiselle Neckar. The latter exulted in the boundless prospect of national felicity which seemed to be opening under the auspices of her father. You are wrong to rejoice, said the other; this event forebodes much misery to France and to ourselves. Her presentiment was too well founded. She herself perished on the scaffold with one of her sons; another was drowned; her husband was massacred in prison; her eldest daughter was cut off in gaol, and her youngest died of a broken heart.

The speech of the unfortunate Louis was characteristic not less of the individual himself than of the troubled monarchy of which he was the head.

"Gentlemen," said he, with emotion, "the day which my heart so long desired is at length arrived. I find myself surrounded by the representatives of the nation, which it is my glory to command. A long period has elapsed since the last convocation of the States-General, and although the meeting of these assemblies was thought to have fallen into disuetude, I have not hesitated to re-establish a usage from which the kingdom may derive new force, and which may open to its inhabitants sources of prosperity hitherto unknown."

He concluded with these words:—

"Every thing which can be expected from the warmest solicitude for the public welfare—every thing that can be expected from a king, the firmest friend of his people, you may expect from me. May unanimity prevail among you, and this epoch become for ever memorable in the annals of French prosperity!"

The king, distracted by the financial embarrassments which had cast a gloom over the whole of his reign, expected relief from the deliberations of the States. He loved his people, and was prepared to meet their representatives with the affection of a parent. Deserving their regard, he believed that he possessed it. No one at that moment apprehended a revolution; it had even become the fashion to laugh at the idea of such a catastrophe. Reposing under the shadow of the monarchy, men shut their eyes to the possibility of its overthrow, and deemed all its institutions stable, because they had never seen them shaken. They had yet to learn that no reliance is to be placed on the affections

of mankind when their interests are at stake; that the force of ancient recollections, strong in periods of tranquillity, is frequently lost in moments of danger; and that attachment to old establishments is powerful only in those who have shared in their protection. Neckar, again, as we are informed by Lacretelle, had adopted two principles very generally received at that epoch, but of which subsequent experience has amply demonstrated the fallacy; namely, that public opinion is always on the side of wisdom and virtue, and that he could at pleasure sway its impulses. The maxim *vox populi vox Dei*, doubtful at all times, is totally inapplicable to periods of agitation, when the passions are let loose, and the ambition of the reckless is awakened by the prospect of attaining power. Public opinion in the end will always incline to the right side; but, as our author remarks, in the violence of its previous oscillations, the whole fabric of society may be overthrown. Neckar, trusting in the sense and goodness of the people, doubled the *tiers état*, and by that step at once gave a commencement to the revolution, and secured its success. This body numbered among its members a great proportion of the ability of France. The most distinguished gentlemen of the bar, of the medical and mercantile classes, many of the cleverest among the clergy, and almost all the delegates of the towns were to be found in its ranks.

All who were conscious of talents which were unworthily depressed, who sought after distinction which the existing order of society prevented them from obtaining, or who had acquired wealth without gaining consideration, joined themselves to the disaffected. "To these were added the unsettled spirits which the prospect of approaching disturbances always brings forth; the reckless, the ardent, the desperate; men who laboured under the subsisting state of society, and hoped that any change would ameliorate their condition. A proportion of the nobles also adhered to their principles, at the head of whom were the Duke of Orleans, who brought a princely fortune to forward the work of corruption, but wanted steadiness to rule the faction which his prodigality had created, and the Marquis La Fayette, who had nursed a republican spirit amidst American dangers, and brought to the strife of freedom in the old world the ardent spirit which had been awakened by its triumph in the new. The Counts Clermont Tonnerre and Lally Tollendal also were attached to the same principles, the Duke de la Rochefoucault and the Duke de Liancourt, the Marquis of Crillon, and the Viscount Montmorency, names long celebrated in the annals of French glory, and some of which were destined to acquire a fatal celebrity from the misfortunes of those who bore them—a portentous union of

rank, talent, and energy, of much which the aristocracy could produce that was generous, with all that the commons could furnish that was eminent, of philosophic enthusiasm with plebeian audacity, of the vigour of rising ability with the weight of antiquated splendour!

Two circumstances, however, were remarkable in the composition of the constituent assembly, and contributed in a great degree to influence its future proceedings. The first was the almost total exclusion of literary and philosophical talent, and the extraordinary preponderance of the legal profession. With the exception of Bailly, and one or two other illustrious individuals, no name of celebrity was to be found among its members. On the other hand no less than two hundred and seventy-nine of the *tiers etat* were advocates, chiefly from the provincial courts of France. This fact is not surprising, when it is considered on the one hand how few of the electors were capable of appreciating the merits of scientific characters in a country where not one in fifty could read; and, on the other, how closely the necessities of men brought them everywhere in contact with that enterprising and restless body who lived upon these necessities. The absence of the philosophers is not much to be regretted, as, with a few splendid exceptions, they seldom make good practical statesmen; but the multitude of lawyers turned out an evil of the first magnitude, possessing as they did talent without property, and the desire of distinction without the talents which should regulate it. The worst characters in the revolution—Robespierre, Danton, and almost all their associates—sprang from that class. The second circumstance was the great proportion of the *tiers etat*, who were men of no property or consideration in the country, mere needy adventurers who pushed themselves into the estates, in order to make their fortune amidst the public convulsions which were anticipated. The leading men of the banking and commercial interest were indeed members of this body, and took a pride in being considered its head; but their numbers were inconsiderable compared with those of their needy brethren, and their talents not sufficient to enable them to maintain an ascendancy. When the contest began they were speedily supplanted by the clamorous and reckless adventurers, who aimed at nothing but public confusion. France on this occasion paid the penalty of her unjust and invidious feudal distinctions; the class was wanting, so well known in England, who, nominally belonging to the commons, are bound to the peers by similarity of situation and community of interest, who form the link between the aristocracy and the people, and moderate the pride of the former by their firmness, and the turbulence of the latter by their authority.

It is well known that the plan entertained by Neckar, of dividing the Assembly of the States into two chambers, similar to the Lords and Commons in England, was completely thwarted by the *tiers état*, who were aware that their numerical strength could only be rendered available by having all the representatives in one house. The noblesse were not desirous to be united in one chamber with the clergy, who, having in their number more than a hundred curés of plebeian extraction, were no longer thought fit associates for the members of the aristocracy. The minister, trembling for his popularity, dared not to propose any measure by which the commons might be induced or constrained to enter upon separate deliberations for the good of the country. The Archbishop of Aix, placed at the head of a deputation to the refractory estate, made to them a pathetic appeal on the misery to which the nation must be reduced, and suggested the expediency of a conference among some of the leading persons belonging to the three classes which composed the assembly. While the audience were in doubt what answer to return, a young man, utterly unknown, rose and said—

“ ‘ Go and tell your colleagues that if they are so impatient to assuage the sufferings of the poor, let them come to this hall to unite themselves with their friends ; tell them no longer to retard our operations by affected delays ; tell them it is vain to employ stratagems like this to induce us to alter our firm resolutions. Rather let them, as worthy imitators of their Master, renounce a luxury which consumes the funds of indigence ; dismiss those insolent lackeys who attend you ; sell your superb equipages, and convert these vile superfluities into aliment for the poor.’ ”

A confused murmur followed this speech. It was pronounced by Maximilian Robespierre, a name at which all France was soon compelled to tremble.

After wasting several weeks in this unprofitable resistance, the Commons resolved to declare themselves the representatives of the nation without soliciting the accession of the two other estates. The chamber of nobles, said the Abbé Sieyès, represents 150,000 individuals, and we 25,000,000. If we yield, we shall subject twenty-five millions to the yoke of a few thousands of the privileged orders. It was determined on the 17th of June, 1789, by a majority of 400, to assume the title of National Assembly ; and notice was sent to the other orders that they would forthwith constitute themselves with or without their adherence. By this step they assumed the whole power of the kingdom, which neither the crown nor the nobility were afterwards able to wrest from their hands. The monarch was timid ; the ministry was weak ; the

higher classes were divided, while decision, courage and ambition animated the proceedings of their opponents.

A few days afterwards the commons received a great accession of strength, being joined by 148 of the clergy, who participated in their feelings and were resolved to share their danger. This reinforcement was led by the archbishop of Vienne, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, and the bishop of Chartres. They were welcomed with tears of joy and shouts of congratulation; but who could have foreseen, says Mr. Alison, that in a few weeks the whole ecclesiastical body were to be reduced to beggary by those who now received them as deliverers, and that a clergyman could not appear in the streets without being exposed to the grossest insults! Such is the fate of those who think by concessions, dictated by fear, to arrest the march of a revolution. Bailly was chosen president of the assembly, and was hailed by the encomiums of the members as a noble patriot, who was crowning a life of scientific labours by the most disinterested exertions in behalf of his country. But could the eye of prophecy at that time have unveiled the future, it would have discovered this idol of the people shivering, on his fall, on the Champs de Mars, with his arms tied behind his back, and the guillotine suspended over his head, condemned by the assembly, execrated by the multitude, subjected to a cruel and protracted punishment to gratify the hatred of the populace, to support whom he now incurred these dangers.

On the 23d of June the king appeared among the representatives, where, after gently lamenting the spirit of faction which had already begun to prevail, he granted all the concessions desired by the friends of reform. In particular he abolished the pecuniary privileges and exemption from taxation enjoyed by the nobles and clergy; put an end to the *taille* and the impost of *Franc fief*; regulated the expenses of the royal household; provided for the consolidation of the public debt; secured the liberty of the press; established the security of property and of titles of honour; regulated the criminal code, the personal freedom of the subject, and provided for the maintenance of the public roads, the equality of contributions, and the establishment of provincial assemblies. With truth could the monarch exclaim, "I may say without fear of self-deception, that never king did so much for his subjects as I have done for mine; but what other could so well deserve it as the people of France?" He concluded by commanding them to dissolve and meet the following day in their separate chambers. The clergy and nobles yielded to his authority, but the commons kept possession of the hall. When the master of the ceremonies entered to remind the members of the wishes and intentions expressed by the sovereign, Mirabeau addressed them as follows:—

"Gentlemen, I admit the concessions made by the king would be sufficient for the public good, if the presents of despotism were not always dangerous. What is the insolent dictatorship to which you are subjected? Is this display of arms, this violation of the national sanctuary, the fitting accompaniment of a boon to the people? Who prescribes these rules? Your mandatory; he who should receive your commands instead of giving them to you. The liberty of deliberation is destroyed; a military force surrounds the assembly. I propose that, acting with becoming dignity, you adhere to the spirit of your oath and refuse to separate till you have completed the constitution."

Then turning to the master of the ceremonies, he continued, "Tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we will not be expelled but at the point of the bayonet." They then resolved to ratify all their proceedings, and declared the persons of the members inviolate.

This revolutionary vigour on the part of the tiers etat was rewarded by the accession of the Duke of Orleans and forty-six of the nobility. The king recommended that the whole of the upper house should join the commons; a measure which was eloquently opposed by the more constitutional of the peers.

"Your majesty," said the Duke of Luxembourg, "has every thing to fear from a single assembly, which has already manifested its violence by a rash and illegal oath. If that assembly beholds us arrive within its walls, what advantage will it not derive from so signal a victory! What can we expect from a body which has so often sworn our ruin? Our presence will increase its consideration, without diminishing its ambition. Apart from the Tiers Etat we form at least a barrier against its fury. Our position is doubtless full of dangers, but we will cheerfully face them in defence of the throne." "No," exclaimed the king with emotion, "I cannot allow my faithful nobles to engage in so unequal a struggle. It is alike my wish and my duty to save them from such manifest perils. My resolution is formed; I will not suffer a single person to perish on my account. Tell the nobles that I intreat them to unite with the other orders; if that is not sufficient, as their sovereign I command them."

The order was obeyed; the nobles and clergy joined the tiers etat, where they were speedily lost in an overwhelming majority. The result has been written in blood; the humane, passive temper of the king encouraged his enemies while it disheartened his friends; and the crown was soon trodden under foot by the most furious rabble that ever disgraced a civilized country.

The court, when too late, made an ineffectual attempt at resistance. Troops were collected in the vicinity of the capital, and such regiments as could be trusted were brought near the residence of the royal family.

"Marshal," said Louis to De Broglie, to whom he confided the

command of the guard, "you are come to assist a king without money, without forces; for I cannot disguise from you that the spirit of revolt has made great progress in my armies. My last hope is in your honour and fidelity. You will fulfil the dearest wishes of my heart, if you can succeed, without violence or the effusion of blood, in frustrating the designs of those who menace the throne, and which would ere long bring misery on my people."

The old commander, ignorant of the task which he had undertaken, made promises which he possessed not the power to realize.

The dismissal of Necker brought matters to a crisis. Paris was thrown into the utmost consternation by the intelligence. Fury immediately succeeded to alarm; the theatres were closed; the Palais Royal resounded with the cry "to arms;" and a leader, who soon acquired a fatal distinction, Camille Desmoulins, gave the signal for insurrection by breaking a branch off a tree in the gardens, which he placed in his hat. The whole foliage was instantly stripped, and the crowds decorated themselves with the symbols of revolt. "Citizens," he exclaimed, "the moment for action has arrived; the dismissal of M. Necker is the signal for a St. Bartholomew of the patriots; this very evening the Swiss and German battalions will issue from the Champs de Mars to massacre us; one resource alone is left, which is to fly to arms." The multitude at once adopted his proposal, and decked with green boughs marched through the streets, bearing in triumph the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans. They were attacked by some dragoons and dispersed; one of the populace and a soldier of the French guards were killed; and theirs was the first blood shed in the Revolution. Camille Desmoulins, the "first apostle of liberty," soon afterwards died on the scaffold, a victim to the blind rage which he took so much pains to excite.

The storming of the Bastille on the 14th of July marked an era in the progress of revolt; and a bloody revenge stained the first triumph of the arms of freedom.

"The garrison had capitulated to the guards on the promise of safety, and the brave governor, Delaunay, had only been prevented by that assurance from setting fire to the powder magazine and blowing the fortress and its assailants into the air. But the military were unable to restrain the fury of the populace. During the assault a daughter of one of the officers was seized by the crowd; they proposed to burn her alive unless the place were instantly surrendered, and had actually placed her on a mattress and set fire to it for that purpose, when the atrocious attempt was frustrated by one of the French guards, who descended from the escalade and saved their victim. All the efforts of the soldiers, who had really gained the victory, could not restrain the blood-thirsty vengeance of the people. The governor Delaunay, and three other officers

fell, pierced by numerous wounds, in the arms of the guard who were striving to protect them. The mob seized their dying remains, hung them up on the lamp-posts, and having cut off their heads and one of their hands, carried these bloody trophies aloft on the point of pikes to the central committee in the Place de Grève, amid shouts of triumph and yells of revenge."

These occurrences taught the king that resistance was now hopeless, and that no expedient remained whereby he might prevent the effusion of blood but an immediate submission to the will of the assembly. Repairing to their hall accompanied only by his two brothers, he addressed them in these terms:—

"Gentlemen, I am come to consult you on the most important affairs; the frightful disorders of the capital call for instant attention. It is in these moments of alarm that the chief of the nation comes, without guards, to deliberate with his faithful deputies upon the means of restoring tranquillity. I know that the most unjust reports have been for some time in circulation as to my intentions, that even your personal freedom has been represented as being in danger. I should think my character might be a sufficient guarantee against such calumnies. As my only answer I come now alone into the midst of you: I declare myself for ever united with the nation, and, relying on the fidelity of the National Assembly, I have given orders to remove the troops from Versailles and Paris; and I invite you to make my dispositions known to the capital."

The king followed up this popular measure by the resolution of visiting the metropolis in person. In his progress he found himself accompanied not only by a number of the national assembly but also by a crowd of peasants, armed with scythes and bludgeons; and after a march of seven hours, obstructed by such strange attendants, he reached the gates of Paris. He was immediately conducted to the Hotel de Ville, through the midst of more than a hundred thousand armed men, under an arch formed of crossed sabres. When he appeared at a window with the tri-colour cockade on his breast, the air was rent with acclamations, though till this moment his ears had not been saluted with any hearty applause.

This compliance with the popular will, as well as the circumstances with which it was attended, alarmed the nobility to such a degree that many of them left the country. The emigration of so large a body, amounting to seventy thousand, has been generally condemned; but when we reflect on the furious passions which threatened their lives, and the slight hold they had on the affections of the lower orders, by whose means alone they could have made any effectual stand, we cannot feel surprised that they preferred a doubtful flight to a certain death. Experience of the thousand evils arising from vulgar domination was necessary to

produce a re-action in favour of a constitutional monarchy; and it will be readily admitted that, could the noblesse have reserved themselves till the royalist spirit was manifested at Lyons and in La Vendee, their services in the cause of order would have been very important. The defection of the troops and the madness of the people rendered hopeless every effort to stem the torrent in the year 1789, more especially at the instance of a class of men whose privileges and insolence were announced among the grievances which had excited the popular indignation. In fact, long lists of proscription had for a considerable time been fixed at the entrances of the Palais Royal, at the head of which was M. Foulon, already above seventy years of age, who had been appointed to the ministry which succeeded that of Neckar, but never entered upon his office.

“ He was seized in the country, and brought into Paris with his hands tied behind his back. The vengeance of the people could not wait for the forms of trial and condemnation; they broke into the committee-room where he was undergoing an examination before La Fayette and Bailly, and, in spite of the most strenuous efforts on their part, tore him from their arms and hung him up to a lamp-post. Twice the fatal cord broke, and the agonized wretch fell to the ground in the midst of the multitude; and twice they suspended him again amidst peals of laughter and shouts of joy. It was with such terrific examples of wickedness that the regeneration of the social body commenced in France. M. Berthier, son-in-law to M. Foulon, shared the same fate. He was arrested at Compeigne, and after undergoing the utmost outrages on the road, was brought to the Hotel de Ville, where the mob presented to him the head of his relation yet streaming with blood. He averted his eyes, and as they continued to press it towards his face, bowed to the ghastly remains. The efforts of Bailly and La Fayette were again unsuccessful; he was seized by the mob and dragged towards the lamp-post; but at the sight of the cord, which they prepared to put about his neck, he was seized with a transport of indignation, and wresting a musket from one of the National Guards, rushed into the troop of his assassins and fell covered with innumerable wounds. One of the cannibals fell on his body and tore out his heart, which he bore about in triumph almost before it had ceased to beat. The heads of Berthier and Foulon were put on the ends of pikes, and paraded in the midst of an immense crowd through the streets of Paris.” . . . “ At Caen and several other towns, the massacres of the metropolis were too faithfully imitated. M. de Belzunce, who endeavoured to restrain the excesses of his regiment, was put to death with the most aggravated circumstances of cruelty; his remains were literally *devoured* by his murderers. Every where the peasants rose in arms, attacked and burnt the chateaux of the landlords, and massacred or expelled the possessors. In their blind fury they did not even spare those seigneurs who were known to be inclined to the popular side, or had done the most to mitigate their sufferings or support their rights.

The most cruel tortures were inflicted on the victims who fell into their hands, many had the soles of their feet roasted over a slow fire before being put to death; others had their hair and eye-brows burnt off while they destroyed their dwellings, after which they were drowned in the nearest fish pond. The Marquis de Barras was cut into little bits before his wife, far advanced in pregnancy, who shortly after died of horror; the roads were covered with young women of rank and beauty flying from death, and leading their aged parents by the hand. It was amidst the cries of agony, and by the light of conflagration, that liberty arose in France."

Matters were now fast hastening to the crisis of the 5th of October, when the mob from Paris burst into the palace at Versailles, insulted the king and queen, attacked the body guard, invaded the hall of the assembly, and finally compelled Louis and his family to remove to the capital. We have been informed on good authority that Mounier intreated the unhappy monarch, in private, to oppose by force the violence of the multitude, to hoist the royal standard, and to throw himself on the protection of his loyal subjects, in the army and in the legislature, who could no longer shut their eyes to the manifest danger with which the stability of their best institutions was menaced. Thiers asserts that the president recommended to his sovereign the simple adoption of the articles proposed by the assembly and a recognition of the rights of man; and that it was the queen who urged vigorous measures, an instant appeal to arms for the defence of the kingdom. There is no inconsistency between the two accounts; for the acceptance of the constitution did not preclude the most strenuous efforts to protect the throne, which was already tottering under the assault of an infuriated populace.

It was on the 8th of October, 1789, that the royal family left Versailles at the command of the mob and took up their residence at Paris. A hundred members of the Assembly accompanied them, as also a detachment of the national volunteers under La Fayette; but all their exertions were unable to prevent the people from carrying at the head of the procession the heads of two privates of the body guard who had been murdered under the windows of the palace. The remains of that guard, almost all wounded and in the deepest dejection, followed his majesty's carriage; around it were cannon dragged by the multitude and bestrode by drunken women; from every side arose shouts of triumph mingled with revolutionary songs. After a painful journey Louis entered his capital, and was conducted to the Hotel de Ville, whence he was removed to the Tuileries, which was henceforth to be at once his palace and his prison.

Thus, to use the words of Mr. Alison, terminated the first era

of the French Revolution; a period more fruitful in great events than any which had occurred since the foundation of the monarchy. Just five months had elapsed since the meeting of the States General, and during that time not only the power of the sovereign had been overthrown but the very structure of society changed. Instead of an absolute government had succeeded a turbulent democracy; instead of an obsequious nobility, a discontented legislature; and instead of the pride of ancient authority there had arisen the insolence of newly-acquired power. The right of tithes, the most venerable institution of the christian church; the feudal privileges, coeval with the first conquest of Gaul by the followers of Clovis; and the immunities of corporations purchased by the blood of infant freedom, had all perished. The principle of universal equality had been recognised; all authority admitted to flow from the people; and the right of insurrection numbered among the most sacred of the social duties. Changes which in England have been with difficulty produced since the days of Alfred, were effected in France in less than half a year.

The following remarks, just and wise considered even in the abstract, have an application to our own circumstances, which cannot fail to give them a peculiar interest.

"It is no apology for the constituent assembly to say that they committed no violence themselves; that their measures were adopted from the purest philanthropy; that they were themselves the victims of the faction which disgraced the revolution. In public men we expect not merely good intentions, but prudent conduct; it is no excuse to those who have done evil, to assert that they did so that good might come of it. If we pull down with too much haste we do as much mischief as if we retain with too much obstinacy; the virtuous should always recollect that if they remove the half, the reckless will speedily destroy the whole." . . . "The danger of political innovations arises not from their immediate but their ultimate consequences; not from those who originate, but from those who follow them up. Changes once rashly commenced cannot easily be stopped; the fever of innovation seizes the minds of the energetic part of mankind, and the prudent speedily become unable to stem the torrent. The prospect of gain rouses the ambitious and the reckless; they issue from obscurity to share the spoil, and in the struggle rapidly acquire an ascendancy. They do so because they are not restrained by the scruples which influence the good, nor by the apprehensions which paralyse the opulent. Having nothing to lose they are indifferent as to the consequences of their actions; having no principles they accommodate themselves to those of the most numerous and least worthy of the people. Revolutions are chiefly dangerous because they bring such characters into public situations; the constituent assembly was chiefly blameable because it pursued a course which roused them from every part of France." . . . "They themselves were the first to experience the truth of these principles. In their haste to subdue the

throne they raised the people, and speedily became subjected to the power which they expected to govern. The victory of the 5th of October was not less over the legislature than the throne; brought to Paris without protection, they were at the mercy of the populace, and not less enthralled than the king in his prison. The ultimate consequence did not appear for some years; but the reign of terror flowed naturally from the publication of the rights of man, and the decimation of the convention from the rashness of the constituent assembly." . . . "The errors of the Constituent Assembly may all be traced to one source; the evils of despotism were recent and had been experienced, those of democracy remote and hitherto unfelt. No such excuse will remain for any subsequent legislature. If the French Revolution had done nothing else, it has conferred a lasting benefit on mankind by exposing the consequences of hasty innovation, and writing in characters of blood the horrors of anarchy on the page of history. Let us hope that the dreadful lesson has not been taught in vain; that a whole generation has not perished under the guillotine or been crushed beneath the car of ambition only to make way for a refutation of the errors by future ages; and that from the sanguinary annals of its sufferings the great truth may be learned that true wisdom consists in repairing not destroying, and that nothing can retard the march of freedom but the violence of its supporters."

Several of the wiser and more moderate among the friends of liberty retired from the Assembly, smitten with the painful conviction that they could no longer serve their country. Of these the most distinguished were Mounier and Lally Tollendal; the latter of whom justified his conduct in the following terms:—

"My health renders my continuance in the assembly impossible; but laying that aside I could no longer endure the horror occasioned by that blood, those heads, that queen half-murdered, that king led captive in the midst of assassins, and preceded by the heads of the unhappy guards who had died in his service; those murderers, those female cannibals, that infernal cry *a la lanterne tous les évêques*; Mirabeau exclaiming that the vessel of the revolution, far from being arrested in its course, would now advance with more rapidity than ever. These are the circumstances which have induced me to fly from that den of cannibals where my voice could no longer be heard, and where for six weeks I strove in vain to raise it."

At a later period Mounier came to London, where he had an interview with George the Third, who was extremely desirous to receive information from one so well qualified to give it, in regard as well to the temper of the French nation as the successive steps by which the leaders of the people had arrived at the overthrow of the monarchy. The king put his questions with great discernment and clearness; and after having heard the history of that memorable revolt he replied:—"Well, Mounier, no one knows how soon a similar attempt may be made in other countries, and

‘ even in England. But my resolution is taken. If necessity should ever require it, I will take the field at the head of my friends, and die among them, if such be the will of Providence, with the sword in my hand. They shall never drag me to a scaffold as they did Louis the Sixteenth.”’

We have here given the substance of the remarks made by our beloved monarch, on the authority of a distinguished person to whom the ex-president of the national assembly communicated them during his retreat in Germany.

We cannot follow the footsteps of the popular government of France through their progress of confiscation, plunder and murder. The church fell among the first victims of spoliation, as having the least power to resist. The arguments which prevailed with the Assembly were, as Mr. Alison observes, the same as those urged on similar occasions by all who endeavour to seize the property of public bodies. “ It was said that religion, if really true, would be able to maintain itself; that the public would support those who best discharged its duties; and that no preference should be given to the professors of any peculiar faith. But experience has demonstrated that these arguments are fallacious, and that religion speedily falls into discredit in a country where its teachers are not amply maintained at the public expense. The marked neglect of pious usages among them, ever since the Revolution, is a sufficient proof that property and also a certain share of worldly splendour is requisite to support even the cause of truth among a rich and civilized people. If individuals are left to themselves they will probably act wisely enough in most things that concern their worldly comfort and convenience; but it does not follow that they will fix upon the best religious guides. The ardent will prefer, not the most reasonable, but the most captivating; the indifferent, the most accommodating; and the wicked, who most require spiritual direction, will seek none at all. An established church and ecclesiastical property are expedient, inasmuch as they relieve the teachers of religion from the painful necessity of bending to the views, or sharing in the fanaticism of the age. Those who live by the support of the public will never be backward in conforming to its inclinations. When children may be allowed to select the medicines they are to take in sickness, or the young the education which is to fit them for the world, the clergy may be left to the support of the public, but not till then.”

The Legislative Assembly, which in 1791 succeeded that known as the Constituent or National, showed a still more decided bias towards democracy. The king opened its sittings on the 1st of October; but it had been decreed that the royal titles of “ Sire”

and "Your Majesty" should be discontinued, and that he should occupy a chair in all respects similar to the one used by the president. Louis would not consent to the latter condition; but the members indemnified themselves for the concession they consented to make, by taking their seats as soon as he sat down, and in other matters treated him with so little reverence that when he returned to the palace he burst into a flood of tears. The spirit of the new assembly was expressed by one of the deputies when he said, "Et nous aussi, nous voulons faire une Revolution." So rapid was the progress towards a republic, that the democrats of the first assembly were esteemed as aristocrats in the second.

The 20th of June, 1792, is remarkable for the insurrection of the populace, which threatened at once the lives of all the royal family and the very existence of the legislature. The conduct of the king throughout the whole of that agitating day was distinguished for firmness and self-possession; though it must be acknowledged that his courage was more suitable to the character of a martyr than of a great sovereign. As they were retiring before the furious multitude, the princess Elizabeth was mistaken for the queen and loaded with maledictions. She forbade her attendants to explain the mistake, happy to draw upon herself the perils and opprobrium directed against her august relative. Santerre shortly after approached and assured her that she had nothing to fear; that the people were come to warn but not to strike. He handed her a red cap, which she put on the head of the dauphin. The princess royal, a few years older, was weeping at the side of the queen; the boy, with the innocence of childhood, smiled at the scene by which he was surrounded. A young officer, his college companion, was a witness from the garden of the Tuileries, of the humiliations and insults thus heaped on the royal household. He expressed great regret at the conduct of the populace and the imbecility of the ministers; but when the king appeared at the window with the cap of liberty on his head, he could no longer restrain his indignation. "The wretches!" he exclaimed, "they should cut down the first five hundred with grape-shot, and the remainder would soon take to flight." He lived to put his principles in practice on the very same spot—it was Napoleon Buonaparte.

The municipality of Paris had already usurped the government, and left to the Assembly and functionaries of state only a nominal or, at the most, a co-ordinate authority. The jacobin club, stimulated by the infamous Marat, and led by the sanguinary Robespierre, dictated the measures pursued by the pikemen of the suburbs, the myrmidons of Santerre, and the hired assassins from all parts of the kingdom. On the 10th of August, the work of

violence was consummated; their majesties were compelled to take refuge within the walls of the legislature; the Tuilleries was forced by armed bands; the Swiss guards were either slain in the defence of their post or separately murdered; and the throne of France was declared vacant. Nothing now remained but the mockery of a trial to realize all the intentions of the Jacobins—the execution of the king and the establishment of a commonwealth. During three days the royal family remained at the building of the Feuillans; but on the 13th, the assembly, at the command of the commune, directed that they should be conveyed to the Temple. Notwithstanding the excitement of the populace, many tears were shed as the melancholy procession passed through the streets. The carriage, conveying eleven persons, was stopped on the Place Vendome that they might be compelled to contemplate the fragments of the statue of Louis XIV; and at length the doors of the prison closed upon its victims, and “the king commenced the immortal and spotless days of his life.”

There is nothing more remarkable in the history of the French Revolution than the contrast between the mild and gentle spirit of those who continued to believe in the gospel and the savage ferocity of the infidels by whom the cause of liberty was disgraced. When Louis found himself alone in the house of the Feuillans he gave utterance to the agonized feelings of his heart in prayer. “Thy trials, O God, are dreadful; give us courage to bear them. We adore the hand that chastens as that which has so often blessed us; have mercy on those who have died fighting in our defence.” The royal captives soon began to feel the pressure of actual want; all their effects had been pillaged or destroyed; the dauphin was indebted for a change of linen to the lady of the English ambassador, and the queen was reduced to the necessity of borrowing twenty-five louis from Madame Anguie, one of the ladies of the bed-chamber; a fatal loan, which was afterwards made the occasion of her trial and death.

The government immediately fell into the hands of Danton, Robespierre and Marat, whose characters are ably delineated by the author.

“Marat,” says he, “was the worst of the triumvirate. Nature had impressed the atrocity of his character upon his countenance; hideous features, the expression of a demon, revolted all who approached him. For more than three years his writings had incessantly stimulated the people to cruelty; buried in obscurity he revolved in his mind the means of augmenting the victims of the revolution. In vain repeated accusations were directed against him; flying from one subterraneous abode to another, he still continued his infernal agitation of the public mind. His principles were that there was no safety but in destroying the whole

enemies of the revolution; he was repeatedly heard to say that there would be no security to the state till 280,000 heads had fallen. The revolution produced many men who carried into execution more sanguinary measures; none who exercised so powerful an influence in recommending them. Death cut him short in the midst of his relentless career; the band of female heroism prevented his falling a victim to the savage exasperation which he had so large a share in creating."

Danton was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the insurrection of the 10th of August. During the night preceding the attack he repeatedly visited the quarters of the revolutionary troops and encouraged their ardour. As minister he was also guilty of sanctioning the massacres in prison. Yet Danton was not a mere blood-thirsty tyrant. Bold, unprincipled, and daring, he held that, in any case, the end justified the means; that nothing was blamable provided it led to desirable results; and that nothing was impossible with those who had courage to attempt it. A gigantic stature, a commanding front, a voice of thunder rendered him the fit leader of assassins more timid or less ferocious than himself. A starving advocate in 1789, he rose in audacity and eminence with the public disturbances; prodigal in expense and drowned in debt, he had no chance, at any period, even of personal freedom, but in constantly advancing with the fortunes of the Revolution. Like Mirabeau he was the slave of sensual passions; like him he was the terrific leader, during his ascendancy, of the ruling class; but he shared the character, not of the patricians who commenced the revolution, but of the plebeians who consummated its wickedness.

Robespierre possessed a very different character. Without the ability of his rival, without his domineering temper or undaunted courage, he was endowed with qualities which ultimately raised him to the head of affairs. Destitute of splendid talents, and ungainly in appearance, with a feeble voice and vulgar accent, he owed his elevation chiefly to the obstinacy with which he maintained his opinions at a time when the popular cause had lost many of its supporters.

"Under the mask of patriotism was concealed the incessant influence of vanity and selfishness; cautious in conduct, slow but implacable in revenge, he avoided the perils which proved fatal to so many of his adversaries, and ultimately established himself on their ruin. Insatiable in his thirst for blood, he disdained the more vulgar passion for money; at a time when he disposed of the life of every man in France, he resided in a small apartment, whose only lustre consisted in images of his figure, and the number of mirrors which, in every direction, reflected its form. While the other leaders of the populace affected a squalid dress and dirty linen, he alone appeared in elegant attire. The approach of death unveiled his real weakness; when success was hopeless his firmness deserted

him ; and this assassin of thousands met his fate with less courage than the meanest of his victims."

Under the auspices of such wretches the massacre of the 2d Sept. was no unnatural event ; the prisons were filled with suspected individuals, amounting in number to several thousands, who had been arrested during the domiciliary visits of the preceding days. A band of 300 assassins, directed and paid by the magistrates, assembled round the doors of the Hotel de Ville, where their natural ferocity was excited by a liberal supply of ardent spirits. Money was given to encourage some of the less determined, and the savage cohort marched through the streets singing revolutionary songs. Twenty-four priests, arrested for refusing to take the new oath, were conveyed to the prison of the Abbaye, and no sooner had they arrived there than they were surrounded by a furious multitude and cruelly butchered. The cries of these victims, who were literally hewn to pieces, first drew the eyes of the other prisoners to the fate which awaited them ; and they, too, were speedily turned out to the vengeance of the populace. The forms of justice were prostituted in the most shameful manner. Torn from their dungeons they were hurried before a tribunal, where the president, Maillard, sat by torch-light, with a drawn sabre before him, and his robes drenched with blood, while officers, with drawn swords, and shirts stained with gore, surrounded his chair.

"A few minutes, often a few seconds, disposed of the fate of each individual ; dragged from the pretended judgment-hall they were turned out to the populace, who thronged round the doors armed with sabres, panting for slaughter, and with loud cries demanded a quicker supply of victims. No executioners were required ; the people dispatched the condemned with their own hands, and sometimes enjoyed the savage pleasure of beholding them run a considerable distance before they expired. Immured in the upper chambers of the building, the other prisoners endured the agony of witnessing the prolonged sufferings of their comrades : a dreadful thirst added to their tortures, and the inhuman jailors refused even a draught of water to their entreaties. Some had the presence of mind to observe in what attitude death soonest relieved its victims, and resolved when their hour arrived, to keep their hands down, lest by warding off the strokes they should prolong their sufferings."—"The populace in the court of the Abbaye complained that the foremost only got a strike at the prisoners, and that they were deprived of the pleasure of murdering the aristocrats. It was in consequence agreed that those in advance should only strike with the backs of their sabres, and that the wretched victims should be made to run the gauntlet through a long avenue of murderers, each of whom should have the satisfaction of striking them before they expired. The women in the adjoining quarter of the city made a formal demand to the commune

for lights to see the massacre, and a lamp was in consequence placed near the spot where the victims issued, amidst the shouts of the spectators. As each successive prisoner was turned out of the gate, yells of joy rose from the multitude, and when he fell they danced like cannibals round his remains."—"Similar tragedies took place at the same time in all the other jails of Paris, and in the religious houses which were filled with victims. In the prison of Carmes above 200 of the clergy were assembled; in the midst of them was the Archbishop of Arles, venerable for his years and his virtues, and several other prelates. Arranged round the altar they heard the cries of the assassins who clamoured at the gates; a few, yielding to the dictates of terror, had escaped and were beyond the reach of danger, when, struck with shame at deserting their brethren in such an extremity, they returned and shared their fate. Awed by the sublimity of the scene the wretches hastened the work of destruction, lest the hearts of the spectators should be softened as the massacre began; the archbishop repeated the prayer for those in the agonies of death, and they expired imploring forgiveness for their murderers. Many were offered their life on condition of taking the Revolutionary oath; all refused and died in the faith of their fathers. Among the slain were several curates who had been eminent for their charity in the famine of 1789; they received death from the hands of those whom they saved from its horrors."

We cannot follow the author through his interesting chapters, where are described the trial and execution of the king; the war on the frontiers, so ill managed by the allies; the vigorous measures of the Convention while threatened with invasion; the judicial murders in the metropolis, including the fall of successive tyrants; the insurrection of La Vendee, and the various fortunes of the Royalists; the story of Lyons, and the sanguinary retribution which befell that fated city; the history of Poland, and the views of the great powers by whom its territories were seized; the gradual rise of a military government; the revolt of the Sections of Paris against the Convention; the campaigns of 1794 and 1795; the conclusion of the reign of terror; and the establishment of the Directory.

The value of the two volumes already published by Mr. Alison may be estimated by the abstract which we have endeavoured to give of their contents, and cannot fail to create in the mind of the reader an eager desire to see the work completed. This "*History of the French Revolution*" is recommended by its honest impartiality; dealing out to all the parties concerned in its awful events the credit of good motives, whenever their conduct will allow such an exercise of charity, and ascribing even the worst actions of the most atrocious among the popular tyrants, to the malign influence of the times rather than to any peculiar appetite for blood, or love of guilty enjoyment. The warmest republican cannot accuse the

author of distorting facts, or of drawing from them unjust inferences; while the friends of order, on the other hand, will find much in his volumes to confirm their attachment to the equal rule of a limited monarchy, and their dislike to the dominion of the multitude, under whatever form its pretensions may be advanced. There is also a rich fund of moral and political reflection, very judiciously applied to the momentous occurrences which mark the progress of innovation among the French reformers. The import, indeed, is so obvious, and the lesson conveyed to other nations is so intelligible, that he may read who runneth. The pious, in like manner, will derive gratification from that modest and amiable strain of teaching which directs the mind to the indications of a Providential guidance, even amidst the darkness and confusion so frequently resulting from the madness of the people. Often opposed by the most formidable obstructions, the current of improvement nevertheless still moves on; and when the cloud raised by the passions of men is dispelled, the lines of their inheritance seem to reflect a brighter sun, and to repose under a happier atmosphere than they ever before enjoyed. On some occasions our faith is not so strong as that of Mr. Alison, but we venerate not the less the elevated principle which suggests to the historical student the promotion of ultimate good while the eye is painfully fixed on the deep traces of sorrow, disappointment, suffering, and crime.

The style, generally speaking, is spirited and correct. In some places, perhaps, as the materials are drawn directly from French sources, the idiom of the original language obtrudes itself through the English phrase. There are also a few instances where the wearied eye has passed over repetitions of the same words and expressions, which might easily have found substitutes in synonymous terms, and thereby obviated the charge of verbal poverty. But take the book as a whole it will stand a comparison with the most successful that have lately issued from the press, and bids fair to assume a lasting place among the standard works of modern history.

ART. IV.—*Theological Library, Vol. IV.—The Life of Archbishop Cranmer.* By C. W. Le Bas, M.A. Professor in the East India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Rivingtons. 1833.

IF the length of a Review were to be considered a measure of the merits of a work, we should devote a large space to the publication now before us. But we shall confine ourselves within the limits of two or three pages, because so much has been lately written upon the Reformation in our Church, that we could hardly hope to throw a fuller light upon the subject; and because the task of criticism is considerably abridged, where little else but praise is to be awarded; where, too, the production wants no eulogium in order to make it read and appreciated.

The Life of Archbishop Cranmer is quite worthy of the talents and reputation of Mr. Le Bas. We need scarcely say more; for, in saying this, we give the best guarantee for depth and accuracy of knowledge, soundness and copiousness of reflection, and glowing eloquence of style. That these volumes are not characterized by so exuberant a richness of diction, as the author's command of imagery and language has thrown round some of his other writings is, we think, rather a beauty than a defect in a biographical narrative. One chief aim of Mr. Le Bas appears to have been to relieve the memory of Cranmer from the aspersions which have been cast upon his character; aspersions, which have run through the whole *gamut* of vituperation from the "*false Cranmer*" of early writers to the "*unprincipled Cranmer*" of the present Bishop of Maronia! And certainly we cannot rise from the perusal of this history without feeling the subject of it exalted in our eyes. It was a pious task; it could not have been placed in worthier hands; and it is nobly performed.

In the compilation of the present work Mr. Le Bas has diligently consulted and digested all the previous publications that could be subservient to his purpose. He particularly mentions, in a short preface, his obligations to Foxe, Burnett, Strype, and "the recent work of Mr. Todd." By the aid of these materials he has himself formed a production, which opens to us the springs of action and policy in those eventful times, and carries us along with a strong and unflagging interest. In the second volume he has made good use of the "complete collection of the Remains of Archbishop Cranmer, which has issued from the Clarendon Press at Oxford, under the editorial superintendence of the Rev. Henry Jenkyns, Fellow of Oriel College." The valuable labours of this gentleman ought not, perhaps, to be left without remark; but we think it better to dismiss them with a passing and general commendation, than either to give a merely brief and desultory

notice, or to enter into a more detailed examination, to which, however, nothing of novelty could be attached.

Mr. Le Bas has subjoined to both his volumes an Appendix, in which some curious details and papers will be found.

It would be an injustice to our readers not to make some few extracts from a Biography, which contains so many specimens of classical and sterling beauty in thought and composition. Yet we feel great difficulty in selection, simply because our extracts must be few; and, instead of seeking for portions the most distinguished by their eloquence and vigour, we must be contented with two or three passages, which can be taken by themselves with least injury to the context.

How graphic is the following account of Cromwell's Vicegerency, and how finely marked are the characteristic traits of this same personage, and some others among the contemporaries of Cranmer.

"The year 1533 was further remarkable for the elevation of Cromwell to the unprecedented office of vicegerent to the King in all Ecclesiastical affairs. The life of this extraordinary man exhibited a remarkable instance of the sportiveness of fortune. He was the son of a fuller, or according to others, of a blacksmith. His early life was distinguished by an ungovernable fondness for adventure. His first exploit was a journey to Rome, to solicit, on behalf of the good town of Boston, the costly grace of the greater and lesser pardons; a mission in which his light-hearted ingenuity succeeded to admiration. After some disastrous vicissitudes he returned to England, and became attached to the service of Cardinal Wolsey, whom he defended with conspicuous ability and zeal, when he was impeached by the Commons in the year 1529. Being at last dissatisfied with his situation, or perceiving that the Cardinal was doomed to destruction, Cromwell contrived to recommend himself to the King; to whom he rendered his services necessary, partly by his vigour and intelligence in the despatch of business, and partly, it may be conjectured, by the somewhat Machiavelian complexion of his political morality. The function to which he was now elevated was unknown, either in the theory or the practice of the British Constitution. Former kings may, indeed, have had their favourites, on whom they devolved much of the splendour and emolument, and all the cares of government. But Henry, by a formal and solemn appointment, raised his confidential minister to the office of Vicegerent, within his own immediate dominions, in all matters touching Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses in the Church. This title and appointment were afterwards recognized by the Legislature, as conferred by the King, in his character of "supreme head in earth, under God, of the Church of England;" and by the same Act precedence was assigned to the Vicegerent above the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a voice to assent or dissent in the same manner as any other Lord of Parliament.

"It was this commanding position which gave to Cromwell such vast influence in assisting to accomplish the great Ecclesiastical revolution. It appears that his thoughts were first seriously directed to religious subjects by the perusal of Erasmus's translation of the New Testament; the text of which he is said to have actually committed to memory, in the course of his journeyings on the continent. One effect of this mental discipline probably was to inspire him with a hearty contempt for the objects for which he had been originally despatched to Rome, and to engage him firmly in the cause of the Reformation. It was fortunate for the Archbishop that the prodigious powers of the Vicegerency were thus entrusted to one whose energies were devoted to many of the same objects, for which he was himself incessantly labouring, and whose policy committed him to an inveterate conflict with the abuses of the Papacy."—*Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 114—118.

"It was to be lamented that the interests of the Reformation were, at this time, but feebly represented by the friends and adherents of the Primate. The influence of its great patron, the Vicegerent himself, was beginning to ebb away. 'The blacksmith's son' was regarded with disdain by the Aristocracy, with jealousy by those who had once been his equals, and with hatred by many among the Clergy, whose supremacy he was thought to have usurped. His own personal qualities were not of sufficient power to bear him up against the weight of this hostility. He was energetic, unscrupulous, and consequently useful in the transactions of his master's business; but his character wanted the genuine stamp of greatness. There was nothing in it of that superiority which lifts up the head into the region of serenity, while the tempests are raging below. The professional auxiliaries of the Archbishop were wholly unequal to the approaching crisis. Hugh Latimer, then Bishop of Worcester, has been called the Apostle of England; and with undoubted justice, if Apostolic integrity and zeal could merit the title. But, in truth, he had but little of the genuine Apostolic prudence. He had the simplicity of the dove, with scarcely a particle of the serpent's wisdom. His honest impatience was perpetually apt to outrun the tardy and unequal pace of authority; and his almost rustic plainness sometimes endangered his cause, by exposing it to the contempt of cold-hearted or worldly men. His peculiarities, indeed, were so well known to the Archbishop that he found it expedient to administer to his venerable friend some grains of salutary caution, on his appointment to the office of a preacher to the Court. He wisely recommends him, in his sermons, 'to overpass all manner of speech, either aptly or suspiciously sounding against any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings; to the intent that the audience may have none occasion thereby, namely to slander your adversaries, which would seem to many that you were devoid of charity, and so much the more unworthy to occupy that room. Nevertheless, if such occasion be given by the word of God, let none offence or suspicion be unreprehended, especially if it be generally spoken, without affection. Furthermore, I would that you should study to comprehend your matter, that, in any condition, you stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half at the utmost. For,

by long expense of time, the king and the queen shall, peradventure, wax so weary at the beginning that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end.

"The character of Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, was another source of weakness and disunion. He, too, like Latimer, was grievously deficient in discretion; and, unlike him, he was irritable in temper, and most unstable in judgment. He had, unhappily, involved himself in a somewhat intemperate correspondence with the Vicar-General, upon a point of ecclesiastical discipline; and this at a time when all the resources of mutual confidence were required for the support of the Protestant interest. Of all the other prelates attached to the Reformation, by far the most active and judicious was Fox, Bishop of Hereford. But death had unfortunately deprived the cause of his services in the May of the preceding year; and never was any thing more disastrous than the choice of his successor! Our very children have learned to pronounce the name of Edmund Boner with abhorrence; and this was the man who was now to be advanced to the prelacy. He had first emerged into notice when the public mind was agitated by the question of the divorce. His turbulent activity in the cause recommended him to Cromwell, and raised him to the Archdeaconry of Leicester. His subsequent exertions completely won for him the confidence of the Reformers. Cranmer himself appointed him the Master of the Faculties. He was sent to supersede Gardiner as Ambassador to the French Court; and during his residence at Paris professed so fervent an interest in the progress of the English Bible and Testament, (of which an impression was then in preparation there,) that he was reckoned among the foremost champions of Scriptural truth. Towards the close of this year, 1539, while he was yet in France, Stokesley died; and Boner was elevated to the See of London. But by that time the influence which originally lifted him from obscurity had sunk into decay, and he quietly succeeded to the diocese and the principles of his predecessor. His subsequent history is well known. It is the history of a nature so detestably selfish and ferocious, that the darkest Paganism would have been disgraced by it.—*Cranmer*, vol. i. pp. 199—202.

If we sought for matters of deeper and more touching interest, we should wish to quote the whole account of Cranmer's trial at Oxford; but we have only room for the affecting history, which is given of his demeanour, from the time when he retracts his recantation, to the moment when he expires at the stake.

"The amazement and confusion of the assembly at the utterance of this speech may very easily be imagined. All his judges, and doubtless a very large portion of the audience, expected nothing from his lips but an open and penitent abjuration of his Protestant opinions. Instead of this, he proclaimed that he had nothing to repent of but his unworthy professions of the Romish faith. It was to no purpose that Lord Williams vehemently reminded him of his submission and dissembling, and exhorted him to remember himself and play the Christian man. The Archbishop remained unshaken. 'Alas! my Lord,' was his reply, 'I

have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for; and I cannot better play the Christian man than by speaking the truth, as I now do.' He further protested that, with regard to the doctrine of the Sacrament, he still believed precisely as he had written in his book against the Bishop of Winchester.

"By this time the exasperation of the Romanists had become outrageous. The assembly broke up, and the Archbishop was hurried to the place of execution. On his way thither one of the Friars, foaming with rage and disappointment, assailed him with reproaches for his inconstancy, and bade him remember his recantation; repeatedly crying out, 'Was it not thy own doing?' On his arrival at the stake he put off his garments with alacrity, and even with baste, and stood upright in his shirt. When his caps were taken off, his head appeared so bare that not a single hair could be discerned upon it. His beard, however, was long and thick, and his countenance altogether of such reverend gravity, that neither friend nor foe could look upon it without emotion. While the preparations for his death were completing, a Bachelor of Divinity, accompanied by two Spanish Friars, made one desperate effort to recall him to his apostacy. But their attempts were utterly fruitless. The Archbishop was only moved to repeat that he sorely repented of his recantation, because he knew it was contrary to the truth. On this the friars said, in Latin, to each other, 'Let us leave him to himself; the devil is surely with him, and we ought no longer to be near him.' Lord Williams became impatient of further delay, and ordered the proceedings to be cut short. Cranmer, therefore, took his surrounding friends by the hand, and bade them his last farewell; while his defeated monitor, the Bachelor, indignantly rebuked them for touching the heretic, and protested that he was bitterly sorry for having come into his company. He could not forbear, however, once more to urge his adherence to his recantation. The answer of Cranmer was, 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall first suffer punishment.'

"The fire was now speedily kindled; and Cranmer immediately made good his words by thrusting his right hand into the flame. He held it there with unflinching steadiness, exclaiming from time to time, 'This hand hath offended,—this unworthy hand!' So immoveable was his fortitude, that the spectators could plainly perceive the fire consuming his hand, before it had materially injured any other part of his frame. At last the pile became completely lighted, and then the fire soon did its work upon him. To the very last his resolution continued firm. When the flames mounted, so that he was almost enveloped by them, he appeared to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes, all the while were steadfastly raised towards heaven; and so long as the power of utterance remained, his swollen tongue was repeatedly heard to exclaim, 'This unworthy hand!—Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

"That Cranmer's 'patience in the torment, and courage in dying,' were worthy of the noblest cause is amply and generously attested by

the Roman Catholic spectator,* who has left us an account of his last sufferings. 'If,' says the writer of that narrative, 'it had been either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of the truth,—as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion,—I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any Father of ancient time.' There is a sort of traditional story that, after he was burnt, his heart was found unconsumed in the midst of the ashes. The tale is scarcely worth repeating. It is, indeed, just possible, that when the flames had nearly consumed the parts more immediately exposed to their action, the heart may have been separated from the body, and may have accidentally fallen upon a spot where the fire was less fierce, and there it may have been found comparatively uninjured, or at least in a state which might enable a spectator to distinguish it. And this may have given birth to a report which credulity or superstition might exalt into a miracle."†—*Cranmer*, vol. ii. pp. 246—249.

Nor can we forbear to add the reflections immediately following upon the fate of him whom Mr. Le Bas justly and felicitously denominates as "the great Master-builder of the Protestant Church of England."

"Thus perished Archbishop Cranmer; a man to whom the obligations of this country must ever be 'broad and deep;' for to his conscientious labours, and incomparable prudence and moderation, we are, under Providence, mainly indebted for the present fabric of our Protestant Church. The brightness of his last hour was preceded, it is true, by an awful interval of darkness. The shadows, however, most happily passed away from him; and his name resumed its lustre in the midst of the fires of his martyrdom. The revival of his courage was the bitterest of all imaginable disappointments to the Romish party. The final prostration of his integrity would, to them, have been a great and inestimable spoil. So blind was the impatience of the Church of Rome for the ruin of his fame, that it drove her to a prodigal application of her customary craft, such as must have tended only to the defeat of her purpose. She trod upon the victim whom she had allured into her toils, till his heart must have revolted against her perfidious cruelty. She thus, in effect, la-

* Our narrative of the martyrdom has been taken partly from the martyrology, but chiefly from the description of it contained in a letter from a Roman Catholic eye-witness to a friend; dated March 23, 1556, and printed from Foxe's MSS., by Strype, *Cranmer*, b. iii. c. 21.

† This story is omitted in the later editions of Foxe. But it seems to have been so implicitly credited by Strype, that he expresses his regret that the heart, which the fire had left inviolate, was not preserved in an urn!—*Strype's Cranmer*. b. iii. c. 21.

With his usual minuteness of detail, Strype has given us the following items of the charge for the burning of Cranmer:—

For an hundred of wood faggots	6s. 0d.	} Ibid.
For an hundred of half furze faggots	3 4	
For the carriage of them	0 8	
For two labourers	1 4	

From which we learn that the burning of a heretic usually cost the public about 11s. 4d.

boured unconsciously to rekindle the slumbering fires of his faith and virtue, and to defraud herself of the satisfaction of utterly murdering his reputation, before she consigned his body to torture and to death. Whether she might, at the last, have spared his life, and yet have been, eventually, gratified with his blood, is, indeed, a question which none can certainly determine, except Him who searcheth the heart. But yet if he is to be judged of man's judgment, it seems impossible to believe that he could long have endured the miseries of a dishonoured and despised old age. It appears that, all along, he was smitten with remorse and horror for yielding to the recoil of flesh and blood. He protested, just before his death, that 'he had oft repented him of his recantation;' and the truth of this saying is irresistibly established by his whole demeanour in his last agony, as represented to us by his honest and candid 'Roman Catholic reporter.' And when we look at his self-possession and alacrity at the stake, and recollect, at the same time, his constitutional defect of firmness, nothing can well be thought of more surprising than the heroism of his last hour. It has, indeed, been sometimes alleged, that he derived courage to retract, only from his despair of pardon. But his despair of pardon never can have inspired him with invincible fortitude, while the flames were devouring his flesh. His courage in the midst of sufferings (which might well extort groans, even from men made of more stubborn stuff than Cranmer,) can never have been the effect of hypocrisy and dissimulation. It is impossible that he could be merely playing a part, when he held his hand immovably in the fire that was scorching every nerve and sinew, and accused that hand as the guilty instrument of his disgrace. We have here, at least, a substantial proof that, at that moment, all anguish was light, compared with the agony of his deep but not despairing repentance. And justice demands of us, further to keep in mind that the language in which his penitence was proclaimed, relates wholly to his recent course of dissimulation. With regard to every other act of his life he expresses himself, throughout his persecution, like one who had exercised himself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

"In a word, then, we have seen Archbishop Cranmer in his last moments, surrounded, as it were, by the ruins of his own good fame; and yet, in the midst of that piteous wreck, enabled to resume his courage, and to rise, like the Apostle who denied his Lord, from the depths of human frailty to the honours of Christian martyrdom. It is scarcely to be credited that a man like this could have borne to live 'infamous and contented,' if the Church of Rome had allowed him to survive. Had his life been granted him, he must soon have loathed a gift, which would only have reserved him for sufferings worse than the bitterness of death. He might then, possibly, have sunk under the silent, though inglorious martyrdom of a wounded spirit; but, more probably, he would have been enabled to renew his strength, and to seek a refuge from his anguish by rushing, a voluntary martyr, into the flames."—*Cranmer*, vol. ii. pp. 250—252.

Mr. Le Bas is always skilful in the delineation of character; and in depicting so much that was wise and learned—so much

that was firm and inflexible,—so much that was good and venerable in the illustrious martyrs of English Protestantism,—he writes with a congenial spirit. We have not space to inquire, and the task would be an ungracious one at best, whether in describing the more ambiguous and equivocal parts of Cranmer's conduct, he may not have taken a view too uniformly favourable to the subject of his Memoir. In this case Mr. Le Bas errs, if he is in error at all, on the side not merely of charity but of gratitude. The purest fires of patriotism, and the holiest fires of religion must be extinct in every heart, which glows not with an ardent thrill of admiration at the very names of Ridley, and Latimer, and Cranmer. And if the last of these great men was guilty of occasional weakness upon rare and peculiar emergencies, we shall do well to remember the almost unequalled difficulties of his position, and the consummate prudence which he usually exhibited. Or, if his fortitude abandoned him for a moment; if, when his frame was jaded with physical weariness, and his spirit was exhausted by a thousand persecutions, and the incessant annoyances of disputants eager for his destruction, who had both might and cruelty upon their side; and his soul was tempted by the alternate threats and cajoleries of treacherous no less than malignant adversaries; if at such a time he quailed before the stake and the faggot with a pusillanimity as brief as it was disastrous, surely it is not for us to condemn him, when the danger is past, or to insult his memory with the bitterness of reproach. It is for us rather to reflect by what sublime and exalted courage he made atonement for his fault; and to bear in mind that, at a period when the flames of persecution are only a metaphor, it is impossible to say how the dreadful reality of those agonizing horrors might have shaken and appalled us. Still more the little spots and casual blemishes of character, from which our frail humanity can never be exempt, must be effaced in that blaze of glory which encircles the man who had a larger share than any of his contemporaries, and fellow-labourers in the cause of truth, in bequeathing to us the inestimable inheritance of the doctrines and liturgy of our Reformed Church.

But Mr. Le Bas has said these things far more forcibly and eloquently than we can say them. We shall conclude, therefore, by cordially recommending his volumes to public perusal and applause: and by expressing our belief that they especially enrich a series of works which bids fair to become a most valuable addition to the theological and general literature of the country.

ART. V.—*An Essay on the supposed existence of a Quadripartite and Tripartite Division of Tithes in England. Part II. With a Supplement containing an Inquiry into the Origin of the Quarta Pars Episcopalis of the Irish Church.* By the Rev. William Hale Hale, M.A. 8vo. pp. 61. London. 1833.

WE hope and trust that our readers have not forgotten the former part of this Essay, which was noticed by us immediately on its appearance. The main object of it was to show, and it did show triumphantly, that there is not extant one particle of evidence in support of the proposition, which claims a third or a fourth part of the tithes of England, as the legal property of the poor. Since that time, Mr. Hale has continued his laborious researches; and the result of his inquiries will be found to afford abundant confirmation to the same conclusion. That the destitute and the helpless have a moral right to assistance from the hand of their more prosperous brethren, neither he nor any man of common humanity ever dreams of denying. Neither is it disputable that the office of relieving the indigent is more especially incumbent on the members of the Christian ministry, according to the measure of their resources. But that the poor are invested with a positive and legal right to any definite share of the revenues of the Church, in this country at least, is a notion; for the establishment of which our History and Jurisprudence will be ransacked in vain. In fact, the poor have not, and they never had, any more claim to any precise fraction of the clerical possessions, than they have to a portion of the crown lands, or the estates of the Duke of Northumberland.

It is hardly to be expected, indeed, that Mr. Hale's masterly exposition should silence the outcry which echoes from one end of the kingdom to the other against the iniquitous rapacity of the clergy. The topic is infinitely too valuable to be lightly abandoned, either by Roman Catholics, or by Protestant Dissenters, or by wholesale dealers in revolution. There is no mistake—there *can be* no mistake—there *shall be* no mistake—in a doctrine, which, of itself, is almost potent enough to disgrace and to demolish the whole Hierarchy, and so to accomplish the warfare of reform. Just consider—what a horrid thing it would be, if it were to turn out, that the parsons are not, after all, a race of plunderers and speculators! The thought is not to be endured. He can be no friend to his country who suffers his convictions, as to this matter, to be stirred for a moment. What? are the sacred axioms and postulates of Utilitarian wisdom to be as reeds shaken by the wind? Is the silence of mouldering and for-

gotten volumes to be set up against the express testimony, or rather the oracular sentence, of an enlightened age? Forbid it, Reason, and Patriotism. The man is an enemy to the oppressed, and a traitor to the land of his birth, who dares to talk of authorities, or facts, or ancient almanacs, while the work of national regeneration is in hand. That the clergy are pickpockets, and robbers, and "gorbellied knaves," is a most useful, and therefore, a most irrefragable maxim. If canons and decrees, therefore, are to be brought up, they must and shall speak the same language: and if they stubbornly refuse, so much the worse for them! So much the worse for the constitutions and the practices of by-gone days. Let them all perish, together with the rest of the rubbish heaped up in the days of ignorance and superstition.

Mr. Hale himself must, of course, be aware that his appeal is to men who have exalted themselves into a magnanimous independence of argument and evidence. Nevertheless, he seems disposed to try his strength, in the presence of the Philistines, (assembled as they are to do sacrifice to Dagon their god), and to make for them what sport he can. To us, we confess, he does appear to have shaken the pillars of their house, till it is well-nigh ready to tumble into ruins. Whether the destruction will, likewise, eventually fall on his own head, and that of his brethren, time alone can show. In the meanwhile, let us calmly observe the progress of his achievements.

The poor—say the advocates of demolition—have an undoubted and indefeasible right to a full third part of the revenues, or at least of the tithes, of the parochial clergy. The poor—says Mr. Hale—have no such thing. Their claim is neither more nor less than that, which calamity and want have always, throughout Christendom, upon the charity of Christian men, and more particularly of Christian ministers. That no such claim, as that contended for, is recognized by the Ecclesiastical Law of England, he has already proved in the first division of his work. And having there shown what the rights of the poor are *not*, he now proceeds to examine what interest they really have in the revenues of the Church. With this view, he, accordingly, begins with the times prior to the Reformation. We are thus brought back, at once, to the cradle of our law of real property; the theory of which was, that all land was held of the king, or of some other lord, upon the condition of performing certain services to his chief. Military service was the usual tenure of lands held by laymen; and many of the clergy—among whom were the bishops—were compelled by the Conqueror to hold their lands as barons, and to perform such service, by furnishing their military contingents, at the requisition of the king. Those of the clergy, who

escaped this exaction, were permitted to retain their possessions either under the ancient tenure of *Frankalmoigne*, or that of *Divine Service*. Both of these tenures were of a religious nature: but the distinction between them was this;—that the tenant in *Frankalmoigne* was under a *general* obligation to the performance of religious offices—such as making prayers, or saying masses for the temporal and eternal welfare of the grantor and his heirs; whereas the tenant by *Divine Service* was bound to certain definite duties, such, for instance, as saying certain masses, in person, according to the specified terms of the grant, or finding a chaplain for the same purpose, or distributing an appointed sum of money among a certain number of poor men on a given day. And the difference between these two tenures is more strongly marked by the circumstance, that, in the former case, the default of the tenant in discharging the obligation was cognizable only by the Ordinary; whereas, in the latter, the condition might be enforced by a distress upon his land, at the suit of the lord. All this is made clear, by reference to Littleton and his immortal commentator. And if this be so, we seek in vain, in the ancient law of ecclesiastical property, for any thing which invests the poor with a legal claim to any portion of the land, or of its proceeds. The baron was under no other obligation but to fight, or to produce fighting men. The tenant in *frankalmoigne* was bound to produce nothing but prayers and masses; and this, without any specification as to the time, or the number, or the measure, of such religious ministrations. The tenant by *Divine Service* was under a somewhat stricter obligation; for he was compelled, on pain of distress, to perform, and to provide for, the religious offices expressly specified in the grant; and, in some cases, to bestow on the indigent a certain fixed amount of alms, at a time appointed. Where then, we ask, are we to find, in our old law, the title of the poor to a third part of the landed revenue of the clergy? All the land in the realm was, originally, held by some tenure or other, whether secular, or spiritual. If the rights of the poor, therefore, are conferred on them by the common law, where are we to seek them but in the terms of those tenures by which the land was held? And if no such terms are to be found there, what is the conclusion?—but, that the poor had no such part or lot in the matter, as their zealous and most disinterested champions are, at this moment, loudly insisting on; and that their true claim, (with the exception of the case of specified money payments), is upon the compassion of the holders of the land, and not upon the estates themselves.

Well—but then we shall be told that although the tenures of the common law may have nothing to do with the affairs; still the clergy are, somehow or other, bound to support the poor;

and this, to the extent of at least one third of their revenues; and that, in withdrawing that portion from charitable uses, they are guilty of a sacrilegious plunder, the moral stain of which no length of custom or prescription can obliterate. And since the common law will do nothing for this hypothesis, its advocates have been fain to try what can be made of the ecclesiastical or canon law. Unfortunately, however, the ecclesiastical or canon law is equally dumb, as appears from the searching examination instituted by Mr. Hale, in the first part of his essay. What then remains, but to see whether the wills or donations of the founders will depose more favourably, either in their own express language, or in their sense as interpreted by immemorial usage? Let us then hear the clergy themselves, at a period when it was manifestly their interest to magnify *their own* legal responsibilities with respect to the maintenance of the poor. In the earlier part of the 13th century the Holy See found itself in grievous want of money; a want occasioned by the expense in which it was involved by its disputes with the emperor. England, it is well known, was always one of the most thriving and productive of the milch-cows, to which his Holiness habitually resorted in the season of extremity and dearth. To England, accordingly, an envoy was despatched, by name Peter Rubeus, whose office was to assist the legate Otho in the process of draining off the superfluous wealth of the English Church into the Apostolic coffers. The enterprize appears to have been signally unfortunate: for, in the first place, the bishops and prelates betrayed a marvellous want of sympathy with the distresses of the Romish court. They were provided with a multitude of excellent reasons for declining all contribution towards the relief of the exigencies of the Pontiff. What was to be done, but to make an experiment upon the piety and liberality of the parochial clergy? It so happened, however, that, in some instances at least, the parochial clergy were quite as untractable and penurious as their masters. And how did they justify their backwardness in ministering to the necessities of the Successor of St. Peter? By protesting that only one third of their income was legally their own, and that the rest was the absolute property of the Church and the poor; and that, consequently, the remainder ought not to be burdened by the exactions of the Pope? No such thing. They reasoned then—says Mr. Hale—precisely as we should argue now. They said not one syllable respecting the iniquity of diverting a definite portion of their clerical revenues from their legal and appointed channel: but they insisted that the contemplated impost would utterly disable them from the exercise of benevolence and hospitality. Their whole argument is utterly unintelligible, on any other supposition but one,—namely,

that they, the clergy, were in full and legal possession of the whole revenues of their churches, and that the charitable application of those revenues was left entirely to their own personal discretion.

The transactions, here alluded to, took place in the years 1240 and 1246, and are amply related by Matthew Paris, from whom Mr. Hale has furnished us with copious quotations. In 1240, the answer of the Berkshire Rector to the applications of the pontifical agent was as follows: "Since, by the authority of the Holy Fathers, the revenues of the Church were appropriated to the definite use of the Church, the ministers, and the poor, they ought not to be converted to other uses, except under the sanction of the Universal Church; and thence it followed that no contribution ought to be made by them, for the purpose of carrying on war, and especially against Christians." They likewise added, that "since the proceeds of their benefices scarcely sufficed for their daily sustenance,—(and this, owing to various causes,—the poverty of the benefices, the famine consequent upon the failure of harvests, the great number of the poor, whose deaths they could not *permit themselves* to witness, without endeavouring to furnish them with food, as well as because the prohibition against a plurality of benefices left the poorer benefices inadequate to the supply of their own wants and those of the poor)—on all these accounts, they ought not to be compelled to contribute." They further alleged that the interest of patrons in the benefices was so great, "that without their consent they could not contribute, lest injury should accrue to their churches, which had been endowed by them with lands and revenues for this special purpose, that the rector of those churches should keep hospitality *both for the rich and the poor*, for the clergy and the laity, according to their means, and as the custom of the place requires." (*Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl.* p. 535, ed. 1640. *Wilk.* vol. i. p. 679.) When similar exactions were attempted in 1246, it was urged by the clergy that it had been the custom for the rectors of the parish churches to exercise liberal hospitality and almsgiving—that they had thus laboured, not only to approve themselves to God, but to secure the good will of many of the laity, who had usually shown themselves the bitterest enemies to the Church—that if half of their benefices should be deducted, (for this was the amount of the proposed exaction,) the sources of liberality and beneficence would be dried up—that the clergy would then soon fall into disgrace—that their just dues would no longer be paid—and that they would thus speedily be left defenceless to the oppression of the laity,—to the great scandal and injury of the Universal Church. They moreover recited that, if alms were withdrawn, a vast mul-

titude of families would quickly fall into such utter poverty and desperation, as must be fatal to the security of life and property throughout the realm. (*Matt. Paris, ad annum 1246. Wilk. vol. i. p. 687.*)

Now, we confidently ask, is this the language of men who ever dreamed that the *law* had left them masters of no more than one-third of the produce of their benefices? It is, undoubtedly, the language of men who felt themselves bound in conscience to a charitable application of their revenues, and this to the full extent of their ability. It is the language of men, who knew that the spirit of their endowments would have been violated by a sordid selfish use of their wealth. But where is a sentence to be found in these statements, in support of the conclusion that the canons of the Church had ever divided the rectorial income into three or four equal portions, of which only one could legally be called the property of the rector? And if no such sentence can be found, the *gravamen* of the charge against the Protestant clergy of the Church of England, must be—not that they have silently and fraudulently abolished the original and definite partition of their benefices—but, that they have administered their benefices in a less charitable spirit, than their Romish predecessors. And this is a charge which the Protestant clergy might be well content to leave to the strictest investigation even of their enemies,—provided always that their enemies would bring a tolerably candid and impartial temper to the inquiry.

The language of the statute-book is, throughout, in perfect harmony with that of the unmanageable rectors of the thirteenth century. The statutes which contain any reference to the foundation of religious houses, and benefactions to the clergy, extend from the 35 Edward I. 1306, to 25 Hen. VIII. 1533. The recitals of these acts, (which recitals are printed at length by Mr. Hale,) with very little variation of phrase, ascribe these endowments to a double motive,—namely, the anxiety to secure the religious offices of the Church, in behalf of the souls of the benefactors and their heirs,—and the desire that the Clergy should be provided with the means of hospitable and benevolent expenditure. But they contain not a single word which points to a positive threefold or fourfold partition of ecclesiastical revenue, whether from land or tithes. So far, therefore, as the design of those benefactors can be illustrated by the acts of the legislature, Mr. Hale appears to us perfectly justified in saying—

“ I see no difference between the intentions of these benefactors of ancient times, and what I know to be the positive result, when any new endowment of a church is made, in the present day. To build a church, and fix a clergyman, in any hitherto uncultivated spot, is, even in this

age, not merely an act of piety to God, but of charity to the poor. Whenever a church is now built, a clergyman provided with an income, and a residence afforded to him among his parishioners, there almsgiving, not less than praying and preaching, is one of the many blessings derived to the neighbourhood. I know not the house of a resident clergyman, be he rich or poor, from which the stream of charity does not flow to the relief of his poor brethren." . . . In short, "it requires not the knowledge of the decrees of popes, nor of the preambles to English acts of parliament of ancient times to remind the clergy of our church" . . . (whether beneficed or unbeneficed, whether rectors or curates) . . . "of duties, which any lay-member of our communion, who himself goes to church, and is acquainted with the character of his pastor, must know how zealously the clergy endeavour to fulfil."

And when an atrocious attempt is made to break down the general feeling of respect for the English clergy, by stigmatizing them as the plunderers of the poor,—

"When history is falsified, in order to encourage the poor to rebellion against their spiritual pastors, or to sanction legislative robbery of the clergy, it then becomes the duty of the clergy to shew that their revenues are their own, and that they are answerable to God alone, and not to any human tribunal, for the appropriation of them."

So much, then, for the moral or equitable claim of the indigent upon individual holders of clerical property in general. We now proceed to a consideration of the vested right, which they actually did enjoy, in a portion of the revenues of ecclesiastical corporations. And here, again, the inquiry is found to end in the utter discomfiture of the hypothesis, which assigns to the poor any one fixed and specified proportion of such revenues.

"As to the nature of the vested or legal rights of the poor," says Mr. Hale, "it may, without fear of contradiction, be asserted, that in no case did they arise from the force of any general rule, either of canon or statute law: they were acquired by them, either by virtue of the ordinances made by the bishops, when rectories were appropriated to monasteries; or by original grants or bequests of the proprietors of lands."

It is true that, in addition to these, the poor were in the habits of receiving certain bounties or gratuities from the religious houses, at certain stated festivals. But the amount of these was comparatively trifling, and the distribution of them altogether voluntary on the part of the possessors of those houses. It cannot be pretended that they were enjoyed by virtue of anything like a vested right.

With regard to the only rights of the poor which can be considered as legal, let us first examine them as arising out of the appropriation of rectories. It appears then that, in order to mitigate the evils arising out of the substitution of a poorly endowed resident vicar, for a comparatively wealthy rector, certain

canons were made by the Archbishops Peccham and Stratford, directing a yearly allowance of alms to the poor out of the profits of the appropriated benefice. It further appears that this allowance was subsequently enforced by the statute, 15 Richard II. 1391; the very statute which has recently been quoted in parliament, to establish the vested right of the poor to a share in the church revenues; but which, after all, merely ordains that, "in every appropriation of a benefice, a *convenient sum of money* shall be paid by those that have the fruits and profits of the churches, to the poor parishioners of the churches, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever." How these ordinances were carried into effect, appears by a list of the bounties doled out to the poor, as printed by Mr. Hale. If we are to judge by this statement, the canons were by no means executed in a spirit of charitable prodigality. The *convenient sum* of 6s. 8d. out of £15. 6s. 8d., or $\frac{1}{4}$ th, is about the most liberal proportion exhibited by his catalogue! But if this does not say much for the generosity of the appropriators, it says a good deal against the assertion, that they were legally bound to the distribution of one third or one fourth of their revenues in acts of charity.

There still remains to be considered the amount of alms usually distributed by the monasteries out of their general revenues. The fullest information relative to this matter, is to be obtained from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. But as this is a work in five folio volumes, it could scarcely be expected of Mr. Hale that he should extend his search throughout the whole of it. He has, however, transcribed from the third volume some returns, which throw considerable light upon the subject. We have not room for their insertion here. We must content ourselves with stating the result in two instances. The clear income of the monastery of Bury St. Edmund's, (after deducting fees, procurations, synodals, stipends to chaplains, &c.), was 2336l. 16s. 11d. The amount of alms distributed was 390l. 14s. 8d.; being something more than a sixth part. The clear income of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was 2385l. 19s. 11½d. The alms distributed were only 56l. 11s. 1d.; not quite a two-and-fortieth part of the whole. What was the average proportion distributed by the monasteries of England collectively, cannot be known, without a laborious examination of all these documents. But, unless the above specimens give a very insufficient representation of the matter, they must either abundantly expose the absurdity of the notion, that a third or a fourth part was the property of the poor; or else, they must fix upon the ancient Romish possessors of the religious houses the charge of most abominable malversation. Much the same thing may be said of

the chantry lands, if we may rely upon three particular instances given by Mr. Hale. The revenues of three chantries, selected by him, when taken together, amounted to 21*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*: their payments to the poor were 3*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*; about a sixth part of the whole. What proportion the chantry lands bore to those which belonged to the monasteries, and how many of them were charged with the payment of alms, can be discovered only by a complete search of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. That the value of the property was considerable, may be concluded from the reasons assigned for the dissolution of the chantries, by the preamble to the statute 1 Edward VI. A.D. 1547. It is there declared that, next to the destruction of superstition, the object kept in view was "the converting them to good and godly uses, (as, either in erecting grammar schools, for the education of youth in virtue and godliness), and for augmenting the universities, and better providing for the poor and needy." But alas! when once the law had gone forth, the poor and the needy, and the ignorant were forgotten. The possessions of the chantries were sold, and the proceeds went, no one could tell whither. "The king," says Strype, "bore the slander. The poor felt the lack. But we know well, and all the world saw, that the act made by the king's Majesty and his lords, for maintaining of learning, and relief of the poor, had served some as a fit instrument to rob learning and to spoil the poor." Chantries and monasteries, in short, were all swallowed up in the capacious maw of sacrilegious rapacity. Indigence was deprived even of the fragments from the table of the Church: and literature was left to mourn over the lost inheritance which had been assigned to her by the law of the land.

How, then, does the matter stand? The interest which *really* belonged to the poor, in the revenues of the Church, was derived from three sources. 1. From payments made by the appropriators, when a rectory was converted into a vicarage. 2. From endowed alms and customary doles distributed by the religious houses. 3. From payments out of chantry lands. And where are these sources of charitable distribution to be sought for now? The Church possesses them not. If Dr. Doyle, together with his brother agitators, must needs pour out the phials of his indignation, it should be on the heads of them who fattened upon the plunder of the Church. And if he seeks to pluck the spoil out of the jaws of the oppressor, he must even gird himself up for an encounter with the heirs, or the successors, of those wholesale dealers in pillage. This, however, most unquestionably, he is far too wise to think of. He will satisfy himself with a safer and more promising species of warfare. He will continue to assail the Protestant clergy with slander and invective, as spoilers of

the necessitous, and as basely sheltering themselves, under a prescription of three centuries, from all compulsion to disgorge their unholy plunder!

Mr. Hale concludes his disquisition with an attempt to show that the system of English Poor Laws has been quite erroneously ascribed to the dissolution of religious houses, and to the discontinuance of ecclesiastical bounty. That an immensity of misconception and exaggeration is generally current, relative to this subject, is beyond all question. But we are not quite satisfied that Mr. Hale has not a little over-stated the matter, when he affirms, that the destruction of the monasteries, and the change made in the duty of the clergy at the Reformation, had *nothing whatever* to do with the *increase* of the vagrancy and poverty, which first threw the impotent, for support, upon the public. That vagrancy and poverty had existed long before, and that the charity of religious corporations was utterly inadequate to the prevention or the remedy of the evil, is absolutely indisputable. But it is scarcely conceivable that the sudden suppression of these establishments should have failed, in some considerable degree, to aggravate the mischief. With this qualification, however, it does appear to us, that Mr. Hale has fully succeeded in making good his position. There can be no doubt that, if all the Romish institutions had been maintained to this hour, and if the country could have advanced to its present state of freedom and prosperity, in spite of papal domination,—the accumulation of indigence and wretchedness would still have been sufficient to oppress the amplest resources of ecclesiastical wealth and beneficence: for, unhappily, great national freedom and prosperity have always, more or less, a tendency to deposit a very copious sediment of improvidence and want. This tendency, as Mr. Hale has shown, had begun to manifest itself long before the period of the Reformation. The evils inflicted by pauperism and vagrancy were the price which England had to pay for the gradual extinction of villainage, and the deliverance of multitudes from their bondage to the soil;—a change which had been imperceptibly going on, without any express alteration of the law; a change, too, which was indispensably necessary to the full developement of our national strength and grandeur. We cannot follow Mr. Hale throughout his investigation. It must suffice for us to say that we have no language to express our astonishment, and our contempt, at the miserable crudities which are industriously disseminated respecting the causes of our present difficulties. If churchmen (we are incessantly told) had been faithful to their own duties, and true to the spirit of their endowments, the laity might have been relieved from a load, which threatens to crush

the whole landed property of the empire; and, therefore, the clergy should now be compelled, by *peine forte et dure*, to abandon that portion of their revenues which was the original patrimony of the poor. It would take a volume to expose the manifold absurdities involved in this monstrous proposition. Why, if the whole present income of the Church were to be transferred to the poor, the public would not be lightened of much more than one third of the existing burden of the Poor Rate; as the labours of the Ecclesiastical Revenue Commission have recently ascertained. And if we are to hear complaints of the enormity of this burden, who is to be blamed for that? Will Dr. Doyle, and his fraternity, arraign the Protestant Church for the prodigious course of mismanagement which has swelled this tax to its present formidable amount? We should not very much wonder, if they did. And, in truth, if they were to do so, we do not know that the folly of such a charge would greatly exceed that of their habitual declamations against the rapacity and the dishonesty of Protestant Ecclesiastics.

Subjoined to this essay is a supplemental inquiry into the supposed existence of a fourfold division of tithes in Ireland. We are at a loss to exhibit this disquisition to our readers in an abridged form; for it is already as much concentrated as it can well be. The sum of the whole matter, however, appears to be this; that in certain parts of Ireland, the Bishops had one quarter of the tithes; but that instead of being introduced from England, (where no such custom ever existed,) the usage has never been known in Ireland, except in places most remote from the English pale; for instance, in the district and neighbourhood of Connaught, a county which at the time of the conquest of Ireland, was in a state of barbarism, and in which, when conquered, the invaders soon assumed the manners and habits of the native Irish. At what precise period this custom was introduced, is a matter of great uncertainty. Mr. Hale conjectures, with much appearance of reason, that its introduction may be ascribed to the Pope's legate Malachias, who was Archbishop of Armagh in 1127; but he adds that, however this may be, no proof has been, or probably can be, produced, in the case of *parochial tithes*, of the minister receiving only one of the remaining three fourths, while the other two fourths were appropriated to the fabric and the poor. With regard to the authority of Archbishop Usher, alleged by Spelman,—the public are now in a condition to judge of its value for themselves: for Mr. Hale has here printed at length that portion of the Archbishop's treatise which relates to the subject, from the MS. discovered by him in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace. From this it ap-

pears that the Archbishop undoubtedly held the *opinion* that a fourfold division of tithes did once prevail in Ireland. But it likewise appears that, what he uttered only as an *opinion*, and with great diffidence and caution, has been hastily represented by Spelman as almost an indisputable fact. It will, further, be found that, in "the historical part of his argument, the Primate has followed the ordinary course, which other historians have pursued: he has adduced the common authorities of Decretals of foreign local councils, and the letter of Gregory to Augustine. But not a single Irish council, or fact of Irish History, afforded him any direct testimony that a regular fourfold division ever prevailed in that country." His whole argument is an argument only from analogy, and a supposed resemblance; the main feature of that resemblance being the receipt by the Bishop of one fourth. All this while, however, the analogy entirely fails in that very particular, which is most essential to the present argument, viz. in the trace of any *vested interest* of the *poor* in the revenues of the church, whether arising out of lands or tithes.

To conclude, then,—can any reasonable man doubt that the clamour, respecting the supposed violation of the ancient Canons of the Church, has been raised for the purpose of giving a definite form and shape to the complaints against the clergy? That the clergy are unfeeling and rapacious, is, of itself, a very *expedient* persuasion: but how enormously will their guilt and their disgrace be aggravated, if it can be shown that they are chargeable, not merely with avarice, but with positive embezzlement? It may be a very serviceable measure for the cause of *Reform*, to rouse the resentments of the populace against their spiritual Pastors. But how swift must be the destruction of the order, if the voice of general disaffection should be deepened by the condemnation of the law? We trust however, the labours of Mr. Hale will essentially contribute to disabuse the public ear, and teach it not to confound the growlings of discontent with the thunders of offended justice. The vast amount of Ecclesiastical Revenue has been, in its time, a very effective topic of revolutionary declamation. But the inquiries of the Royal Commission have, already, done much to silence that absurd and most flagitious outcry; so that now, whenever the mighty hunters of Radicalism attempt to renew it, *inceptus clamor frustrator hiantes*. It may fairly be expected that the researches of men like Mr. Hale, will, in time, produce a similar effect upon the passions, which are now venting execration upon the Ministers of the Church, as infamous speculators, and plunderers of the indigent. We are, indeed, well aware that, even if this should be so, there will still remain one most inestimable artifice at the command of the adversary. Should the fourfold

division be utterly exploded, the Protestant Clergy will, probably, continue to be assailed by a comparison between their own habits, and those of their Roman Catholic predecessors. We shall still hear, incessantly, of the boundless beneficence of the unmarried Priest, in bright and glorious contrast with the narrow and grudging charities of the married Parson. And unfortunately, this is a comparison, the merits of which are incapable of being reduced to that certainty, which is often the result of legal and antiquarian investigation. In that case, therefore, the appeal must be to the experience and the honesty of the people themselves, to the condition of those parishes which enjoy the blessing of a resident Minister competently endowed, and to the measure in which the Clergy, collectively, contribute to every undertaking of a religious and charitable tendency. It may possibly be true, that the beneficence of the Clergy does not, in the present day, take precisely the form, or diffuse itself exactly in the channels, which were pointed out by the wants of a rude and barbarous age. Every tolerably well informed person now sees that, of all modes of charity, that of indiscriminate alms-giving is the least beneficial; nay, that it may be so extended and administered, as to form a fund for the encouragement of improvidence and vice, and for the eventual accumulation of want and wretchedness. But if the actual amount of sacrifices made by our Clergy could be fairly estimated, we have not the slightest doubt that they, the Clergy, would be found, throughout all their ranks,—Bishops and dignitaries, Rectors, Vicars and Stipendiary Curates—to minister, in some shape or other, to the distresses of the poor, in a much more ample proportion than any other class that can be named. To the utmost of their power, yea, and beyond their power, they are always ready, with heart and hand, not only to alleviate the temporal necessities of their own flocks, but to aid the cause of charity, whenever and wherever it may appeal to their good offices. That a churlish and greedy parson may here and there be found, it would be insane to deny. Some such persons are always to be found in every church. But we are deeply persuaded that their numbers in the Church of England are insufficient to affect the general truth of our assertion; almost as insufficient as the lunar anomalies are, to impeach the general regularity of the “faithful witness in heaven,” in her movements round the earth. And it is devoutly to be wished that the people may not have to learn the correctness of this affirmation by the bitterest of all discipline,—an experience of the loss which the emissaries of confiscation would speedily entail upon the sufferers.

We trust that these two Essays of Mr. Hale will shortly be on the table of every Clergyman,—we wish we might add, of every Layman,—in the British Empire.

ART. VI.—*Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses.* Par A. De Lamartine. 2 tom. 1830.

It has been observed, that the effect of English poetry has been produced by the *emotions*, that of the French by the ideas, they are each calculated to excite. Thus Shakspeare has been called the poet of the heart, Voltaire the poet of the head; Shakspeare of the passions, Voltaire of the moral feelings. There is some truth and some error in this definition, for Shakspeare is very often a most powerful teacher of morals, and Voltaire in his tragedies has frequently struck the chords of genuine passion. If *passion* in poetry means any thing, it signifies the warmth and energy of feeling, whether it be good, or whether it be evil—the recitation of hope or grief, of love or of devotion. Wherever there is earnestness, attachment and affection towards any object, *there* of course passion will be found. We find it in the rugged strains of Du Bartas, and the polished melodies of Racine. Old French poetry especially abounds in that interest produced by the *emotions*. With the writers of the 16th century nothing is didactic of itself; if there be any moral, it arises naturally out of the tale, and is not pointed by the ingenuity of the writer. With them nothing is fictitious, nothing is assumed for the instant: the festivity of Marot, the classic enthusiasm of Ronsard, and the picturesque truth and identity of Belleau, are all powerful, because they are natural. Of all the elder French poets Clement Marot has obtained the most ample and long continued popularity. Boileau and La Fontaine, Chaulieu and J. B. Rousseau have all spoken of him in terms of admiration and regard; and it is a singular circumstance that Fenelon, in his letter to the Academy, in which he regrets the loss of the energy and strength of the old language, confines his notice of the earlier poets to Marot. With him, indeed, the first page of genuine French poetry begins; nothing equal to him went before or followed after until Malherbe. The grace of his chansons, the wit of his epigrams, and the easy playfulness and elegant familiarity of his epistles, have not been surpassed. But it is only as the partial translator of the psalms into metre that Marot is particularly commemorated in these pages. In some of his ballads there is occasionally a very gentle and serious tone; *Le Chant de Mai et de Vertu* is a pleasing specimen. In this sense there is truth in the compliment often applied to him, *Qui ait badiné aussi noblement*. While reading some of his poems, *The Temple of Cupid* particularly, we are reminded of the manner of our own Chaucer.

But we must not linger in these fields bright with the dew of the morning of poetry. We can only hope to throw out a few hints

in our rapid survey, which may lead the reader to investigate the subject for himself.

The French are accustomed to point to the 18th century as the great season of their glory, the summer of their literature. It was an age in which beauty and deformity, eloquence and rimbaldry, were strangely blended together. Vice and virtue were in a state of antagonism. The sublimity of Bossuet, the grandeur of Massillon, and the dignified severity of Bourdaloue, were striving with the licentious irony of Voltaire and his confederates. Produced in the corruption of the court, it grew under the shadow of a depraved government, sporting with the arms of sophistry or reason; lulling itself with the harmony of its poets and its sages, it awoke to the roar of its crumbling institutions, to the glare of its fires, the cries of its victims and their executioners. It was an age at once magnificent and mean, noble and contemptible. It was not, says Lamartine, an age of thought, it was an age of action: the scornful philosophy of the day did not make one of those gigantic steps which carry the human spirit under a new horizon; the arts were not inspired, for they never looked towards heaven, whence all inspiration proceeds; poetry neglected her lyre to amuse herself with the efforts of a cold and lifeless pencil; she stifled upon her lips that Great Name which ought ever to sound, at least, in the heart of the poet, that animated instrument of the vast concert of the creation.* Science alone grew and waxed mighty, for Science lives upon realities and not ideas; eloquence alone was powerful, for eloquence is one of the elements of action.

A sketch even of the great men of that golden age would occupy a volume, we shall content ourselves with notices of one or two of the most eminent.

We remember no writer of the eighteenth century with greater pleasure than the amiable and accomplished Thomas. His first appearance in the literary world took place in 1756, and in 1762 the prize of poetry was decreed to him for his *Ode sur le Temps*. In pronouncing upon the merits of this Ode, La Harpe should have remembered Voltaire's definition of prejudice, *as an opinion without judgment*. The following translation of a few stanzas, may, perhaps, enable the reader to form an estimate of the solemn dignity of the poem.

1.

O Time! thou unknown Being, whom the soul
In the dark shadow of her love embraceth;
Torrent of ages and of years, that roll
To the far off sea no bright eye traceth;

* *Discours*, &c. par A. De Lamartine.

Now, while thy voice doth call,
I dare to stand a moment ere I fall,
To look upon thy course, thou ravager of all !

2.

Who shall unveil the moment of thy birth ?
What eye upon thy infancy can gaze ?
Surely thy cradle, spirit of the earth,
Rocks on the dark eternity of days.
Ere thou wast made,
Buried within the gleamless shade,
Thy slumbering starless germ was laid.

3.

From chaos the gates all suddenly were rent,
The stars lit up their glory-fires—
Then thou wast born, by the Almighty sent
To watch the wandering of those deathless lyres.
And while the shades did flee
The VOICE resounded—*Time shall be for thee,*
O Nature—but Eternity for Me.

4.

God ! such art Thou ! the sea of ages
Dasheth in fury at thy feet ;
Over the beauty of thy works it rages,
But not a wave comes near thy judgment seat.
Lord of the golden sky,
Millions of ages, as they fly,
Are even as nothing to thy sleepless eye !

We have alluded to the injustice of La Harpe's criticism upon Thomas, and a few words upon this celebrated critic will not be out of place in an article which takes notice of his contemporaries, whom above all he delighted to undervalue.

The circumstances attending the youth of La Harpe—the uncertainty of his birth—a subject never forgotten by his enemies—his early difficulties and misfortunes, all contributed to confirm him in habits of severity. His first attempts were directed towards criticism. When not twenty years of age, he published his *Essai sur l'Heroïde*. This circumstance gave occasion to Freron to exclaim against the presumptuous daring of the puerile scholar, who did not hesitate to uplift a hand, not released from the *ferula*, against the poets of ancient times. We have no intention of entering into any examination of the numerous compositions of La Harpe. We shall confine our attention to the work upon which his fame principally rests, and the execution of which employed a considerable portion of his life. We mean, the *Cours de Littérature Ancienne et Moderne*. The death of the author interrupted the completion of his entire

design, and the *Cours* remains, therefore, in some measure, a fragment, but a fragment perfect in itself.

The literary character of La Harpe has been drawn in very unfavourable colours, by one of his successors in the chair of the *Atheneum*, M. Le Mercier.* He was, says the professor, skilful in theory, mediocre in practice, a versifier rather than a poet, a declaimer, formed upon the principles of Le Kain; in his youth, a protégé of Voltaire, and, consequently, most unbounded in his admiration of that writer. His decisions upon the merits of authors were pronounced with a determination and self-confidence worthy of a supreme judge, but for his affections or antipathies he is rarely able to offer a satisfactory reason.

For our own part, we should be as much inclined to dissent from the opinion of Le Mercier, as from that more favourable judgment, which has designated La Harpe the Quintilian of France. In one thing he resembles the great Roman critic. Placed in the days of declining literature and taste, he stood in the gap and combated for the purity of the language; but he wanted the penetrating reason and the philosophic arrangement of the Roman critic. The criticism of Quintilian, like a precious lamp, throws a rich lustre over every object of which it treats; by its clear and beautiful light, we read the venerable pages of the antique philosophy; his taste and judgment, first acquired by diligent reading and comparison, and afterwards elevated and refined by the natural dignity of his own mind, constituted him at the same time the judge and the rival of the most distinguished writers.

But taste and penetration are scarcely more necessary to the formation of a true critic, than strict temperance and impartiality. His curule chair should be elevated above the noxious influences of party feelings and petty animosities. He should strive rather to emulate Longinus than Zoilus. La Harpe did not do this; he rendered himself miserable by the necessity of hating, as Fenelon had made himself happy by the necessity of loving. In reading some of the French writer's strictures upon contemporary authors, we are reminded of Butler's witty character of a Railer; like a water-dog, he always *carries a cudgel in his mouth*. We cannot, however, afford to linger upon La Harpe, and shall only add one fact concerning him, which cannot be too generally known. The associate of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Condorcet, he was during a considerable portion of his life the upholder and disseminator of their doctrines and opinions, and he

* *Cours Analytique de Littérature Generale tel qu'il a été Professé à l'Athénée, Paris, par M. Le Mercier, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, 1815, 4 vol. 8vo.*

offers, we believe, the only example of a convert to Christianity from that perverse and sacrilegious sect.

In a little treatise we have seen bound up with Fenelon's Dialogue upon Eloquence, the author, M. du Cerceau, has taken great pains to prove the difference between poetry and prose, and that the construction of a passage in the one must always differ from that in the other. We may be thought to speak paradoxically, if we assert, in opposition to what is a currently received opinion, that the elements of poetry are totally independent of metre or rythmical arrangement; and that we look upon the story of Telemachus as the most *epic* composition in the French language. And we think it possible to prove from Aristotle himself, that in the attributes of the higher epos, the Telemachus excels the *Henriade* and all its other competitors. Fenelon was too modest, too observant of the most refined taste, and too ardently attached to the doctrines of antiquity to bestow the appellation of poem upon *Telemaque*. La Motte was, if we remember rightly, the first who assigned the work to poetry; and if the purest attic grace, united to the most picturesque imagery and the warmest piety, set forth in every page with a melody and concord of style perfectly unrivalled, entitle a composition to this rank, the claims of *Telemaque* are of the highest order. It is said to have been written in three months, yet in the original MS. there were only three erasures. It impresses us with no very favourable idea of the penetration or wisdom of the season in which Telemachus was produced, when we recollect that upon its first appearance it was considered a personal satire, and passages were pointed out where the amiable writer was affirmed to have lashed the vices and follies of individuals about the court. Calypso was supposed to be the Marchioness of Montespan, Telemachus the Duke of Burgundy, Mentor the Duke of Beauvilliers, Antiope the Duchess of Burgundy, Idomeneus our own monarch, James the Second. In Sesostris the courtiers discovered the lineaments of Louis the Fourteenth, and the vain and haughty Louvois was hidden under the name of Protesilaus! So ingeniously are men fooled by their passions.

Worthy of a place beside the Bishop of Cambray, was the amiable and accomplished Racine.

We have always thought the lyric passages in Racine's dramas those in which his genius appeared with the greatest advantage. In them the stream of his poetry flows on tranquil and serene, reflecting on its clear and unruffled bosom images of pastoral grace and beauty; but in the scenes of tumult and passion, in the working of the stormiest feelings of the breast, his weakness

becomes apparent. His figures, if we may employ the metaphor, are often correctly drawn, and almost always coloured with great delicacy and taste; but we look in vain for the vigorous energy, the muscular strength and virile development characteristic of healthful life, more especially in the heroic ages, in which the scene of his drama is frequently laid. Racine was the dove rather than the eagle, and his home was amid the humbler scenes and the purer charities of domestic life. It must not, however, be supposed that he did not feel acutely the excellence of the old drama; he found a theory and practice of poetry established, and he did not depart from the rules. When he should have surrendered himself to nature, he was thinking of the critics at Versailles. So far he is inferior to the bold and impetuous Corneille. La Bruyere said with truth, that Corneille brings us into his characters and ideas; Racine conforms himself to ours. It appears to us, that upon his sacred poems the fame of Racine most securely rests, the grace of *Esther*, the pathos of *Athalie*, and the simple yet fervid piety of the *Cantiques Spirituels*, cannot be forgotten.

His son Louis followed in his track, and deserves mention for his poem upon *Religion*, a work more properly belonging to the *didactic* class, but occasionally marked by passages of stern moral beauty and sombre delineations of the sins of man, which have been thought to bear some resemblance to the grander pictures of Byron.

Equal to Racine in the harmony of his verse, was J. B. Rousseau, born in 1669, and who formed his style under Despreaux, from whom he acknowledged to have learned all that he knew of poetry. His Psalms and Odes appeared at the commencement of the 18th century. In his case, the criticism of La Harpe is generally correct. The presence of the idea in the original afforded him an opportunity of being more scrupulously correct in the selection of his words and the polish of the metre. The precious gold and ivory of the great builder were before him, and he had only to fashion them into the most beautiful forms. Like Racine, he may, in a certain sense, be called a *poet for the ear*. Montesquieu has on this account spoken slightly of lyrical poetry, but with little reason; for, in the variety of his metres and the alternate light and shadow of his style, Rousseau evinced great judgment. He sometimes closes a simply sweet stanza in an address to the Deity, with a couplet of majestic and sonorous alexandrines. A very pleasing specimen of his gentle and poetical manner may be found in the following extract from *Le Cantique d'Ezechias*.

J'ai vû mes tristes journées
Decliner vers leur penchant,
Au midi de mes années,
Je touchais à mon couchant.
La Mort deployant ses ailes
Couvroit d'ombres éternelles
Le clarté dont je jouis,
Et dans cette nuit funeste,
Je cherchais en vain le reste
De mes jours évanouis.

Grand Dieu ! votre main reclame
Les dons qui j'ai en recus ;
Elle vient couper la trame
Des jours qu'elle en a tissus.
Mon dernier soleil se leve,
De la terre des vivans,
Comme la feuille séchée
Qui de sa tige arrachée
Devient le fond des vents—
Aussi de cris et d'alarmes
Mon mal sembloit se nourrir,
Et mes yeux noyés de larmes
Et lassés de s'ouvrir,
Je dirais à la nuit sombre—
O Nuit, tu vas dans ton ombre
M'ensevelir pour toujours !
Je redirais à l'aurore—
Le jour que tu fais éclore,
Est le dernier de mes jours !

Entertaining, however, as we do, a high opinion of the lyric talents of J. B. Rousseau, we are far from coinciding in the award of some of his enthusiastic admirers, who have not hesitated to pronounce him *Le Grand Rousseau, le Prince de la Poesie Française*. We are desirous, with La Harpe, of retaining the epithet *Great* for the favoured few—the corner stones of the Temple of Fame in every land—for the Virgils, the Shakespeares, the Miltons, the Newtons of the world. When Rousseau composed his Psalms, the lyric ode was almost perfected and refined, for Malherbe had passed away, and Boileau was still alive.

No one can refuse to join in regret, that his life should have been embittered by the accusation of having written some satirical verses, the authorship of which he denied on his death-bed*.

It is time to pass to more modern days. At the Restoration, twenty-eight years of convulsions and tumults had accustomed the minds of the people to violent movements. During this

* I allude to the suit instituted against J. B. Rousseau by Saurin.

period communication even between man and man was almost entirely shut out. The events of 1814, in overthrowing the imperial dynasty, broke down the barriers to this intercourse. The religious spirit, long restrained by a false philosophy, revolution and war, began slowly to raise herself from her prison-house. The mangled limbs of truth were sought for over the land, and once more moulded into somewhat of their former beauty and majesty. The religious spirit soon worked a reaction in popular opinion. In this agitated crisis of the public mind, something was required which should partake of the fiery energy of the season. In literature, as in politics, all things old were passing away, and all things were rapidly becoming new. On every side the spirit of change was at work, in the library of the student and the *studio* of the artist. From this state of things was formed the celebrated *romanticisme*, which in poetry and the arts has given birth to so much beauty and exaggeration, so much to delight and to disgust, and upon which modern critics have written more than any lover of poetry would have patience to read.

Of the *romantic* school Victor Hugo is now considered the leader. At once bold, eloquent and confident, he seems peculiarly fitted for the situation. He has essayed most of the various forms of polite literature, and reaped a harvest of fame from all his attempts. As a romance writer, a dramatist and a lyrical poet, he occupies a proud station among the writers of the nineteenth century. In prose we have his *Hans d'Islande*, *Bug Jargal*, *Notre Dame de Paris*, and *Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné*; in the drama, *Hernani*, &c. &c.; in lyric poetry, *Les Orientales*, *Feuilles d'Automne*, &c. We shall confine our attention to his poetry.

Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the merits of Victor Hugo's productions individually considered, it is impossible to deny him the gift of genius. When he errs, it is not from weakness, but from strength; not from negligence, but from *intention*. His scorn of classic unity, and his innovations upon the established forms of the language, were the results of a determined conviction of the justice of his own conclusions. He wished to speak German and English in *French*—to transfuse through the whole system of the language the idioms and the phrases of the most discordant European dialects. But the copious dignity and the epigrammatic energy of Goethe, and the liquid Latinisms and Ionic graces of Milton, can never amalgamate with the fine-drawn smoothness of Delille, or the Gothic extravagance of Victor Hugo.

A modern French critic, in arguing upon this subject, has shown clearly that the language of a nation always reflects the

peculiarities, the thoughts, and even the prejudices of those by whom it is spoken, and the qualities of the objects by which it is surrounded. In the clear-toned dialects of Greece we perceive the richness and purity of the clime mellowing and brightening the verse until it becomes soft and beautiful as the flowers and the skies of its native place; while in the language of the North we discover a sharpness, a severity, and a gloom, equally accordant with the disposition of the inhabitants. But the language of France, to employ the words of the critic already referred to, is "calm as the air they breathe." Nature around them inspires only prose; ingenuity turns it into poetry. The peculiarity of the language renders a most watchful attention to the location of every word absolutely necessary. It is almost impossible to elevate a common *ignoble* word into lyric or epic dignity—an advantage constantly in the power of the German and Italian poets. We may find an apt illustration of this doctrine in the use of the preterits of the verb *faire*. If, for instance, we say *fece*, we employ the common term. *Fé* unites more vivacity and elegance; and *feo*, the most rare form of all, imparts a grand and solemn tone to the composition. In this manner Filicaja has employed it in his exquisite sonnet to Italy.

"Italia, Italia, o tu chi *feo* la sorte
Dono infelice di bellezza."*

The language of France has nothing *plastic* about it; the subject must be adapted to it, not it to the subject. Thus, with the exception of Delille's translations from Virgil, the French have scarcely a tolerable version from Latin and Greek poetry; while in Germany, Voss has translated Homer, and nearly all the poetical classics, into their original measures, retaining the compound epithets of Homer and Æschylus almost in their natural power and force.

We have dwelt upon this subject with a view of showing the folly of Victor Hugo's attempts to revolutionize the language, as well as the spirit, of his country's poetry.

In the preface to *Les Orientales*, Victor Hugo has stated his poetical creed, and it will be found to deviate into the wildest heresy, if compared with the doctrines of the classicists. We shall only give one short extract, as beautiful as it is eccentric.

"And after all," he exclaims, "why should not the work of a poet resemble one of those picturesque old towns in Spain, where you find everything? A cool promenade among oranges, by the river side; an open sunny ground for festivals; streets broad and narrow, sometimes dark, where the astonished eye discovers a thousand houses of every form and fashion, united to each other, high and low, black and white,

* See the *Révue Encyclopédique*, 1829.

painted and sculptured; labyrinths of buildings side by side, palaces, hospitals, convents, taverns, all differing from each other, and all bearing their several destinations graven in their architecture; markets full of people and fruits; burial grounds, where the living are silent as the dead; here the theatre with its music and its pictures; further on the old weather-beaten gibbet, long since covered with rust, on which the skeleton is creaking to and fro in the wind; in the midst a Gothic cathedral, with its finely wrought spires, its portals worked with bas-reliefs, its massive yet delicate pillars—and then its glittering chapels, its gorgeous saints—wonderful structure, impressive in its majesty, curious in its composition, beautiful at two leagues, beautiful at two steps; and lastly, at the opposite end of the town, concealed among the sycamores and palms, the Oriental Mosque, with its domes and painted gates, cool arcades, the verses of the Koran upon the doors, its radiant sanctuaries, the Mosaic of the pavements, the Mosaic of the walls—opening its beauty to the sun like a vast flower full of perfume."

Such is the eloquent writer's idea of true poetry, and he has shown his judgment at least in comparing his own verses to the Oriental Mosque. They have the same picturesque and animated spirit, united often-times to an equal delicacy and grace. If Victor Hugo would be contented more frequently to confine himself to the delineation of the gentler feelings, he could not fail of winning over many hearts. Jean Paul Richter, in his review of De Staël's *Allemagne*, said of Schiller, that he confounded a sun-horse and a thunder-horse with the horse of the Muses. The great German critic's remark is equally applicable to the French poet. By constant efforts to be sublime, he degenerates into a turgid bombast; by ever seeking to draw the highest notes from the lyre, the instrument itself becomes out of tune. The following poem from *Les Orientales* will show both the merits and defects of his style. It is entitled *Le Feu du Ciel*, and founded, as the reader will perceive, upon the terrible account in the Bible of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. It will be seen that the poet has departed from the scriptural narrative, which tells us that the Almighty *rained down fire*, and consequently that the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah was instantaneous, and not progressive. The plan adopted by Hugo has enabled him to produce a very grand and poetic effect.

" See yon the terrible cloud rush by,
Now pale, now red, thro' the stormy sky!
As tho' upon the roaring blast,
The smoke of a burning town were cast—
Billow on billow of flame roll'd past!

" Whence comes it; from heaven, the hills, or the sea?
Horror and darkness before it flee;

Is it the red and fiery car
Bearing some evil spirit afar,
Thro' the troubled sky, to some distant star?

" O terror! by starts, from its bosom of night,
Foams out, like a serpent, a line of light;
The sea—on every side—the sea! the sea!
In vain the weary bird doth flee
From surge to surge, above—below,
The wave in its power and strength doth flow!"

The cloud of fire demands if it shall dry up the ocean; the voice answers, No! and the cloud passes on to the dwelling of an Indian tribe. .

" A bay within the verdant hills,
A bay of water fresh and clear;
A voice of rustic gladness fills
The forest's lonely ear—
Land, where the tribe with bow and spear
Roamed the silent glades along,
Cheering the echoing woods with song."

But the destination of the cloud of fire is not here, and it journeys onward until it hangs over the impious and polluted cities. The description of their grandeur and luxury breathes a noble oriental splendour.

" Look where two cities, strangers and unknown,
Climb to the stars from tower to tower upthrown;
There with their gods and chariots and delights,
The sisters lay amid the darkening lights:
The shadows floated round the moonlight walls,
Among that marble chaos of dim halls,
Aqueducts and terraces: the eye might see
Pillars and capitols—wild imagery!—
Hewn out of stone, along the glittering track,
Elephants bearing domes upon their back,
And giants watching from the nooks around
Monsters of terror leap upon the ground.*
Rich hanging gardens full of flower arcades,
Where the pale moon-light danced on the cascades;
Vast blocks of marble thro' the shrines were spread,
Where ever bowing down their towering head,
The gods of brass, their hands upon their knee,
Sat gazing in a circle solemnly!
The monsters, palaces and colonnades,
Where forms unknown are gleaming in the shades;
Bridges, and aqueducts, and towers—the eye
Turneth in fear from the dark mystery!

* These and the preceding lines refer to the grotesque architecture of the temples.

And temples, with their shadows flung on high,
 Were seen like mountains darkening in the sky !
 " Cities of Hades ! in their wishes vain,
 Each hour led forth some pleasure in its train,
 Each moment gave some fearful mystery birth,
 Till like two ulcers they diseas'd the earth.
 Sleep over all ! Upon the city's brow
 Glided across the gloom a pallid glow,
 Dim lamps that shone a moment, and were not—
 The gleam of feasting in the street forgot.
 The walls threw out their towers with moonbeams white,
 Or broke the dark, or frown'd upon the waters bright—
 And from the valley of the singing bird,
 The stifling of sweet kisses on the air was heard,
 The mingling of love-breaths with every word !
 The sister-cities, weary of the light,
 Slumbered upon the bosom of delight,
 While the wind roam'd beneath the cool green tree,
 From Sodom to Gomorrah pleasantly,
 Then past along the thunder-cloud of fear,
 And from the darkness leapt the death-cry—*It is here.*"

We shall only give one more extract from Victor Hugo. It is an ode to a child, and contrasts well in its gentle and amiable tenderness with the melo-dramatic energy of the preceding poem.

" Thou knowest not how sweet the time
 Of thy bloomy April prime.
 O envy not our older years,
 Envy not our griefs and fears,
 When even laughter dies in tears !

" Thy lovely age is soon forgot,
 Like woodland airs remember'd not;
 Like a distant song it flieth,
 Like the halcyon's shadow dieth.

" Now thy thoughts of peace and glee
 Hang, rich blossoms, on life's tree—
 Taste the morning, taste the spring,
 Thy hours, like flowers, do fondly cling,
 Each hour the other engarlanding.
 Time and grief, and night and day,
 Will steal their sweet perfume away—
 Be not more unkind than they !

" Peace, dear infant, pry'thee wait,
 Time will soon be at thy gate,
 All its woes, and pains, and cares,
 Showering on thy silver hairs ;
 But now laugh on, with merry smiles,
 Laughter that no sin beguiles—

Sweet child, whose eye of azure youth
Reflects the cloudless face of truth."

From Victor Hugo we pass to another living poet, whom every lover of French literature may name with honourable pride—we allude to *Alphonso de Lamartine*. His *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses*, to which we now propose to confine our attention, have not, to the best of our knowledge, received any attention in our literary journals. Of his *Meditations*, only specimens have been offered in a monthly work. Before we proceed to consider the poetry, we cannot refrain from requesting the reader's attention to one or two extracts from the Preliminary Discourse prefixed to them.* It abounds in bursts of the noblest eloquence and of the richest imagination. It is, indeed—prose by a poet. The character of the great Latin lyrist is very beautifully drawn.

"Horace was the poet of that epoch, as Dante seems to be the poet of ours, for every epoch adopts and revives by turns one of those immortal geniuses. That season especially resembled the age of Augustus; Europe was passing out of the terrible ordeal of a revolution she did not even then understand. It was necessary to turn away the eye from a path defiled by blood; to wonder at nothing, neither changes of masters, nor changes of situation, nor murmurings, nor flattery, nor popular servility. It was necessary to glide softly over all this, so as to dash against nothing; to cast only a rapid glance upon the scenes around, for fear of discovering some object of terror and dismay; and to preach to men only that careless and facile wisdom, that epicureanism of reason, which wakes no sorrow in the slave, and gives no offence to the tyrant; which avenges everything with the light laughter of irony, amusing indifference, consoling weakness, and excusing baseness. Such a man was Horace, the friend of Brutus, the friend of Mecenas; the man who cast his buckler away at Philippi, and chaunted the stoic firmness, the *Justum et tenacem*, amid the luxuries of Tibur and the elegancies of Rome. Such a poet could not fail of pleasing at such a period: the restless power of the age beheld with secret pleasure the minds of men seduced from bold thoughts and wise resolutions to devote themselves to this soft and effeminate philosophy, which looks upon man and his destiny with smiling composure. Tyrants, and the multitude also, equally greedy of flattery, have always loved the poets of this school. It is not for them that Ferrara opens her dungeons, that Syracuse has quarries, and Florence her bands of exiles. They sing, crowned with gladness, at the banquets of the masters of the world, and in the popular saturnalia; a secret sympathy binds them to all tyrants, for these poets weaken men, while sophists corrupt them and tyrants enchain them."

"M. Daru entertained no such feeling in presenting us with his version of Horace; Horace was the friend of his heart, he wished to render him the friend of his age. But he undertook the most difficult, I had

* Discours prononcé le 1^{re} Avril, 1830, par A. de Lamartine, pour sa réception à l'Académie Française, en remplacement de M. le Comte Daru.

almost said, the most impossible labour of the human spirit. No man is translated ; the individuality of a language and a style is as incommunicable as every other individuality. The thought itself may, indeed, be transferred from one language to another ; but its form, its colour, and its harmony escape. And who can say what form is to a thought, and what colour is to an image ? But besides this, in the poetry of another age there is always a portion already dead—a sense of times, of manners, of situations, of worship, of opinions, which we no longer understand, and which cannot affect us. Take from a poet his age, his faith, his originality in short, and what will remain to him ? That which remains of a statue of the gods from which the divinity has departed—a block of marble more or less beautifully sculptured. The revolution Christianity has introduced into poetry, that revolution whose progress is so evident in Dante, in Milton, in Tasso, in Petrarch, in *Athalie*, has been slow in its action upon us—our hearts were Christian, but our lips were Pagan ; hence the coldness and discord between our poetry and the human heart. But this revolution begins to manifest itself ; it weans us from a muse without individuality ; from a philosophy without hope and without rule ; from a mythology without faith. It requires of us something grave and mysterious, like the destiny of man ; something elevated like our hopes, infinite like our desires, severe like our duties, profound and tender like our thoughts and affections. It requires of us, indeed, what the father of all modern poetry has so well defined—*Il parlar che nel anima si sente*—that language which ever soundeth in the human soul, the living echo of our inmost feelings, the melody of our thoughts.”

The *Harmonies Poétiques*, we are told by M. Lamartine, were written without any regular plan or intention ; that they are in reality pages from his private life—verses from the journal of his heart, relating less to the poet than to the man ; the involuntary and undisguised revelation of the impressions of each day, whether inspired by joy or sorrow, in solitude or in the busy world, in hope or despair, in the hours of dulness or enthusiasm, of torpidity or prayer. Thus taken separately, the *Harmonies* bear no intimate relation to each other, though when considered collectively, a principle of unity may be discovered in them ; they are all more or less strongly marked by the same deep and holy love of the Good and the True, by the same humble and Christian submission to the Divine decrees, by the same sure and certain hope of a brighter and more blessed future. Wherever the writer wanders, into whatever description of human life his genius insensibly leads him, he never forgets while he adorns the tale to point the moral ; if the cup he presents us with be covered with garlands, the precious “water of life” is within.

He addresses his verses only to a small number—meet audience though few!—to those thoughtful souls whom solitude and meditation continually lift up towards infinity—in whom every feeling is changed into enthusiasm and prayer, and whose whole life, to

employ his beautiful image, is a silent hymn to Heaven and to hope. There are hearts, he exclaims, broken by pain, by the world, who take refuge in the world of their own thoughts, in the solitude of their own soul, to weep or pray; will they be visited by a Muse solitary as themselves, find a sympathy in her tones, and sometimes say, while listening to her,—we pray with thy words, we weep with thy tears, we invoke heaven with thy songs?

To them alone, continues the poet, are these verses addressed; the world requires them not; it has its own cares and its own thoughts.

We like much the plaintive simplicity of the *Pensée des Morts*:

“ Warned by the sad and chilly time,
I look around on every side;
Alas, dear blossoms, in your prime,
Upon the tree of youth ye died!
Though young upon the earth,
Already by a lonely hearth,
I sit and see my pleasures pass;
And when unto myself I say—
‘Thy heart’s beloved—where are they?’
I look upon the grass.

“ Their tomb is upon yonder hill,
Unto my wandering footstep known—
Dwelleth the breath of life there still?
Where, Father, is their spirit flown?
Where the rich Indian river flows,
The dove, unwearied pilgrim, goes
On ocean’s desert track:
The sail, long lost, doth gleam again,
But we have watch’d and look’d in vain—
Their spirit comes not back.

“ And when the winds on autumn-eve
Along the forest blow,
Waking among the wither’d leaves
A cry of mourning, faint and low:
And when the night-bell’s chime doth pass
In plaintive echoes o’er the grass,
While the stars of night appear:
At every melancholy sound,
I whisper as I gaze around—
Is it not their voice I hear?

“ But if their voices round us roll
Too softly for our earthly ear,
The gentle music of their soul
Our pining hearts doth cheer,
And in our bosoms quiet sleep.
The memories of those watchers creep

Modern French Religious Poetry.

Around us in our griefs forlorn—
 As leaves decay'd in Autumn past,
 Are borne upon the wintry blast,
 Unto the tree where they were born.

“ It is a mother stretching out
 From another world those arms,
 That oft her children twin'd about,
 Had cradled from alarms.
 Their kisses on her lips are shed,
 And on her bosom, once their bed,
 Again their tearful cheeks recline :
 But sadness steals her smiles away,
 Her look of sorrow seems to say,
Oh, is your love for them like mine ! ”

“ It is a young and beauteous bride,
 Who, while the wreath of bloom
 Was round her throbbing brow, did glide
 In her youth's sunshine to the tomb ;
 And pining in the bowers above,
 For her first and cherish'd love,
 Awhile she leaves that garden fair,
 And gently sighs—‘ my grave is green,
 Upon the world's deserted scene
 Why lingerest thou——*I am not there !* ”

When did the falling leaves of autumn inspire a sweeter meditation?—so truly does Lamartine verify the remark of a contemporary French critic, who said that his poetry seemed to be suspended between the heaven and the earth, human affection and mystical love being the poles between which it appears to gravitate.

Our next specimen is of a different character. We may turn over many volumes of poetry without meeting with a prettier composition than the following *Hymn of an Infant at its Waking*. It is as simple as the songs of Watts, and much more poetical.

“ Father, to whom my father prays,
 In sorrow's long and dreary days ;
 Thou, whose look of love doth chase
 The shadow from my mother's face :
 “ They say thy goodness giveth birth
 Unto the sweet birds of the earth,
 And teacheth the infant's gentle heart
 To love and know thee as thou art.
 “ They say thy bounteous hand doth shed
 The flowers upon our garden bed
 Unwatered and unblest'd by thee,
 No fruit would bend our orchard tree.

- " Thy blessings in a balmy shower
Fall upon each field and flower;
No insect, in the darkest spot,
In nature's gladness, is forgot.
- " No sacrifice requirest Thou
For these rich gifts, no costly vow :
This simple rite thy laws proclaim—
At morn and eve to call upon thy name !
- " O Father, nourish the clear fountains,
Sprinkle the herbs upon the mountains,
Watch on the shivering lambkin's need,
Give dews and shadows to the mead ;
- " Raise the sick man's drooping head,
Give the pining beggar bread,
Lead the orphan home with Thee,
Set the weeping prisoner free ;
- " Make Thy wisdom my delight,
Make me spotless in Thy sight,
That no bitter tear may be
In my mother's eyes for me."

We cannot find a more meet companion for this poem than an extract from the prayer of charity children for their unknown patrons :—

- " O Thou, who dost incline thine ear
Unto the humble swallow's nest,
And on the hill side lov'st to cheer
The wild herb's fainting breast,
- " Keep and guard them, blessed Lord,
For them our prayers to Thee have flown,—
O let their homes with joy be stor'd,
Protect and love them as thine own.
- " We know them not—alas, in vain
Their names our thankful hearts do seek,
Their hand of mercy hath no strain,—
Their deeds of kindness only speak.
- " Before their lips have breathed a word,
Before the tear steals to their eye—
O Father, let the prayer be heard—
O let the gathering shadow fly."

The nightingale has been the theme of all poets, from Sophocles to Wordsworth. We hear it, thanks to the masters of song, among the twilight violets of Colonos, and in the ivied solitude of Tintern Abbey.* Lamartine has not been silent in her praise :—

* See Wordsworth's exquisite poem on *Tintern*.

- " When thy celestial voice doth sing
Unto the midnight summer sky,
In the dark shadow cowering,
Thou thinkest not that I am by.
- " Thou thinkest not my charmed ear
Upon thy song doth dwell,
In a long, mute, and listening fear,
Down in the moonlight dell.
- " O little dreamest thou, my breath,
Half stifled, on my lips doth pass,
And my dumb footstep fears to tread
The leaf upon the grass.
- " But if a star comes dancing through
The shade the ivy weaves,
Dashing away the pearly dew
Thou glidest thro' the thickest leaves.
- " If, ruffled by a bough or stone,
The gentle summer rill
Waketh among the moss a sound,
Thy troubled voice is still.
- " Thy music is too pure and sweet
To our sad dwellings to be given,
It cometh down from God to thee,
And it returneth back to heaven.
- " Among the rich and odorous night
Of branches, where the twilight dreams,
There wakes for thee a fresh delight,
And melody from all the streams.
- " Thy voice, tho' to thyself unknown,
Is the voice of the blue air,
Bringing from the green boughs a tone,
That lulleth pain and care.
- " Thou borrowest every silvery note
From the murmur of the wave,
The sound that on the grass doth float,
The echo of the cave.
- " The fount that drop by drop doth creep
Along the tinkling stones to rest,
Till in the reeds it sinks to sleep—
Its music liveth in thy breast.
- " O mingle now thy voice with mine,
The same kind ear on both doth wait ;
But that soft harmony of thine
Mounts swiftest unto heaven's gate !"

We shall conclude our specimens from Lamartine for the present with three stanzas from *Le Tombeau d'une Mère*. They were

probably written in commemoration of his own parent, whose loss he mourns at the beginning of his *Discourse*.

- " There slumber sixty years of sleepless thought
Unwearied watching for my sake alone,
Of innocence by sweet religion taught :
So many earnest prayers to heaven flown :
Virtue and faith spoke in her parting breath—
She sorrow'd not—immortal in her death !
- " So many watches near the sufferer kept,
So many blessings scattered by her hand,
So many tears poured forth with them who wept,
So many longings for the blessed land.
Gently she walked beneath life's stormy sky,
The garland of her honour was on high.
- " And my sad eyes from this great witness took
Comfort and hope, and from the flowery ground
Through the fast fading shadows I did look,
And in my soul the song of peace did sound.
Bless'd unto whom a mother pure is given—
We cannot stand upon her grave, and doubt of heaven !"

We cannot bring this article to a more appropriate conclusion than by the following poem upon *Death*, by Mlle. Amable Tastu, a lady occupying a distinguished place in modern French poetry, and who appears to blend with great skill the imagination of the romanticists, with the taste and elegance of the classicists. Madame Tastu is the wife of a printer at Paris, and has, we believe, undergone the trials of adversity. In this situation her poetry must have been a consolation, for it is the poetry of a Christian.

We shall give the original, a practice almost always desirable, but in this case absolutely required by the merits of the author.

- " Quand de la vie essayant le voyage
L'enfant sourit à son naissant destin,
La Mort est là ; comme un léger nuage
Elle apparaît à l'horizon lointain :
Sans redouter cette ombre fugitive,
Qu'aperçoit seule une mère craintive,
Il vit bercé d'ignorance et d'espoir ;
Son bon matin ne prévoit point de soir.
La Mort est là, quand des jours de l'enfance,
Aux mains du temps, le sable est écoulé.
Avec effroi la vive adolescence
Distingue alors son fantôme voilé ;
Au sein des jeux, aux heures de l'étude,
Une soudaine et vague inquiétude
Vers cet objet ramène son regard ;
Le voile obscur se soulève plus tard.

Il est une heure, où l'aveugle jeunesse
 D'un vain espoir laisse échapper l'ivresse,
 Heure funeste où les premiers malheurs
 Font à nos yeux verser les premiers pleurs,
 Où tout entier le monde se révèle !
 La Mort est là ; mais la Mort paraît belle !
 C'est un jeune Ange, au maintien triste et doux ;
 D'un léger deuil le voile l'environne,
 De pâles fleurs son bon front se couronne ;
 C'est un ami qui s'approche de nous ;
 D'aucun effroi sa marche n'est pas suivie ;
 Ses chastes mains, du flambeau de la vie
 Contre le sol pressent l'éclat mortel ;
 Mais d'un regard il endort la souffrance,
 Mais tous ses traits rayonnent d'espérance,
 Mais il sourit et nous montre le ciel !
 Du jour bientôt le midi nous éclaire,
 Et, dégagé des vapeurs du matin,
 L'Ange grandit ; son front devient sévère
 En dépouillant ce nuage incertain :
 Plus il s'avance et plus on le redoute ;
 Tous les trésors amassés sur la route,
 Sa vaste main s'ouvre pour les ravir,
 Et c'est alors que la Mort fait palir !
 Mais elle approche et s'agrandit sans cesse ;
 Déjà s'enfuit sous l'ombre qui s'abaisse,
 L'âme entrevoit le terme du chemin ;
 L'éclat mourant d'un soir sans lendemain ;
 Du poids des ans s'accroît notre faiblesse ;
 La Mort est là ; courbés par la vieillesse,
 Quand nous touchons à ses pieds redoutés,
 Son front immense est caché sous la nue ;
 Mais si le spectre échappe à notre vue,
 Nous le sentons debout à nos côtés."

We have omitted a few lines towards the conclusion of the poem.

We find nothing in Blair's *Grave* equal to the solemn enthusiasm and grandeur of this noble poem. If we were required to point out a rival to it in English poetry, we know not how we could find one without going to Milton. The reader will be reminded both of Homer and Æschylus in the course of its perusal, and he may probably remember a passage in the *Agamemnon* which bears a particular resemblance to the image of the Veiled Phantom.

There are a few lines in La Martine's *Meditation* upon Immortality that deserve a place by the side of *La Mort*. We will translate them.

" Let others start back with affrighted eye
From thy black horror-struck declivity,
Let others with closed eyes and drooping head,
Hang o'er the quiet pillow of the dead.
All hail to thee, O Death ! thou com'st to me
Clad in no chilling gorgon panoply,
Mine eye unscath'd thy awful face hath scann'd,
I see no sword of terror in thy hand.
My head in gladness at thy feet I bow,
I see no darkening shadow on thy brow.

" O messenger of hope and peace from God,
Bearer of joy and blessing, not the rod :
Thy hand, celestial soother of our cares,
From Paradise a torch of glory bears,
And gentle Faith, the Christian's angel-guide,
Unfolds a world of beauty at thy side !

" Come then, dear spirit, quickly, and unbind
The earthly chains that press upon my mind.
Oh, wherefore lingerest thou ? Appear ! appear !
E'en now my spirit sorrows to be here,
Longing to that Great Being to ascend,
At once my bright beginning and my end ! "

We may return to this subject in another article. Modern French poetry has many more flowers of Sion to offer to the careful gatherer. We hope also to carry our researches into the fields of Italy and Spain, where the precious vine of religious poetry has not been altogether trodden down.

ART. VII.—*The Gospel in the Church: a Sermon delivered at the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Massachusetts: Wednesday, June 20, 1832. By George Washington Doane, A.M. Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.*

" HERE, to day, in a New World," says this eloquent preacher, " a world, of which no poet then had dreamed, after the lapse of seventeen ages, and at a distance of five thousand miles, the Gospel which Paul preached is proclaimed; the Sacraments which Paul transmitted are administered; and a Council of the Church, with their Epaphroditus at their head, is assembled, in the name of God, and in His service, in precisely the same orders, laymen, deacons, presbyters, which Paul addressed at Philippi. Let there a man rise up, that can give, on human principles, a satisfactory solution of this strange exemption from human change."

This striking appeal has revived in our mind a wish which has been long indulged. Is it not greatly to be desired that some able pen among those, which the American Church now numbers in her service, were employed in a task which would furnish a good practical comment on this passage,* in tracing a sketch of the rise and progress of that vigorous branch of true Apostolical Christianity? Our present information, on this side the Atlantic, is confined to mere statistic records, or such scanty details as are supplied by the Reports of Religious Societies, memorials existing only in scattered papers, and necessarily deficient in those anecdotes of individual character, which give life and truth to a narration. We have indeed received a few interesting pieces of biography, forming a partial exception to this remark; but they are such as serve rather to enlighten detached portions, than to show the general result of a combined agency. Yet, it must be allowed, few historical facts are more remarkable than the present state of Protestant Episcopacy in America. That a Church almost strangled in its birth amidst the calamities of the first settlers, repeatedly and openly proscribed by the dominant powers in the New England colonies, scarcely allowed to set its foot on ground occupied by the more peaceful followers of Penn, and after all these crosses almost deprived of its ministry by the shock of the Revolution, should yet have attained that prominent uncompromising character and station it now holds throughout the Anglo-American Continent;—and holds in the midst of institutions supposed so inconsistent with Episcopal regimen;—is a phenomenon which deserves to be accounted for, and which promises to repay the patient enquirer with evidence calculated to confirm his faith, and instruct his practice.

It seems indeed to have happened by some fatal neglect that the history of these struggles has never attracted the notice to which it is fully entitled; and consequently much wrong has been done to truth in the received notions of the American Church. In the absence of more accessible records, this field of missionary labour has been claimed as peculiar to other societies of the Christian name; and our Society for Propagating the Gospel, to which the growth and protection of that Church in the early part of the last century is mainly owing, has been accused of having done little more than entered into the fruits of other men's labours. It is scarcely believed into what

* There is something truly spirit-stirring in the tone of this noble discourse, which speaks to the heart of all who would hesitate to avow sincere Church principles. The zealous author, we rejoice to find, has since been consecrated a Bishop in that Church, of which he has proved himself so able an advocate. But we trust some vigorous hand will be found to take up the "*Banner of the Church*," which has thus lost its Editor.

moral deserts the sound of the Gospel was borne by the agency of this Society.

Looking however to the order of time for a proper introduction to the subject, we must speak of a still earlier period, and it will be no trifling satisfaction to us, if we can rescue from total oblivion some charitable deeds attending the settlement of the first British Colony. The earliest annals of Virginia offer some details, which show a large benevolence and much real piety actuating the designs of its original Patrons. The period, at which the colony was founded, was indeed one of too much hope to the English Church, to have suffered such an opportunity to pass neglected. "The spirit of discovery," says Robertson,* speaking of the æra of the Reformation, "was connected with zeal for religion, which, *in that age*, was a principle of such activity and vigour as to influence the conduct of nations." It was a zeal not yet extinct in the bosom of the English people. To the party composing Raleigh's first colony in 1585, was attached one individual of mental powers and character far exceeding the usual average of forlorn adventurers in a new soil. This was Thomas Hariot, the friend, or as he calls himself in the duteous phrase of olden time, "the Servant of Sir Walter Raleigh," an eminent Scholar and Mathematician, who lived with Raleigh, and received a pension from him, the associate of his studies, and now the active promoter of his purposed colony. The well known failure of this first effort is attributed by Hariot more to the unruly conduct of the settlers, than to any difficulties offered by the country or the native inhabitants. The hope of gold had been the first allurement, and the time was wasted in vain searches for a mine, which should have been employed in erecting a fort, and cultivating the ground to raise crops for the ensuing season. Hariot himself was indefatigable in procuring information respecting the country, its produce, and capabilities, all which he afterwards details in a very intelligent manner; and his intercourse with the Indians was so conducted as became an Oxford Scholar acting the part of the first English Missionary in the New World.

"Many times," says he,† "and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and

* Hist. Am. B. 1. Vol. 1. p. 71. ed. 1792. It is a singular mark of the *philosophical* temper of Robertson, that he could pen such a sentence without feeling the satire it implied on his own time.

† Hariot's Narrative in Hackluyt. Vol. iii. p. 337.

chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to utter and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itselfe was not of any such virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but onely the doctrine therein contained; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of."

In this extract we recognize the stamp of truth from its consistency with what later authorities have described of the manners of the North Americans, though the simplicity of the people had, perhaps, no such meaning as Hariot attributes to them. He judged, however, that the sight of the superior arts possessed by his countrymen would naturally incline the natives to inquire after their worship. He avoided all pretences to any supernatural powers which these people were ready to attribute to him,* and undeceived them, as well as he could, when they ascribed some visitations of sickness which occurred among them to the power of the stranger's God. Nor did he neglect to use his utmost influence with his countrymen to restrain their violence from invading the life and property of the Indians. But the first colony returned to England in the following year, and with its departure ended all the benevolent efforts of Hariot.

The calamitous end which befel Raleigh's second colony, in 1587, seems to have discouraged all private enterprises for some years afterwards. But it should not be forgotten, that in the interval between these attempts and the founding of James Town, in 1606, a chief promoter of the design was Richard Hackluyt himself, the compiler of our earliest records of maritime discovery. Hackluyt was a Presbyter of the Church of England, Prebendary of Bristol and Westminster; and, possessing a competent private fortune, he seems to have employed the resources it gave him in the promotion of knowledge, and encouraging the new-born spirit of discovery. From his collection of Voyages, full of laborious research on the Spanish and Portugeze enterprises, which he first published in 1589, the English people gained, almost exclusively, that information which guided them to colonize America. But his were not labours of the pen only. To his exertions it was owing that more than one expedition was fitted out in 1602 and 1605† for the American continent; but the mismanagement of those who were entrusted with the command entirely frustrated the object of the projector.

* Hariot's Narrative in Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 338. One cannot but think with regret of the contrast presented, *two centuries later*, in the unhappy circumstances which led to the death of the distinguished Captain Cooke.

† Life of Hackluyt, in Biog. Brit.

When at length, chiefly by Hackluyt's energy, the Virginian Company was formed, and better conducted efforts had succeeded in making the permanent settlement of James Town, the design of planting the Church, with the Colony, in the wilderness was not delayed. There was evidently a common interest felt by king and subject in this part of the design. The writings of the day are full of commiserating expressions of the Spanish cruelty to the natives of the New World, and it was felt incumbent upon the professors of a purer faith to guard against such atrocities. The words of the Order in Council, by which James accompanied his grant of the Charter, were very express to this purpose. They directed, "that all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people of those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God; and that all just and charitable courses should be taken with such of them as would conform themselves to any good and sociable traffic, thereby the sooner to bring them to the knowledge of God and the obedience of the king."*

In the mean time Archbishop Bancroft, a prelate very watchful against any inlets to non-conformity, is said to have protected the Church-membership of the infant colony by procuring a royal proclamation, forbidding any persons to join it without the king's licence.†

To advocate the civil or ecclesiastical policy of that reign is now so deplored a cause, that in speaking of either it may seem more bold than wise to forsake the beaten track of contempt and obloquy. "All writers," said Johnson, "whose opinions are regulated by fashion or interest, impute to this reign the original of every tenet they have been taught to think false or foolish." If he could say this of the writers of his time, what would he have said, had he lived to read the classic declamation of Mackintosh, or the studied periods of Hallam? But the philosophy which judges by the event is sure to command the majority; the disciple of truth must look deeper for his grounds of praise or censure. At a time when it is thought ridiculous to acknowledge an over-ruling Providence in the public acts of a great nation, the language of James's Order in Council will appear to show nothing but the hypocrisy of king-craft; and by the friends of religious liberty, this precaution of Bancroft will be legitimately matched with Laud's subsequent detention of Cromwell, Hazlerigge, and Hampden. With regard to the first point, however, it is but fair to allow, that James, who took so lively an interest in the religious affairs of his time in every part of the world, was not likely to neglect the extension of Christianity in his own territory. As to

* Stith's Hist. of Virginia, p. 40.

† Rapin's Hist. vol. ii. p. 176.

Bancroft and Laud, the question involving a public principle not irrelevant to our present subject, we will beg to offer a few remarks.

The first result of the Reformation in England was to restore the Union of Church and State; the second was the development of the principle of Toleration. The advocates of both stand among the most honoured names which the Church of England cherishes for her own. Hooker was the advocate of Union;* Toleration was reserved for the pens of Chillingworth and Taylor.† In estimating the value of either principle in a social point of view, it surely cannot be held unreasonable to prefer the first. To guide a nation in the way of truth is the first duty of governors; unity of faith is the only sure bond of social union. The good here aimed at is direct, and of the highest interest. To tolerate what is simply erroneous is an indirect means to this end; if it loses sight of the end altogether, we may perhaps doubt whether in itself it is a good. It is aiming for a state of peace where truth has no protection. Let the state of the dense masses in our populous districts speak to the natural operation of such a principle.

We are aware that these are not the views of nine-tenths of the declaimers for religious liberty, but they were the views of its best champions. The aim of Hooker, and of Chillingworth and Taylor, was the same, and they had precisely the same opponents to encounter; only the experience of fiercer times led the later advocates to perceive a means which Hooker had not seen, but which human weakness rendered necessary. It was a means which did, indeed, tend with happy success

“To join again the sunder’d unity:”

but let us not disguise the evils it has brought in in its train—the loss of all national co-operation—the injury done to the reli-

* The real sentiments of Hooker upon this subject, and his distinctions of things spiritual and civil, will be better understood when the genuine remains of his Eighth Book shall be published, in a new edition of his Works, which we are expecting with some anxiety from the Clarendon Press, under the editorship of one best able to do justice to that great injured name, the present distinguished Poetry Professor.

† The following assertion is supposed to have been made by the late Sir James Mackintosh:—“By the Independent Divines, who were his instructors, was Locke taught those principles of religious liberty which they were the first to disclose to the world.”—*Edin. Rev.* Oct. 1831. We should be glad to learn what Independent Divines are here alluded to. That the *sect* in its public professions, amidst many tenets of an opposite tendency, held some which contained the germs of Christian liberty, cannot be denied; but we look in vain for any more enlarged views than the erection of their own system on the ruins of Presbyterianism. One may say of the two contending parties, as Horace Walpole said of the Barons’ Wars—“If any sparks of true liberty were struck out, it arose not from the single virtue of either flint or steel, but from their collision.” As to Locke, his well-known expressed veneration of Chillingworth might be a sufficient guide to the source from which he learnt the principles of religious liberty.

gion of the poor, where jealousy forbade the enlargement of the Church—and the growth of that principle of selfishness which now threatens to destroy all that toleration was designed to save.*

It cannot be denied that in a new colony like that now planted in America, a fair field was laid open for a new system of religious policy; and the free allowance of cities of refuge in the New World might have prevented or alleviated some of the succeeding mischiefs. But religious differences, however they were used to exasperate the civil commotions of that age, were not the primary springs of action. They served to dress out scruples for the multitude, but the leading spirits were actuated by other motives. The intrigues of Pym would have recalled the bold ambition of Cromwell from the woods, however Laud might have encouraged his departure. It was James's error to suppose he could appease the turbulent zealots of his reign by religious conferences—dealing with them as a sect till he found they were a faction. Bancroft's measures were directed differently, and at least with a truer estimate of the temper of the party. Labouring with "incomparable diligence for the preservation of peace and unity,"† and "jealous for his country's safety," he saw where the real danger lay; and while he was "no rigid persecutor of any that had not in their composition the gall of treason mixed with religion," he checked the Romanists by a prudent policy, but openly discouraged the Puritans. It was, therefore, in perfect consistency with these views that his measures were taken respecting Virginia, and to these views we owe the planting of the American Church. Had it not been for these views, it is scarcely

* This new principle of social union, which, strange to say, the St. Simonians have most ably exposed, viz.—"Every man for himself, &c." was in the times of which we are speaking, held to be a mere infidel principle. Tasso, who evidently considered it an impossible chimera, had put it into the mouth of his Pagan diplomatist:

"Il mezzo, onde l'un resti all' altro avvinto,

Sia la Virtù, s'esser non può la Fede."—*Gier. L. ii. p. 64.*

Baxter, as some of his admirers might remember, sinks it still lower. "If the Old Serpent do but see that there is a Sovereign Power that can do him a mischief, he is ready to tell them, 'they must be merciful, and not deal cruelly with sinners. Nay, it belongs not to them to reform, or to judge who are heretics and who not; or to restrain false doctrines or church disturbers. Christ is sufficient for this himself.' How oft hath the devil preached thus to tie the hands of those that might wound him!" This is from one of Baxter's best practical treatises, his *Method for a Settled Peace of Conscience*. In fact, the truth lies neither with Baxter, nor with those whose cry is loudest on the other side.

† These are the words, not of Clarendon, but of Osborne, a cotemporary who had no favour for churchmen, and no attachment to the memory of James's government. Harrington, a writer still more averse from Bancroft's principles, speaks of the seditious character of the sectaries whom he restrained; and bears high testimony to his upright conduct and vigilance, "which truth rather than kindness forceth me to say." In fact, had he been merely what some have represented him, a religious persecutor, how did it happen that during his primacy, a period so rife with puritanism, not more than thirty-nine ministers were deprived for non-conformity?

possible there should have been an episcopalian congregation for that century in America.

His conduct is the more easily defensible on religious grounds, if we consider him to have looked upon the new colony as, what it was in some measure, a missionary enterprise. There could be little hope of success among the heathen, while the Christians were themselves at variance; and this was felt to be of such importance on so late an occasion as the first missionary voyage to the South Sea, that when it was found a difference existed respecting the Calvinistic Articles on the part of two of the brotherhood, it was deemed inexpedient to proceed with them, had not their timely compliance prevented further question.*

But we resume our narrative. The heroic deeds of Captain Smith, and the perils from which his valour and conduct saved the infant settlement, a little mixed with the marvellous of his own relation, have found an elegant record in the concluding pages of Robertson. The virtuous compassion of Pocahontas, that Hypsipyle of the wilds, is now immortalized, in sculpture of the school of Canova, over the western door of the Rotunda of the Capitol, at Washington; and her name is less likely to be forgotten, if it is true, as lately stated in a pleasing American work,† that their distinguished statesman, the Hon. John Randolph, is a lineal descendant of her marriage with Master John Rolfe, the "honest gentleman of good behaviour," who made her a Christian convert, and afterwards his wife. Less regard has been paid to those gratifying facts, which exhibit the care of our countrymen for the promotion of Christianity in the new territory.

It appears that from the first those regulations were sent out which tended to secure the religious instruction of the settlers by a permanent body of clergy in the colony. Probably by Bancroft's influence, as each new borough was formed, it was ordered that a portion of glebe-land should be set apart for a clergyman; and subsequently a sort of tithe was paid on the produce of the plantations, and on the tobacco, when the cultivation of that profitable weed was introduced. If these regulations, from the rapid changes of the governors and other causes, were not always complied with, yet several clergymen were at an early period residing in Virginia; and such a provision was secured to them by several later acts of the Colonial Council. But a plan of more unusual interest soon evinced the king's good intentions to his new Indian subjects. Pocahontas had now been received at court, an occasion which called out all the *bonhommie* of a king who, with all his notions of prerogative, was too good-natured to be a tyrant;

* See *Missionary Voyage in the Ship Duff, 1797.*

† *Thatcher's Indian Biography*, vol. i. p. 76.

but her premature death, in 1617, cut short any other friendly services she might have effected. Her short history, however, promised well for the conversion of the Indians. James issued letters to the bishops for collecting money to build a college in Virginia for the education of Indian children; a large grant of land was set apart for the support of it; and many liberal contributions, for that period, amounting to about £4,000, were made in promotion of the royal design. Among the names distinguished for their efforts in the cause were those of Sir Edwin Sandys, then Treasurer to the Company; Dr. John King, Bishop of London; and that character of singular primitive piety and loyalty, Nicholas Ferrar,* of Little Gidding. A characteristic mark of the spirit which actuated them is to be found in a memorial of a letter preserved by Stith.

"The unknown benefactor, who had before given £550 for the conversion and education of Indian children, now wrote to the Company to complain of the non-fulfilment of his intentions. He further proposed to them the procuring some of the male children of the Indians to be brought over into England, to be educated and taught, and to wear a habit, as the children at Christ's Hospital do; and desired that the £550 might be devoted to that use, promising to add £450 to it, to make £1,000, as soon as eight or ten Indian children should be placed in Christ's Hospital, or in the Virginian School or Hospital, as it might be called, which he doubted not would be yearly augmented by the legacies and gifts of good men. But if they liked not this proposition, then it was his humble suit and motion that the former gift of £550 should be immediately applied to the erection and endowment of a Free School in Virginia, in which English and Indian children should be taught and brought up together. And so praying that the Lord would give them wise and understanding hearts, that His work herein might not be negligently performed, he concludes, and subscribes himself *Dust and Ashes*—a name he had from the first assumed in his correspondence on this subject."—*Stith*, pp. 214, 215.

These pious designs were, indeed, much retarded in the execution. It appears that the £550 had been laid out in an iron-work, "of which the proceeds *were to be* employed in educating thirty Indian children!" No doubt there were many first wants to be supplied; and the colonists must begin to find a market at home for their tobacco, (in spite of the king's "Counterblast,") before any could afford to pay a rental for the college lands, and support a public foundation of this nature. But this does not seem to acquit the agents of gross misapplication in their disposal

* This good man is recorded to have done much for securing the religion and good policy of the colony, by his written instructions sent out from time to time while he was Deputy Treasurer. He is also said to have contemplated retiring to Virginia, with a view to direct the missionary proceedings there, but was diverted from it by causes which are here related.—*Life of N. Ferrar by Dr. Peckard*, pp. 132, 133, and 107.

of this charitable fund. Great as were the difficulties of the first years, the colony was now in a thriving posture. The governors, Lord De la Warr and Sir George Yardley, had in a few years done much to advance its prosperity: new settlers thronged to it in great numbers from the mother-country,* and all fears for its ultimate success must have been long removed. The names of the gentle Southampton, Sandys and Ferrar, now in highest trust with the Company in England, forbid the suspicion of connivance on their part: it must, therefore, be attributed to the rapacity of more vulgar minds in the settlement itself.

Unhappily the best patrons of the colony now found full employment to divert their attention from distant abuses in the contest they had to maintain with an adverse influence at home. The dexterous Gondomar, than whom no ambassador ever did more by "lying abroad for the service of his country," had jealously watched the rising fortunes of Virginia. The proposal of the Spanish match had won over the vanity of James,† and Spanish gold had probably done its work with many of his courtiers. The upright and spirited conduct of Nicholas Ferrar for some time held out against these machinations; but, at length, in 1624, a decree of the judges pronounced the charter void, and Virginia became a royal government.

Before this contest was decided, however, the colony had been again brought to the verge of ruin. The source was one hitherto unsuspected; and hence the singular cunning and ferocity, with which the attack was conducted, were rewarded with a bloody triumph. The Indian Opechancanoe, whom the Americans call the Virginian Hannibal, (more for his perfidy, we suppose, than for any other resemblance,) was the most deadly foe whom the English have ever found in the range of savage life. On the 22d of March, 1622, the design, for which he had incessantly

* More than 1200 persons came over in 1619 only.—*Douglass, N. America*, vol. ii. p. 389; *Wynne*, vol. i. p. 36.

† It seems ridiculous to accuse the king of a deliberate co-operation with the designs of Spain against the interest of his own crown. In fact, the Spanish party, if such there were, seem to have mistaken the game they had to play. Unjust as the act of annulling the charter was, it is not denied that the consequences were at once beneficial to the colony, which was become a field of too much importance to be governed by a trading company. Osborne gives a very characteristic account of Gondomar's interview with James: "His manner was first to disturb his passions, and after to appease them by some facetious drollery, before he embarked himself in what he intended to make the employment of the present audience; King James participating in the misfortune of all passionate men, especially such as abound in fear, that he always carried a traitor in his face, of which every wise by-stander made use. Whether out of design, or not provided of better, he did usually in his private visits to King James, *speak false Latin*; for which he had such dexterous evasions, that his majesty could by no means make so good use of what was more congruous; not wanting spirit to tell the king when he upbraided him, that he himself spoke like a prince free and unconfin'd; his majesty like a grammarian, as if afraid of the *ferula*."

toiled among his savage confederates, was matured. The various tribes were drawn together, and detachments sent to the borders of each plantation, there to await in silence the signal of their chief. They marched by moonlight through the gloom of tangled forests, but with a precision and secrecy that would have done honour to disciplined troops. One by one, treading in each other's footsteps, and even adjusting the long grass and branches which they had displaced, they came all unseen to the posts appointed, and waited till noon to begin the work of death. At that hour of the labourer's rest, the English had scarcely retired to their dwellings, when they saw themselves surrounded on all sides by an enemy to whom their unsuspecting confidence had in many instances given arms for their own destruction. The Indians spared neither sex nor age. In a single hour fell three hundred and forty-seven, men, women and children; and the destruction would perhaps have been total, had it not been for a converted Indian, named Chanco, whose disclosure to the English family, with whom he was domesticated, saved James' Town and its neighbourhood.

In the day of public calamity, the works of piety and charity are the first to suffer. Among the slaughtered colonists was George Thorpe, formerly of the King's Bedchamber, Deputy of the College Lands, a Magistrate and Member of the Council, and by rank and merit one of the principal men in Virginia. He seems to have been one who deserves a better record than the rude annals of the colony supply; one who came out in the devoted spirit of a missionary, and left no honest arts untried to Christianize the Indians.* To Opechancanoe in particular he had paid the most amicable attentions, had built him a house in the English fashion, and had heard him express his wish to be instructed in Christianity. His people were now dwelling commonly intermixed with the settlers; inducements had been held out to them to labour conjointly in the plantations; they were daily received and lodged in the houses of the English, and fed at their tables. Not the slightest force appears to have been put upon them; there was neither any attempt nor wish to imitate the Spanish Repartimientos. So unwilling was Thorpe to believe their treachery, that when his servant came with the alarm he gave him no credit, and thus his life became the penalty of his mistaken confidence. The college lands were now deserted, an exterminating war ensued, and all attempts to civilize or convert the natives were long abandoned.

* One little anecdote of this kind is preserved by the historians, that on occasion of the Indians showing terror at the sight of some English mastiffs, he ordered the dogs to be destroyed.

Robertson has accused the colonists of culpable negligence. It seems the historian was not aware of all the facts, perhaps not aware of the peculiar habits of the enemy;* but this tone of remark seems congenial to an age when religion was not a principle to "influence the social conduct of nations." There is at least something harsh in the expression of this opinion, by one who could speculate at ease in his study on scenes of suffering and confusion. It is plain that the facility of intercourse allowed to the Indians, was kept up with the best of purposes. The means by which the massacre was checked is an interesting proof that the purpose had not entirely failed of success; but it can scarcely be a matter of surprise, that so grievous a calamity should have put an end to all further confidence.

We have now approached the troubled period of Charles I., when the state of things at home permitted little attention to the settlers in Virginia. The accounts of these years are scanty and imperfect, and tell of little but burning woods and hostile incursions. In the mean time, the more peaceable settlement of New England had invited many emigrants there. Yet the horrors of an Indian war, after a second and greater massacre in 1639, were less fearful to many of our countrymen than the civil rage which burst upon them in their native land. We dwell only on the public effects of such conflicts, and are happy to forget the aggregate of private misery, the wreck of social peace, which drove the chivalry of England to a voluntary banishment. The spirit which animated the Virginian exiles, after the final defeat at Worcester, is well attested by Clarendon.†

"Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, had invited many gentlemen and others thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully. Upon which supposition, and out of confidence in the governor, many persons of condition and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor (for no man meant better) was so confirmed in his confidence, that he wrote to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that while the parliament had something else to do, the plantation was more improved in people and stock than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood.‡ But, alas! they

* "The Indian, perfectly naked, his hair cut short, and his skin oiled, creeps under the canvas of the tent, and moving like a ghost, stretches out his hand with so gentle a motion as to disturb not even those who are awake and watching. Against such thieves it is hardly possible to guard."—*Sir Charles Bell's Bridgewater Essay*, p. 29.

† Hist. Reb. B. xiii. ad fin.

‡ This is the only allusion Clarendon makes to the fate of Opechancanoe, which is also unnoticed by Robertson. That wily savage had in the interval tried successively his arts of war and peace against the colonists, till, in 1639, provoked by Sir John

were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in making the best advantage of their particular plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the parliament, than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkeley was allowed to remain, as a private man upon his own plantation. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's expected restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience."

With this pleasing record we must leave for the present the history of Virginia. It shows the principle that guided Hale and Sanderson at home, directing the submission of the American loyalists. Long afterwards it was their boast, "that as they were the last of the king's subjects who renounced their allegiance, they were the first to return to their duty." Of the individuals who, by thus prudently yielding to the storm, were enabled to wait in quietness and confidence for better times; or what "persons of condition, and good officers in the war," had previously sought refuge in the colony, we know little or nothing. There was a scion of the house of Percy, there were members of the family of Sandys and Ferrar among the early settlers, particularly the amiable poet and traveller, George Sandys, who speaks with feeling piety of his escapes amidst the Indian war, in the beautiful hymn "*Deo Opt. Max.*" at the close of his Sacred Poems. Something of such a spirit, the suffering of a calm loyalty, and the mild genius of apostolic Christianity, is traceable in these faint memorials of the first planting of the Church in America. Something of the spirit still survived to distinguish the public acts of this colony in later and more peaceful times. They, who sowed the seed of our faith in the new soil, have scarcely left the record of a name behind. Their virtues were tried in hard perils; their lives devoted to obscure benefits. But the stream that waters the forest glade fulfils the design of heavenly mercy, though the tongue of men is silent in its praise.

Harvey, an arbitrary governor, who made large grants of his territory, he contrived a second massacre, in which five hundred of the English are computed to have perished. He was now decrepid with age, and is said to have directed the hostile movements borne in a litter by his people. When he was at length taken by Sir William Berkeley, the worthy cavalier, admiring a rude bravery unbroken by age and suffering, (for he was supposed to have been ninety years of age,) treated him with respect and tenderness; but he was treacherously shot by one of the soldiers who guarded him, probably in resentment of some private loss. When he was dying, hearing a noise of persons crowding into his chamber, he desired the governor might be sent for, and on his coming said with something of scorn, "Had I taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to my people."

ART. VIII.—*A Petition to the House of Lords for Ecclesiastical Improvements, with Explanations.* By the Rev. C. N. Wodehouse, Prebendary of Norwich. London: Longman & Co. 1832.

THIS Pamphlet was published, we believe, early in the Autumn of 1832: but the Petition on which it is founded, having been delayed by accidental circumstances, was not presented to the House of Lords until the 5th of August in the present year. The nature of the publication may be sufficiently explained by two short passages, taken from the introduction.

“Having already circulated privately many copies of a Petition to the House of Lords, praying for Improvement in one branch of the Ecclesiastical System of the Church to which I have the privilege to belong, no apology, I hope, can be necessary for laying the Petition before the public, together with the grounds which have induced me to adopt, what may appear to some a hazardous measure. Such an explanation can indeed only be deemed a natural and even necessary step, in order to justify my views and to guard against error and misapprehension.”

“The object of the Petition which I am now to explain is to obtain an alteration or explanation of certain parts of the Liturgy of our Church. A Revision of the whole, as well as other Ecclesiastical Improvements, will be also considered.” p. 4.

The Petition itself begins by alluding to the Subscriptions and Declarations which are required from every Clergyman at his Ordination, and upon his Institution to a Benefice, and then proceeds to say—

“That your Petitioner, on reviewing in after years the engagements which he had thus entered into, became doubtful whether he could renew them if called upon to do so; that further reflection only serving to add strength to such scruples, he feels himself bound no longer to conceal his opinions; and that he now ventures to lay them before your Lordships, in the hope of being relieved from the difficulty in which he is involved.

“That your Petitioner begs accordingly to state, that when called upon to declare the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England to be in every respect “agreeable to the Word of God,” he thinks himself obliged to make such a Declaration according to the plain obvious meaning of the words then used by him; and that your Petitioner cannot conscientiously affirm the following parts of the Liturgy to be sanctioned by Scripture; namely, the 2nd, 28th, 29th, and 42nd Clauses of the Athanasian Creed; the Form of Absolution in the Office for Visiting the Sick; and the Words used at the Imposition of Hands in Ordaining Priests and Bishops.” p. 10.

Towards the conclusion Mr. Wodehouse adds—

"That for these reasons, your Petitioner humbly and earnestly prays that such steps may be taken as shall seem good to your Lordships, in order to effect those Alterations in the Liturgy which will relieve the conscience of your Petitioner, and which he firmly believes will at the same time tend to promote Harmony amongst Christians, as well as a more general Agreement in the Public Worship of God." p. 12.

This Petition, we are given to understand, has, during the last six years, been the subject of communication with many among the nobility, and several of the Heads of the Church. It was read and received without any objection on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Hereford, and Chichester, who were present in the House of Peers.

Our first intention was to offer a few remarks upon the pamphlet and petition of Mr. Wodehouse, in connection with the sermon preached by Mr. Girdlestone before the University of Oxford. But there are so many points of difference between the two publications, that we think it better to give to that of Mr. Wodehouse a separate, although we can thus only afford it a very brief consideration. Mr. Girdlestone and Mr. Wodehouse have this advantage in common, that we do not suppose there are two men in the kingdom more sincerely and honestly attached to the Church; although they find it necessary (and whether they err, or are correct in their judgment, is a matter which carries us into the limitless regions of conjecture) to find some fault with the object of their affectionate veneration. Mr. Girdlestone, however, from his position in the university pulpit, talks almost, as it were, "*ex cathedrá*," and even makes use of the strong hold of orthodoxy as a battery against the ecclesiastical system of the realm. Mr. Wodehouse merely states his individual opinion. Mr. Girdlestone hints at *general* errors, without particularizing any. Mr. Wodehouse lays his finger upon specific points, which he deems susceptible of immediate correction. Mr. Girdlestone has held out the right hand of fellowship to the Dissenters, in propositions, against which we have entered our candid protest; still more because they are vague and loose and indeterminate; and because we conceive them to be unjust in themselves, and to inflict wrong upon the Establishment; than because we believe, that, while Mr. Girdlestone intends them as overtures of harmony, the seceders will probably regard them as evidences of weakness, or even confessions of fear. Mr. Wodehouse appears, from his publication, to have been urged almost exclusively by the most sacred of human purposes—namely, the relief of his own conscience.

And here, if we may venture to say a few words upon the personal question, as it concerns Mr. Wodehouse, we entirely concur

with Lord Wynford in thinking, that he *has* relieved his conscience, by the publication of his pamphlet, and the presentation of his petition. He may now, we imagine, remain perfectly at his ease: the case rests with other parties: nor can we perceive any reason why the most sensitive and scrupulous delicacy should cause him to feel a moment's farther distress as to his position in the Church.

We turn, however, to matters, which Mr. Wodehouse, we are sure, has much more at heart than his individual interests. Most cordially do we agree in the general views, which he has so ably and feelingly expressed, as to the sacred duties of the clergy in a conjuncture like the present; as to the paramount necessity of an augmentation of their individual exertions; of a frequent intercourse and familiar interchange of sentiment between themselves and their parishioners; as to the inappreciable importance of universal religious education; and, in almost every particular, we assent to the soundness of his remarks with reference to Church government and Church property. We wish, indeed, that we had room for quotation from a pamphlet which, to give it the highest praise, is so truly Christian in its tone of sentiment and language: nor can we refrain from extracting one passage, bearing upon a point, which has formed a perpetual theme for the attacks of the deplorably ignorant, or the pitiously malevolent: we mean, the inordinate wealth of the clergy, and their misemployment of that wealth.

"If, with all the experience which history affords, it were asked what is the best distribution of a part of the National Wealth, the following could hardly be disputed:—Place in every district over its whole surface, a set of men whose education might render them useful, whose profession should require them to be respectable, whose duty it should be to be charitable. Provide that they are constantly resident, regularly engaged in promoting the best interests of their neighbours. Endow them with sufficient to exercise hospitality towards their equals, and kindness towards the poor. Are then the Clergy of this nation endowed with more than is sufficient to fulfil duties thus plainly advantageous? I answer, undoubtedly not."—p. 89.

Where, then, do we differ from Mr. Wodehouse? We differ from him, in a great measure, if not altogether, upon the momentous question of alterations in the Liturgy. To speak first of the offices of the Church, we cannot think that *any* change is positively required in the services appointed for Marriage, or Burial, or even for Baptism. We are bound to confess, that the last of these is sometimes unsatisfactory in the manner in which it is performed; but then the fault lies not with the office itself, but with the officiating minister, who either humours the proud fastidiousness of

the rich, by performing the ceremony at their own houses,—or indulges the culpable negligence of the poor, and does not take the trouble to impress them with the sanctity of the office, and the necessity of providing themselves with sponsors for their children. Let not the blame be imputed to the spirit and the letter of the impressive service of our Liturgy, when it rests, in reality, with men—comparatively few in number, and certainly Mr. Wodehouse is not among them—who are weak enough, or criminal enough, to neglect them both. These are times, when the ancient and wholesome discipline of the Church ought to be rigorously observed.

But Mr. Wodehouse lays the principal stress upon the Forms of Absolution and the condemnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed.

As to the Forms of Absolution, it is universally agreed, that the glorious prerogative of forgiveness can rest only with that Divine Being, who has omnipotence to punish: that, if, even on earth, the privilege of mercy is reserved for the highest magistrate of the realm, and constitutes the brightest gem in the crown of human sovereignty, much more must it be attributed, in its truer sense, solely and entirely to the Majesty of Heaven: and that it is not, and cannot be, for one miserable, and guilty, and fallible mortal to pardon the offences of another. But then Mr. Wodehouse argues, that he ought not to be clothed with this appearance; and therefore, that the terms of the absolution in the service for Ordination and the Visitation of the Sick are, in their literal meaning, indefensible. That some other words might not be more completely unexceptionable, and that some improvement might not have been made in 1689, or at some other period, we do not mean to affirm; and yet we sincerely believe, that no practical mischief or misinterpretation arises; and, in truth, that there is nothing in itself unscriptural or dangerous, if the minister of the Gospel, *upon the supposition of faith and penitence* in the other party, pronounces the absolution of sins “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

In the same way, although we are far from saying, that, if the Liturgy were to be framed *de novo*, expressions so awfully strong, and, when considered by themselves, so “presumptuous and unnecessary,”—nay, so fiercely uncharitable,—as the condemnatory clauses of the Athanasian creed ought to be inserted in it, we conceive, that these very clauses are only heard and considered as forcible—perhaps *too* forcible—declarations of the general impossibility of salvation without faith.

In this view of the case, we hold ourselves at liberty to consider the question of change as a matter of expediency, rather than as

a matter of conscience. However, we will state our opinion with perfect frankness, instead of keeping it back with that time-serving pusillanimity which is too often dignified with the name of prudence. If *any* alterations in the Liturgy were determined to be made, we are ready to allow, that the points, which have given pain and uneasiness to Mr. Wodehouse, are the very points on which the alterations might be attempted with the least injury; nay, we will even say, with the greatest advantage. And if we were assured, that the alterations would stop with these points, or even would not go very far beyond them; instead of fearing, as we do fear, that the question would soon be, not what we should give up, but what we should retain—not, whether we should remould a small part, but whether we should keep *any* part inviolate; or, if they constituted a *whole* in themselves, and could be treated separately and without reference to other and wider matters; then we might cheerfully acquiesce in the spirit of those changes which Mr. Wodehouse suggests. But we cannot conceal from ourselves, that, in reality, these points are interwoven with a large and complicated system, and form but a very inconsiderable portion of almost the vastest and most momentous subject, with which man can meddle. It is impossible, therefore, to deal with them abruptly, or even to approach them without a kind of awe, and, we hesitate not to add, with a cautious, unadventurous, and almost timid tenderness of spirit. Other and most serious considerations may fairly be taken into account. There is not the simple inquiry before us, whether the Liturgy of our Church, abstractedly considered, is, or is not, susceptible of improvement; for we do not arrogate perfection in its favour, although we have the testimony of Robert Hall, that “it approached the nearest to perfection of any human composition which he had ever seen.” But the question arises, are improvements, *as things are*, likely to be made? If the Liturgy is to be thrown open to alteration, is its character likely to be altered for the better, or for the worse? Are there builders about us, whom we should wish to lay hands to such an edifice? We shall not be guilty of sycophancy so contemptible as to answer this question in the affirmative. When forms of supplication or thanksgiving have been prepared of late years, at the occurrence, or upon the departure, of any awful visitations of disease, or scarcity, or danger, we cannot say that these forms, however correct and proper they may have been, have been superior, if equal, to the general contents of the Book of Common Prayer. Still farther, we fear, that, if alterations were undertaken now, they would be undertaken under auspices altogether more perilous. To put a somewhat parallel case: it is probable that many de-

sects of architecture might be pointed out in Westminster Abbey; but we are by no means anxious on that account that the goodly and firm, though old and venerable, structure, should be subjected to the modern taste of Mr. Nash and his associates. Far less are we desirous that the Ritual of our Church should be submitted to the tender mercies of Dr. Whately and his school. No—no—we do *not* want a new edition of the Liturgy with corrections and emendations by the present Legislature, with the assistance of the Bishop of Chichester, and the Archbishop of Dublin. Another question comes. Could such alterations be made, as would satisfy any influential portion of the Dissenters, and bring them back into the fold of the Establishment? We apprehend *not*. We rather dread, notwithstanding quotations from Burnet and other writers, that they would alienate and offend more, and better, and wiser persons, than they could ever conciliate. We altogether doubt, whether a proportion, worth mentioning, even of the Wesleyan Methodists could be induced by any *safe* changes or concessions to return to the Church. Yet again. Is there any outcry, any impatience, any prevalent demand for change? At present, we can really see little or nothing of the kind. We say, *at present*; for we cannot pretend to decide how soon, and by whose incantations, such a spirit may be stirred; or even, in the existing state of the political atmosphere, what gales or what tempests may spring up of themselves. *At present*, we repeat, there seems to us legitimate room for the application of the principle, *desine quieta movere*; but if the aspect of circumstances should be transformed, we shall discuss the subject, under the transformation of circumstances, just as openly and fearlessly as we discuss it *now*.

Mr. Wodehouse, therefore, will perceive, that while we respect his feelings, and sincerely admire the conscientiousness of his scruples, we differ with him upon matters which are purely matters of opinion; because they depend upon future contingencies; and time only can determine who is right and who is wrong. His end and our own must be the same, namely, the stability, the efficiency, and the orthodox spirituality of the Church and its forms. We disagree, where the question resolves itself into a problem, on which side lies the preponderance, and how we are to strike the balance between the existing evil, and the dangers and inconveniences, which *any* change must create, simply as *being* change. In one word, our feeling is, that the evil is not of such magnitude as to make it worth while to run the risk. Yet we admit again (although the admission may perhaps lay us open to a charge of vacillation), that this opinion may be hereafter altered, if new elements are engendered, and fresh disturbing forces are brought into play. But who is there, who discerns the possible havoc

which may be made of things the holiest and most venerable—who is there, we ask, who would not pause upon the threshold of an undertaking, which thousands of excellent and pious Christians will always regard as a kind of sacrilege? Who is there, who would wantonly break that mere spell of opinion, which now consecrates the Liturgy as an almost faultless composition to so many hearts and minds which refuse to perceive its little blemishes?

Mr. Wodehouse, we are convinced, would *not*; and, therefore, we differ from him with the more regret. Let him be assured, that we can feel and appreciate the sentiments which have dictated the following words.

“ I well know with what suspicion a proceeding like this will be entertained, and how easy it is to affix opprobrious names to any individual. I may go down to my grave branded with epithets that little belong to me. But as I have the inexpressible satisfaction of being assured that Man's judgment is as nothing, so on the other hand I can with humble confidence appeal to an Infallible Judge, that Truth alone has been my object: and I have learnt that no worldly advantage, no worldly praise, is for a moment to be compared with the remembrance of having in all godly sincerity borne testimony to the simple voice of conscience.”

This is language, which well becomes an exemplary Minister of the Church of England; and we would say, in conclusion, that no reason could be stronger to make us lament an inflexible adherence to our Liturgy, as it exists, or even to doubt the propriety of such an adherence, than to find, although we do not anticipate any such result, that it prevented men, like Mr. Wodehouse, from entering, or from continuing, within the pale of the Establishment.

ART. IX.—1. *Religious Establishments tried by the Word of God. A Sermon preached before the Prayer Book and Homily Society.* By William Dealtry, D.D. F.R.S. Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester. London. 1833.

2. *Thoughts on Religious Establishments and Church Reform. A Charge delivered to the Archdeaconry of Salop, at the Visitation in June, 1833.* London. 1833.

ALL the world appears to be wondrous busy, at the present day, in digging down to examine the foundations of every thing; and a considerable part of them, with a settled resolution to find the foundations rotten. As for the wisdom and piety of our ancestors,—it really seems that we might just as well affect to talk of the wisdom and piety of the Druids: and, as for the sanctity of ancient and venerable institutions, it would be about as hopeful a matter to dwell upon that, as to circulate proposals for re-fitting Stone-

Henge, and restoring it to the honours of a consecrated sanctuary. Things that were thought to be endowed with the solidity of granite, are now discovered to be nothing more than baseless and shadowy fabrics, mere castles in the clouds, which "nod unto the earth,—And mock our eyes with air." In short, the day-spring from on high has visited us, at last, with a vengeance; and all the delusions which flitted across the twilight of the darkling times, are now fast vanishing away, like guilty things, before the breath and light of the morning. The world is no longer to be mocked and bewildered with phantoms. It will be satisfied with nothing which it cannot touch, and handle, and weigh, and measure. So, we must prepare, with the best grace we may, for what may be fitly called the reign of *Materialism*; and patiently wait for the prodigies of wisdom, and beneficence, and noble enterprise, which may reasonably be expected from that magnanimous dynasty!

In the midst of all these bright anticipations, it appears that there is still a remnant, who love darkness better than light. Why, else, do we hear of any thing so desperate as a vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, and religious or literary endowments? And this, too, while the principles of *free trade* are in triumphant progress through the world! Why is the present age insulted by attempts to perpetuate the evil influences of that "fleshly incubus," whose name is *Mort-main*,—which combines all the mischievous qualities of the night-mare and the vampire,—which weighs down the energies of the land with its deadly pressure, while it sucks out the life-blood from its veins? Thanks, however, to the courage and wisdom of our purified legislature, the dominion of these abuses is waning to its extinction. A tremendous breach has recently been made in the *tabernacles of the robbers*: and the whole brood of *vested wrongs* shall soon be dragged out from their hiding place, and hewn in pieces. For, behold, have not ten protestant bishoprics, and the whole reversion of their ill-gotten wealth, been munificently offered up on the altar of Expediency? And are we to believe that any voice shall now be heard, saying to the Minister of retribution, "it is enough, stay now thine hand!"

Such—in sad and sober verity—we do believe to be the meditations which, at this day, are gladdening the heart of many a *patriot*. But alas! we, of course, have no touch of patriotism! We have been nurtured, from our youth up, in the ways of bigotry and illiberality! We are of the old *remnant*, who rejoice in the owl-light, and hate the beams of the noon-day. And, this being our unhappy condition, we hope for some compassionate indulgence, even at the hand of the sages of Utility—(should such men chance to waste an hour upon our pages)—if we confess that our dull

and sluggish blood doth circulate more briskly than usual, whenever we behold a faithful champion of the ancient *abuses*, stepping forth to do battle with their adversaries. And, although we be in evil case, some such moments of refreshment we have frequently experienced of late. For instance, we have seen that inveterate enemy to all improvement, Dr. Chalmers, stoutly contending for the *wisdom and piety of our ancestors*—utterly repudiating the doctrine of free-trade in its application to the moral interests of man,—and (incredible infatuation!) maintaining the utility and the sacredness of religious and academical endowments. We have seen the same cause most hardly supported by another opponent of the salutary maxim that *whatever is is wrong*,—even by Dr. Dealtry, the present Chancellor of Winchester. And here he is again, the same incorrigible person as ever, actually venturing to affirm that Religious Establishments may confidently be tried by the word of God.

This, we know, has been, and is, regarded by many as the most desperate of all attempts. Where, it is asked, is a syllable to be found in the New Testament, which compels a free people to endure patiently the ponderous apparatus of our Ecclesiastical Institutions? And, as for the Old Testament, what have we to do with that? The Old Testament speaks only of a peculiar people,—a people selected by Divine Providence for special purposes,—and, with a view to the accomplishment of those purposes, placed under an appropriate and singular economy, expressly dictated by Jehovah himself, as the lawgiver of Israel. Why,—it is demanded—should we frame our establishments after a model which has long been broken to pieces, any more than we should build our cathedrals according to the *pattern which was showed in the Mount*? Under the Mosaic dispensation, the Church and the State were one, merely because the Lord himself ordained that they *should* be one? But when Christ came, the *old things passed away, and all things became new*. God speaks no longer to us, as he did, in time past, to the fathers of Israel, by the mouth of his servants the prophets. Our ordinances and statutes no longer come to us directly from heaven. We are now left to legislate for ourselves. Why, therefore, should our Christian liberty be fettered by a precedent, which lost its binding power no less than eighteen centuries ago, and which we are wholly destitute of any authority to revive?

Now, all this, undoubtedly, when superficially viewed, looks very exterminating. And yet, it is a very remarkable fact, that the argument is comparatively new. It is an argument which never seems to have occurred to the most eminent of the Puritanical divines, even in the days when a spirit had gone forth, to root

out, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build up. The Puritans, it is true, hated the existing establishment, and laboured most manfully for its subversion: but they so laboured, only that they might set up their own establishment in the place of it. And then,—with regard to the notion, that kings, or councils, or parliaments, are relieved from all responsibility on the subject of the national religion,—every one who is but slightly conversant with the writings and the sermons of the Puritans, must know that such a notion never once entered their heads; and, not only so, but that it was a notion, against which they were constantly levelling their sternest denunciations. Even the Independents themselves never proclaimed it as a principle, that Christian rulers were exempt from the duty of caring for the Christian instruction of the people. They maintained, indeed, that every congregation is a separate church, free from all human controul. But never, that we are aware, did they dream that the State was at liberty to leave religion wholly to its own resources, and to sit in profound indifference and apathy, while ungodliness and impiety were stalking over the land. What says one of their mightiest men, Dr. John Owen?

“Some think,”—says he—“that if you, the Parliament, were well-settled, you ought not, as rulers of the nation, to put forth your power for the interest of Christ. The Lord keep your hearts from that apprehension! Have you ever, in your affairs, received any encouragement from the promises of God? Have you, in times of greatest distress, been refreshed by the testimony of a good conscience, that, in simplicity, and godly sincerity, you have sought the advancement of the Lord Jesus Christ? Do not now profess that you have nothing to do with Him. Had He so professed of you and your affairs, what had been your portion long since!” Again,—“*If it once comes to this, that you shall say you have nothing to do with religion, as rulers of the nation, God will quickly manifest that He has nothing to do with you, as rulers of the nation.* Certainly it is incumbent on you to take care that the Faith, which was once delivered to the Saints, in all the necessary concerns of it, may be protected, preserved, propagated, to and among the people over which God hath set you. If a Father, as a Father, is bound to do, what answers this, in his own family, unto his children,—a master, as a master, to his servants,—if you will justify yourselves as fathers or rulers of your country, you will find, in your attempt, this to be incumbent on you.”—(Dealtry, p. 45, 46.)

Well,—but then we shall be told that the Dissenters of the present day are much wiser in their generation, than their progenitors, the Non-conformists. Be it even so. All the revenge which we are disposed to take, for this assumption of superior knowledge and sagacity, is to ask them, what becomes of their wisdom, when they go forth,—as many of them do go forth

—into foreign and barbarous lands, for the conversion of the heathen? It is curious enough to observe how rapidly their high disdain of the aids of secular authority evaporates and disappears in those distant regions. No sooner,—for example—do they touch the shores of Tahiti, than they discover how beautiful and goodly a sight it is, to behold, in the island-Sovereign, a nursing Father to the rising Church of Christ! They can, there, endure to see, without the slightest emotion of jealousy and alarm, the royal influence and authority put forth, for the promotion of the Gospel, and the enforcement of religious worship. It is true, that they, very wisely and properly, abstain from recommending persecution as a fit instrument for advancing the glory of God. But they do *not* abstain—(and, as we contend, there is no reason why they should abstain)—from pressing upon the king's conscience the positive duty of providing for the spiritual welfare of the people. They do not tell him that it is no concern of his, whether his subjects continue to rub their foreheads in the mire before a misshapen log of wood, or whether they worship the Lord of heaven and earth in spirit and in truth. They do not tell him that his only legitimate care is for the advancement of his people in wealth, and civilization, and social order; and that the instant he troubles his head about their faith, he is no better than a meddling tyrant, and that he lays his hand upon an ark which ought to be sacred from his touch. In a word, they tell him nothing of all that their brethren at home are eternally telling us, about the necessity of leaving the Gospel to have free course, by virtue of its own independent and heaven-born energies. They tell him, on the contrary, that, as a king is the father of his people, even so, it becomes him to exercise paternal vigilance for the salvation of their souls, as well as for the preservation of their bodies, and the security of their worldly goods. And the fruits of this most salutary instruction, we find, are sometimes manifested, in precisely the same manner as they were manifested in the ancient days to which our own endowments may be traced,—namely, in the assignment of house and ground, by the royal benefactor, to the Missionary Preacher. Our limits will not allow us to verify, by extracts, the doctrine here ascribed to these laborious and exemplary pioneers. But the reader will find them abundantly verified by Dr. Dealtry, who has produced conclusive citations, to this effect, from their own correspondence and reports. The time, indeed, may possibly arrive, when those islands shall ring, as our own island is now ringing, with a ferocious outcry against the burden of a Clerical Establishment, and the intolerable *comforts* of the pastoral ministers, and the monstrous absurdity of any sort of connexion between the church and the state. But we will do the present race

of missionaries the justice to believe, that, in spite of their dissenting principles, they would look forward to such a period with grievous yearnings of heart. In this enlightened country, and among this "most thinking" and most most noisy "people," such notions may pass current, among the signs of advancing intelligence, and of a more mature estimate of the value of religious liberty. The infancy of any Christian community, however, tells us a very different story; a story which, as we are potently convinced, more advanced and powerful societies will disregard at their most imminent peril.

But what are our convictions—or what are the principles of ancient nonconformists, or modern missionaries—what are all these to the men of the new light,—the light, namely, which sheds its lustre on the columns of pure and irrefragable arithmetic? Again, what are they, to the men who speak of the volume of the ancient Law, the ordinances of Israel, as of a mouldy record, or an old almanac, whenever its sentence varies from the oracles which issue from the shrines of Mammon; or when it varies from the maxims which are dominant at the tables of the money-changers, or from the utterances which are heard among them that are given to change, and who cause divisions, and whose element is strife? It is to no purpose to talk to them of the sacred hierarchy of Israel; for, by them, that hierarchy is numbered among the beggarly rudiments which Christian or unchristian liberty hath a warrant to trample upon. We, however, who have been bred in a different school, are inveterately devoted to a very different view of this matter. *Nobis non licet esse tam disertis.* We, for our parts, find in the hierarchy of Israel—not indeed an express command to institute a national priesthood—but a precedent which is powerful enough, at least, to show that a national priesthood is not an abomination in the sight of heaven. For how stands the case? The Lord of heaven and earth was pleased to plant his name and his worship among a peculiar people. And, among the human means and instruments for perpetuating his name and worship, it, further, was his pleasure to ordain a peculiar class of men, and to set them apart for his own service, and to appoint them a maintenance which should relieve them from all merely secular care. What, then, is the lesson which this example teaches us? At the very least, it surely teaches us this—that there is nothing in an economy like this, which, in its own nature, is abhorrent from the purity of religion, or the honour of Almighty God. We may rest perfectly assured that the only wise Potentate would never, for the accomplishment of his holy purposes, have resorted to an apparatus which contained in itself principles injurious and hostile to his own glory; and, if so, what

is the inference ; or, at all events, what is the presumption ? The presumption, undoubtedly, is, upon the face of the matter, directly in favour of a national religious establishment, as a legitimate and potent instrument for the preservation of religion. And this presumption, in our honest judgment, is so strong, that nothing can resist it, short of an express commandment to the contrary, from the Author himself of that very economy, which is now cast aside, by many, among the number of obsolete and forgotten things.

And here the adversary will perhaps exclaim—we *have* a virtual commandment to the contrary ; for the Law, with all its beggarly elements, is abrogated and passed away ! Passed away it undoubtedly *is*, a dispensation whereby man is to stand or fall in the presence of his Judge. Passed away it undoubtedly *is*, as a precise exemplar, whereby Christians are bound to regulate the whole scheme of their reasonable and more enlightened service. But the Record is not passed away, which tells us that a religious establishment was once adopted by Jehovah himself, among the means of keeping up the knowledge of his attributes. In this Record, therefore, we again contend, that we may read a lesson, which, if not absolutely imperative upon us, affords most valuable guidance to all, who are anxious to select the best expedients for making permanent among us the knowledge of his gracious counsels, and his perfect will. And nothing, we repeat, but an express prohibition can ever deprive religious establishments of the sanctity and honour with which this one example has invested them.

But what then shall we say to the express words of Christ himself. Has he not told us that *his kingdom is not of this world* ? And have we not, here, a distinct prohibition against all attempts to revive the union of secular with spiritual authority ? Now we must confess that we really know not well how to deal with this egregious specimen of scriptural interpretation. To encounter it, seems to us very much like fighting with a shadow—that most invulnerable and indestructible of all possible antagonists ! We solemnly declare, that of all the perversions of Scripture, this, in our humble judgment, if not the most pernicious, is among the most baseless and absurd. We could be perfectly content to submit the point to the decision of any intelligent person, who might happen to be profoundly indifferent to the interests of religion, and who could address himself to the question purely as a matter of antiquarian or historical research. Let us imagine, *for a moment*, that words like these had been uttered by Budh, or by Menu, or by Zoroaster, or by Confucius, or by any claimant of divine authority : would it have entered into the head of any mortal living, that these words fixed a mark of condemnation on religious

establishments or institutions, under the especial patronage and protection of the state?—The Jews expected a secular and conquering prince. The true Messiah, on the contrary, tells them that his kingdom is *not* of this world, and that, consequently, the weapons of his warfare are not carnal. And hence it is sagaciously inferred, that they, whose kingdoms *are* of this world, are to give themselves no sort of concern for the stability and influence of Christ's religion. The reasoning, when stripped to nakedness, stands thus;—My kingdom is not of this world—therefore the rulers of this world are, as rulers, to forget that their subjects have souls to be saved. My kingdom is not of this world—therefore all human governments are to remain profoundly indifferent whether Christ or Belial have the predominance throughout their territories. My kingdom is not of this world—therefore persons, who happen to be invested with any spiritual function, must have no seat or voice in the general counsels of the realm. My kingdom is not of this world—therefore the **ministers** of the Gospel are, in all future time, to subsist, as they best may, upon arbitrary contributions. My kingdom is not of this world—therefore the world's law must never interfere to provide, or to uphold, a single place of worship in any Christian kingdom!—There may be persons whose understandings are satisfied with this sort of logic : and there may be persons whose principles allow them to resort to this sort of logic, as exceedingly useful and convenient, although their understandings enable them secretly to despise it. With persons of this stamp, argument is the merest waste of time. To those, however, who may be still in doubt, and whose hearts and minds are still open to truth and reason, we would urgently suggest one consideration :—though Christ's kingdom is not of this world, the kingdoms of this world undoubtedly belong to Christ. They are his, at this moment, by unquestionable right. They shall be his, hereafter, in actual and complete possession. What, then, are we to think of those, who gravely affirm that the rulers of this world are, not only permitted, but positively bound, to banish from their deliberations and their designs all thought of the revealed counsels of the Almighty, and to conduct their governments just as if Christ had neither part, nor lot, nor inheritance, among them?

We had intended to present our readers with extracts from the Sermon of Dr. Dealtry, but we have left ourselves no sufficient space for the purpose : and, in truth, we should be able to do no justice to his performance by the production of fragments. Let every clergyman, and every layman whose heart is with the clergy, peruse it without delay. They will find it worthy of being laid up in the armoury of the church, among the weapons

by which her adversaries may be potently, and we trust, under God, successfully resisted.

We must be very brief in our mention of Archdeacon Bather's very useful charge: not because it is unworthy of a more lengthened notice; but, simply because we have no room for a copious abstract of it. It adverts to a variety of ecclesiastical topics, which now occupy the public attention, in a tone of singular moderation and candour, but without the slightest compromise of any essential principle. One remark of his may safely be recommended to the hearts and consciences of all who are engaged in the Christian ministry. There may, he says, be many who will listen to no argument which we can produce, in favour of a church establishment, but who, yet, may have their minds open to the maxim that, "that which is best administered is best." This maxim, to be sure, is one of rather perilous ductility, and very unfit to be adopted, among the firm and solid defences of the truth. It may, nevertheless, be very legitimately kept in mind by all who are anxious to recommend our own establishment to the good will of unstable and half-informed persons. The effective and zealous application of our advantages is a *practical* argument, which may do wonders when all the resources of learning, and research, and logic, are produced in vain. And this species of *reasoning* we humbly trust that the governors and ministers of the Church of England will at all times be ready to employ.

ART. X.—1. *Three Years in North America*. By James Stuart, Esq. 2 vols. Cadell. 1833.

2. *Men and Manners in America*. 2 vols. Blackwood. 1833.

No works relative to the United States which have fallen into our hands are better calculated than the two publications of which we are now about to give some account, to illustrate the recently much *vexata quæstio* concerning the degree of *uncivilization* prevalent in those Countries. They are the produce of writers widely differing from each other in all the qualities of authorship. No resemblance is discoverable between them in capacity or in acquirements; in education or in taste; in the grade of life which each respectively may be supposed to occupy, or in the object for which he crossed the Atlantic. The one is plain and homely, grave and sententious: the other is refined sometimes almost to fastidiousness, rapid, and not unfrequently brilliant in his touches. The former, probably, travelled to increase his knowledge of practical farming; the latter solely for his pleasure. The habits of the one were professional; those of the other aristocratic. And yet there are sufficient points of resemblance to

justify us in bringing them into contact. Each traversed nearly the same line of country; each exported with him an equally favorable opinion of the people whom he was visiting; and the process of conversion seems to have been worked in each by incidents of very similar character. From both their analogies and their contrasts, therefore, they are witnesses whose evidence, when coincident, bears with it irresistible conviction; and so far as we are able to collect from numerous incidental admissions, they have returned home with a joint and well-founded belief that North America is not the country in which any private gentleman would fix his abode, so long as he entertained prejudices in favour of cleanliness, convenience and comfort; while he preferred port-wine to peach-brandy; eschewed double-bedded accommodation with an unwashed stranger; and wished to remain undefiled by tobacco-spittle.

Mr. Stuart sailed from Liverpool to New York in the summer of 1828. His voyage was pleasant, and attended with little sea-sickness, owing to a plentiful use of cathartics. Whales, porpoises, sharks, Mother Carey's chickens, and the nautilus, successively occupied his attention, as they do that of most landmen in their passage over the herring-pond. After nine and thirty days the coveted hills of Neversink appeared in sight, the bluff cape of Sandyhook was doubled, the Narrows were threaded, and Mr. Stuart found himself in the City Hotel in Broadway, the principal street of New York. The street is already between three and four miles in length, and is intended to be twice as long "*when the plan of the City is completed.*" "There is no building in it to bear any thing like a comparison with many of the public buildings in the European Capitals." A fact of which Mr. Jefferson was conscious when he once pronounced, that the Genius of Architecture had shed its malediction over his native land. Many of the houses are of wood, and fires are not less frequent than in Constantinople. Scarcely had the travellers sunk into their first slumber, on the night of their arrival, before they were roused by loud and repeated cries of "Fire!" and one of the party, overcome by terror, dashed into the street. So common, however, are these alarms, that none but the firemen, we are told, are disturbed; an apathy for which it is difficult to account, on any other principle than that which induced the Irish lodger to return contentedly to his garret, when he was informed that the floors beneath him were in flames.

The outsides of the houses are painted red-brick colour, with the seams picked out with white; a display of Dutch taste, which greatly rejoiced Mr. Stuart; and which even Mr. Hamilton affirms to have a gay and agreeable effect. The Ladies dress

very smartly for forenoon shopping—the feeding at the Hotel was good, and the guests at dinner-time were allowed to *turtle-soup* twice “without extra charge.” Breakfasts were luxurious, although the tables lacked egg-cups; for the Americans always beat up their eggs with salt and butter in a wine-glass, and then *drink* the mixture. Uncurtained beds, uncarpeted floors, and unwatered washing-stands, rendered their sleeping apartments melancholy. Signs for shops are better painted than in England; servants answer to no other title except that of *Helps*; and nobody prefixes Mr. to his name on his door-plate.

Such, in brief, were Mr. Stuart's first meagre observations on New York; a city to which he often returned, and in which, perhaps, we shall have occasion to notice him more than once again. Mr. Hamilton's passage, with the exception of a few days in volution in a fog-bank, when just arrived at its close, appears to have been equally auspicious with that of Mr. Stuart. Nevertheless he pronounces a Sea-voyage *at best* to be an irksome and odious confinement, and *at worst* to embrace “a complication of the most nauseous evils that can afflict humanity;” an estimate which, in our opinion, is scarcely overcharged in either case. On landing, certain signs and placards awakened Mr. Hamilton's curiosity. “Dry good Store,” was of most frequent occurrence: “Flour and Feed Store,” and “Oyster Refectory” were sufficiently intelligible; he was puzzled by “Hollow ware, spiders, and fire-dogs;” and at length he was fairly distanced by a bill presenting in gigantic characters

“ Jackson for ever !
Go the whole Hog !”

a mystic phraseology of which he subjoins the following interpretation.

“ When the sphere of my intelligence became enlarged with regard to this *affiche*, I learned, that “going the whole hog” is the American popular phrase for Radical Reform, and is used by the Democratic party to distinguish them from the Federalists, who are supposed to prefer less sweeping measures, and consequently *to go* only a *part* of the interesting quadruped in question. The *Go-the-whole-hoggers*, therefore, are politicians determined to follow out Democratic principles to their utmost extent, and with this party General Jackson is at present an especial favorite. The expression, I am told, is of Virginian origin. In that State, when a butcher kills a pig, it is usual to demand of each customer whether he will “go the whole hog;” as, by such extensive traffic, a purchaser may supply his table at a lower price, than is demanded of him, whose imagination revels among *prime pieces*, to the exclusion of baser matter.”

One of Mr. Hamilton's earliest visits was to the Courts of Law. For wigless Judges, gownless Barristers, and a maceless table, he

was fully prepared; but the incessant salivation from the Bench, the Bar and the Jury-box, of officers, witnesses, and audience, appears to have taken him by surprise. In the Supreme Court he found three-fourths of the Jurymen busily engaged in eating bread and cheese; and the foreman announcing the verdict with his mouth full. At the Hotels, unless under very peculiar circumstances, all the guests partake of a *Table d'Hôte*. Three o'clock is the customary hour at New York, and when the bell gives its signal, the whole company, who are previously assembled in the Bar, project themselves with inconceivable velocity into the dining-room. The board is crowded to excess with dishes, for the most part dressed in grease; and the operations of bolting, gulleting, gulping and swallowing are condensed into the narrowest possible period. No man, unless reluctantly, helps his neighbour. Brandy is the prevalent beverage: before the second course many of the party retire, and comparatively few await the dessert. Yet a number of the seceders spend several hours afterwards in smoking and lounging at the Bar. A solid meat-tea reassembles the guests at six o'clock; and the favourite viand even for ladies is raw hung beef. From ten o'clock till twelve the table is occupied by supper, with which "eating terminates for the day."

The frequency of Fires is noticed by Mr. Hamilton as well as by Mr. Stuart. No one, says the former, can be in New York four and twenty hours without hearing the alarm, which, accordingly, is received without anxiety or excitement. He had the *good luck* to be present at five of these conflagrations; and he expresses his conviction that more Fires occur annually in this single City than in the whole Island of Great Britain.

Both the travellers were present at a Spectacle got up by the *Workies*, (as the *Operatives* of America vernacularly call themselves,) in honour of the French Revolution in July, 1830, and exhibited on the 25th of November; the day preceding it, (the anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British,) having proved most unprocessionally rainy. The show was headed by a squadron of horse, under the command of "a cavalier, whose high and martial bearing bespoke him the hero of a hundred fights;" and close upon whose steps followed "a body of militia, who, if they wished to appear as unlike soldiers as possible, were assuredly most successful." Mr. Stuart has preserved the name of the above superintending Warrior; he was (*horrescimus referentes*) "Mr. Swartwout Collector of the Customs;" and, as Marshal in chief, "he appointed twenty-one gentlemen as his aides-de-camp, all of whom were on horseback in uniforms *ordered for the occasion*." Next were seen the various Trades, Butchers, Tailors, Blacksmiths, Coblers, Coopers, Tobacconists, &c.; all the hard-visaged and horny-handed population of the workshops. Each

of these Guilds was distinguished by some appropriate pageant. The Printers, as they rolled along, struck off impressions of an Ode "written for the occasion:" would that we could offer an extract! The Butchers dragged four cars; the first of which contained an ox-skin, so "admirably stuffed" as to be natural as life; the second was filled, most harmoniously, with a band of music; the third, most pastorally, with two lambs and four boys dressed in white; the fourth, most substantially, with "a variety of meats, and of persons employed in making sausages." A steam-boat, a sofa bedstead, a maple chair with a cane seat, and a shoemaker's shop, containing "young men and *young ladies* engaged in trimming shoes," followed in succession. The display of firemen with their engines occupied more than a mile of the route; and a second body of militia, *qualis ab incepto*, brought up the rear.

After "a Prayer and Oration, the "immense assemblage," as Mr. Stuart informs us, "dispersed in the most quiet and orderly manner." He was indeed especially impressed by "the order and decorum," and by the prodigious display of individual wealth which the procession exhibited. Above 100,000 persons were present; there was no public subscription to defray the expense, and, according to the lowest calculation, an average of three dollars per man was hardly sufficient to meet the costs. *Euge!* 300,000 dollars for stuffed oxen, sausages and shoe-leather! A sum much larger than that which the British Parliament granted for our last Coronation. Yet Mr. Hamilton tells us that "the affair was a decided failure," that it was no other "than a cavalcade of artisans mounted on cart-horses and dressed out in tawdry finery, or the burlesque of military display by bodies of undrilled militia." Even the Oration "was a mere trumpery tissue of florid clap-traps,"—"wordy and prolix, and written in a style of ambitious elaboration which I could not help considering as somewhat puerile." During its delivery, the speaker was perpetually assailed by a chorus from the surrounding crowd of "Raise your voice and be d——d to you!"—"Louder!"—"Speak out!"—"We don't hear a word!" Then as for the "order and decorum," while the orator was pronouncing a most emphatic period on the slavery of Ireland, the dissatisfied rabble below—if America contains any rabble—snatched away the supports of the scaffolding, and down came one side of it with a most alarming crash.

Mr. Stuart assures us that—

"The enthusiasm which was shown by the people of New York on this occasion afford (affords) a sufficient answer to a flippant, ill-founded remark of Mrs. Trollope, that all the enthusiasm of America is concentrated to the one point of her own independence; and that the

want of interest upon all subjects not touching their own concerns, and indifference as to what people's political principles may be, is universal among the people of the United States."

Mr. Hamilton saw with other eyes and heard with different ears; and we place more confidence in his optics and acoustics than in those of his co-narrator.

"Throughout the day, there was not the smallest demonstration of enthusiasm on the part of the vast concourse of spectators. There was no cheering, no excitement, no general expression of feeling of any sort; and I believe the crowd thought just as much of France as of Morocco, —the Cham of Tartary, as of Louis Philippe, King of the French. They looked and laughed indeed at the novel sight of their fellow tradesmen and apprentices tricked out in ribbons and white stockings, and pacing, with painted banners, to the sound of music. But the *moral* of the display, if I may so speak, was utterly overlooked."—*Men and Manners*, vol. i. pp. 69, 70.

Another striking difference between the accounts given by these two gentlemen is to be found in their pictures of dinner society. "There is hardly ever any talk about the quality of the wine," says Mr. Stuart, "which you are not provoked to drink by being told how many years it has been in your friend's cellar, or to what vintage it belongs." Mr. Hamilton makes the following elaborate affirmation to the contrary:—

"The gentlemen in America pique themselves on their discrimination in wine, in a degree which is not common in England. The ladies have no sooner risen from table, than the business of winebibbing commences in good earnest. The servants still remain in the apartment, and supply fresh glasses to the guests as the successive bottles make their appearance. To each of these a history is attached, and the vintage, the date of importation, &c. are all duly detailed; then come the criticisms of the company, and as each bottle produced contains wine of a different quality from its predecessor, there is no chance of the topic being exhausted. At length, having made the complete tour of the cellar, proceeding progressively from the commoner wines to those of finest flavour, the party adjourns to the drawing-room, and, after coffee, each guest takes his departure without ceremony of any kind."—*Men and Manners*, vol. i. p. 121.

No servant in an American house ever ushers a visitor into the apartment occupied by the family, so that the stranger opens doors on speculation. In that land of equality, *Regina Pecunia* is the fountain of honour. "Do you observe that tall, thin person, with a cast in his eye and his nose a little cocked?" inquired Mr. Hamilton's entertainer one evening, "Well, that man, not three months ago, made 100,000 dollars by a single speculation in tallow. You must allow me to introduce you to him." A few minutes afterwards, he was warned, in a tone of increased im-

portance, that "a gentleman worth at least half a million had desired to make his acquaintance;" and before the party separated, a third yet more opulent than either of his predecessors honoured him by a similar expression of good will. "Had I been presented," is Mr. Hamilton's very just conclusion, "to so many bags of dollars, instead of to their representatives, the ceremony would have been quite as interesting and perhaps less troublesome."

Of the first-rate merchants at New York, Mr. Hamilton expresses a very favourable opinion; and considers them not inferior to any merchants in the world in extent of practical information, liberality of sentiment, and generosity of character. But, unhappily, the descent is rapid after we quit this very small portion of the population; and in the manners and the morals of the great body of traders is found a resolute and obtrusive cupidity for gain and a laxity of principle as to the means of acquiring it.

"I have heard conduct praised in conversation at a public table, which in England would be attended, if not with a voyage to Botany Bay, at least with total loss of character. It is impossible to pass an hour in the bar of the hotel, without being struck with the tone of callous selfishness which pervades the conversation, and the absence of all pretension to pure and lofty principle. The only restraint upon these men is the law, and he is evidently considered the most skilful in his vocation, who contrives to overreach his neighbour, without incurring its penalties."—*Men and Manners*, vol. i. p. 127.

These opinions were not founded exclusively on New York; they were the general result of Mr. Hamilton's observations, who found himself compelled to "lower considerably the high estimate which he had formed of the moral character of the American people." So also in acquired knowledge he considered them far inferior to the educated classes in the Old Country. In natural shrewdness and in that knowledge "which bears an immediate marketable value, (*Romæ Omnia cum pretio!*) and is directly available in the ordinary avocations of life," they are unrivalled. Conversation, accordingly, affords less of "floating intellect" than among ourselves; it is pitched in a lower tone; deliberate proof is for ever offered of matters which in England would be at once assumed; and "long trains of reasoning terminate not in paradox, but in common-place."

In a ball-room, the New York ladies, although wanting *l'air noble*, are far from appearing vulgar; the gentlemen reminded Mr. Hamilton of a party of the New Police. At Boston, to which place we next conduct the travellers, Mr. Hamilton was present but at one ball; of which, since he has not furnished the details, we are unable to speak; but his general impression of the

ladies was very favourable; and when he had thawed the first gravity of the men, he esteemed them not only among the most liberal and enlightened, but among the most agreeable also whom he encountered during his tour. On points of deeper import we meet with the following well-conceived and right-minded observation, not very advantageous to the great mass of New Englanders.

"Boston is the metropolis of Unitarianism. In no other city has it taken root so deeply, or spread its branches so widely. Fully half of the population, and more than half of the wealth and intelligence of Boston, are found in this communion. I was at one time puzzled to account for this; but my journey to New England has removed the difficulty. The New Englanders are a cold, shrewd, calculating, and ingenious people, of phlegmatic temperament, and perhaps have in their composition less of the stuff of which enthusiasts are made, than any other in the world. In no other part of the globe, not even in Scotland, is morality at so high a premium. Nowhere is undeviating compliance with public opinion so unsparingly enforced. The only lever by which people of this character can be moved, is that of argument. A New Englander is far more a being of reason than of impulse. Talk to him of what is high, generous and noble, and he will look on you with a vacant countenance. But tell him of what is just, proper, and essential to his own well-being or that of his family, and he is all ear. His faculties are always sharp; his feelings are obtuse.

"Unitarianism is the democracy of religion. Its creed makes fewer demands on the faith or the imagination, than that of any other Christian sect. It appeals to human reason in every step of its progress, and while it narrows the compass of miracle, enlarges that of demonstration. Its followers have less bigotry than other religionists, because they have less enthusiasm. They refuse credence to the doctrine of one grand and universal atonement, and appeal to none of those sudden and preternatural impulses which have given assurance to the pious of other sects. An Unitarian will take nothing for granted but the absolute and plenary efficacy of his own reason in matters of religion. He is not a fanatic, but a dogmatist; one who will admit of no distinction between the incomprehensible and the false.

"With such views of the Bostonians and their prevailing religion, I cannot help believing, that there exists a curious felicity of adaptation in both. The prosperity of Unitarianism in the New England States, seems a circumstance, which a philosophical observer of national character, might, with no great difficulty, have predicted. Jonathan chose his religion, as one does a hat, because it fitted him. We believe, however, that his head has not yet attained its full size, and confidently anticipate that its speedy enlargement will ere long induce him to adopt a better and more orthodox covering."—*Men and Manners*, vol. i. pp. 166—169.

"The New Englanders are not an amiable people. One meets in them much to approve, little to admire, and nothing to love. They may be disliked, however, but they cannot be despised. There is a degree of

energy and sturdy independence about them, incompatible with contempt. Abuse them as we may, it must still be admitted they are a singular and original people. Nature, in framing a Yankee, seems to have given him double brains, and half heart."—*Men and Manners*, vol. i. p. 230.

Mr. Stuart's observations on Boston are chiefly statistical, as that "lamps of oil are more used than candles;" that the natives "care more for roast beef, beef-steak, roasted turkey, and apple and pumpkin pie, than for any thing else;" that "both horses and oxen are broken to stand much more quiet and immoveable on the street, without any one holding them, than in Britain. The difficulty of getting servants, owing to the high prices of labour, is probably the cause of this;" that at "the Boarding-houses in the United States, clothes are never washed by the servants in the house, but always given out to washerwomen." The Lady who performed the office of *Blanchisseuse* to Mr. Stuart, was Mrs. Carpenter, of Scotch descent; and cordially indeed do we regret, that an unlucky tumble on the ice, (which occasioned him some days' confinement to his house, and cost him a dollar and a half in payment to Dr. Mann, who visited him twice and bled him once,) prevented him from accepting her invitation to a Tea-party. A comparative view of the Suds-and-Soda hospitality of the Old and New Countries, would have been fraught with especial interest to a Political Economist. During his abode in Boston, he witnessed a procession, which in one point at least resembled the Revolutionary Spectacle at New York. The Programme informed the Public that a Cavalcade, in honour of the Inauguration of General Jackson as President, would "move from the New State House, escorted by that *elegant Democratic Company*, the Washington Light Infantry, under the command of Captain Kendall, *who will appear on this occasion in a splendid new uniform.*" Who, after this announcement, will think Sylvester Daggerwood a caricature! "Elegant," in the above advertisement, may perhaps not bear precisely the same meaning which it does in English; for Mr. Hamilton was occasionally puzzled by certain similar enallages. A *clever* house, a *clever* fortune, a *clever* ship, a *clever* voyage, and a *clever* cargo, fell upon his ears without the suggestion of corresponding ideas in his mind; a *clever* man, as applied to a good-natured blockhead, seemed either ironical or contradictory; till he ascertained that *clever* Americanè, in one sense, implied pleasant or amiable. So a *very fine woman* refers not to personal charms, but exclusively to intellect. Most Englishmen are now-a-days acquainted with the Transatlantic meaning of *expect*, *reckon*, *guess*, and *calculate*; but *slick*, *kedge*, and *boss*, are happily still portions of an unknown Tongue. Even the best educated Citizens are trained to bar-

barisms of false grammar and mispronunciation; does, in their mouths, becomes *do-es*; where, *whare*; there *thare*; missionary, *missionairy*; angel, *ângel*; danger, *dânger*; and oratory and dilatory, *oratōry* and *dilatōry*. Mr. Hamilton was one day asked by an acquaintance, to whom he mentioned that he had been visiting a Gentleman distinguished for taste in the Arts, "whether he shew (shewed) his pictures?"

From the Metropolis of Unitarianism we proceed to that of Quakerism. Mr. Stuart bestowed only a day or two on Philadelphia, and his remarks are consequently brief. He found there "the celebrated Miss Wright," delivering Lectures in the Walnut-Tree Theatre, and co-editing with the equally celebrated Mr. Owen, *The Free Inquirer*, a Weekly Newspaper, the chief object of which was to disprove Christianity. In one of the Lectures which Mr. Stuart attended, the points inculcated were the abolition of the Sabbath, and the appropriation of all the time and money now wasted on Religious offices to "endeavours to discover every thing in the bosom of Nature." The Drab-coloured auditors showed little movement of the Spirit, and exhibited no visible signs of approbation or otherwise, beyond an occasional look of surprise. Mr. Stuart himself came to a conclusion which we have little doubt was correct, and which he presents with very creditable modesty and good feeling. "It did not appear to me that there was much originality in the matter of Miss Wright's Lectures. The arguments which she adduced are all, I believe, to be found in the Works of the Sceptical and Deistical writers, Voltaire, Hume, &c."

"The Streets," says Mr. Stuart, "are very generally shaded with trees—a very desirable luxury in this hot climate." "The streets," remarks Mr. Hamilton, "are generally skirted by rows of Lombardy poplars, for what reason I know not; they certainly give no shade and possess no beauty."

Fecistis probe

Incertior sum multo quam dudum.

The pretensions of the Philadelphian University of Pennsylvania are somewhat grandiloquent. The Trustees assure the Public that

"Its object is to communicate a profound and critical knowledge of the classics; an extensive acquaintance with the different branches of mathematical science, natural philosophy, and chemistry, combined with all the varieties of knowledge comprehended within the sphere of moral philosophy, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, and the evidences of Christianity. This course of instruction will occupy FOUR YEARS!"—*Men and Manners in America*, vol. i. p. 358.

Our astonishment at this Crichtonian course of study, how-

ever, is much diminished when we subsequently learn the *real* state of knowledge in America. Seven of the Theological Colleges in the United States are entirely destitute of Libraries. The value of Books imported from Europe for thirty Public Institutions, during the years 1829-30, amounted to only 10,829 dollars, the greater part of which sum was expended in publications of the day. No Astronomical Observatory exists in any part of the Country; and "the second maritime Power in the World is dependent on France and England for the calculations of an Ephemeris by which her ships may be enabled in tolerable safety to navigate the Ocean." The imputation of scholarship is bandied as a reproach in Congress, and to call a Representative "a literary gentleman" would be a gross affront.

"How do you like Washington?" was the question put to Mr. Hamilton by one of his fellow-passengers in the Coach. "I will tell you when I see it," was the reply, which was followed by an admonition that they had already been in the vast desert of the metropolis, for a quarter of an hour. Washington, *on paper*, consists of a parallelogram five miles in length, by two in breadth, regularly parcelled out into streets, squares, and avenues. But since it is utterly without either the presence or the prospect of Trade, the plan has never been filled up, and the houses are scattered in detached and straggling groups, very far apart from each other. In their separate accounts of the President, General Jackson, to whom each of the Travellers was early introduced, there is a very striking coincidence, and the impression conveyed to us, both of his manners and of his capacity, is in the highest degree pleasing. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Hamilton saw many well-dressed and senatorial-looking personages, but a large proportion, he continues, were vulgar and uncouth beyond any thing which previous experience had taught him to expect. A glance convinced him that they were not gentlemen either by habit or by education. The appearance of the Senate, as might be expected, was more grave and dignified. At a splendid Ball given by the French Ambassador, the invitation embraced all the Members of Congress; several of whom appeared in morning dresses, in dirty boots, or in worsted stockings, supporting ladies whose attire corresponded with their own. But the President's Levee, which Mr. Hamilton afterwards attended, presented a still more remarkable specimen of the *advantages* possessed by a Government essentially democratic; and the description which he has penned is so graphic, that we shall extract it entire.

"The apartments were already full before I arrived, and the crowd extended even into the hall. Three—I am not sure that there were not four—large saloons were thrown open on the occasion, and were literally

crammed with the most singular and miscellaneous assemblage I had ever seen.

"The numerical majority of the company seemed of the class of tradesmen or farmers, respectable men fresh from the plough or the counter, who, accompanied by their wives and daughters, came forth to greet their President, and enjoy the splendours of the gala. There were also generals and commodores, and public officers of every description, and foreign ministers and members of Congress, and ladies of all ages and degrees of beauty, from the fair and laughing girl of fifteen, to the haggard dowager of seventy. There were majors in broad cloth and corduroys, redolent of gin and tobacco, and majors' ladies in chintz or russet, with huge Paris ear-rings, and tawny necks, profusely decorated with beads of coloured glass. There were tailors from the board, and judges from the bench; lawyers who opened their mouths at one bar, and the tapster who closed them at another;—in short, every trade, craft, calling, and profession, appeared to have sent its delegates to this extraordinary convention.

"For myself, I had seen too much of the United States to expect any thing very different, and certainly anticipated that the mixture would contain all the ingredients I have ventured to describe. Yet, after all, I was taken by surprise. There were present at this levee, men begrimed with all the sweat and filth accumulated in their day's—perhaps their week's—labour. There were sooty artificers, evidently fresh from the forge or the workshop; and one individual, I remember—either a miller or a baker—who, wherever he passed, left marks of contact on the garments of the company. The most prominent group, however, in the assemblage, was a party of Irish labourers, employed on some neighbouring canal, who had evidently been apt scholars in the doctrine of liberty and equality, and were determined, on the present occasion, to assert the full privileges of "the great unwashed." I remarked these men pushing aside the more respectable portion of the company with a certain jocular audacity, which put one in mind of the humours of Donnybrook.

"A party, composed of the materials I have described, could possess but few attractions. The heat of the apartment was very great, and the odours—certainly not Sabæan—which occasionally affected the nostrils, were more pungent than agreeable. I therefore pushed on in search of the President, in order that, having paid my respects in acknowledgment of a kindness for which I really felt grateful, I might be at liberty to depart. My progress, however, was slow, for the company in the exterior saloons were wedged together in a dense mass, penetrable only at occasional intervals. I looked everywhere for the President as I passed, but without success; but at length a friend, against whom I happened to be jostled, informed me that I should find him at the extremity of the most distant apartment.

"The information was correct. There stood the President, whose looks still indicated indisposition, paying one of the severest penalties of greatness; compelled to talk when he had nothing to say, and shake hands with men whose very appearance suggested the precaution of a

glove. I must say, however, that under these unpleasant circumstances, he bore himself well and gracefully. His countenance expressed perfect good humour; and his manner to the ladies was so full of well-bred gallantry, that having, as I make no doubt, the great majority of the fair sex on his side, the chance of his being unseated at the next election must be very small.

"I did not, however, remain long a spectator of the scene. Having gone through the ordinary ceremonial, I scrambled out of the crowd the best way I could, and bade farewell to the most extraordinary scene it had ever been my fortune to witness."—*Men and Manners in America*, p. 135—138.

It was *intended* that the Company, during this Court Ceremony, should be regaled with punch and lemonade; but in two attempts to convey the supplies into the inner saloon of audience, the trays were stormed by the out-posts, and cleared of their contents. The Butler, who was a shrewd Irishman, then armed an escort with shillelahs, and by dint of much national flourishing, he at length succeeded in effecting a safe passage for his convoy, amid peals of laughter and execration.

We shall confine ourselves to a single specimen of the Political Reflections which occurred to Mr. Hamilton during his residence in Washington.

"The election of the President affects so many interests and partialities, and appeals so strongly to the passions of the people, that it is uniformly attended with a very injurious disturbance of the public tranquillity. The session of Congress immediately preceding the election is chiefly occupied by the manœuvres of both parties to gain some advantage for their favourite candidate. The quantity of invective expended on men and measures is enormously increased. The ordinary business of the country is neglected. Motions are made, and inquiries gone into, in the mere hope that something may be discovered which party-zeal may convert into a weapon of attack or defence. In short, the legislature of a great nation is resolved into electioneering committees of rival candidates for the Presidency.

"Without doors the contest is no less keen. From one extremity of the Union to the other the political war slogan is sounded. No quarter is given on either side. Every printing press in the United States is engaged in the conflict. Reason, justice, charity, the claims of age and of past services, of high talents and unspotted integrity, are forgotten. No lie is too malignant to be employed in this unhallowed contest, if it can but serve the purpose of deluding even for a moment the most ignorant of mankind. No insinuation is too base, no equivocation too mean, no artifice too paltry. The world affords no parallel to the scene of political depravity exhibited periodically in this free country.

"In England I know it will be believed that this picture is overcharged, that it is utterly impossible that any Christian community can be disgraced by scenes of such appalling atrocity. It may be supposed too, that in getting up materials for the charge, I have been compelled

to go back to the earlier period of the constitution, to the days of Adams and Jefferson, when the struggle of men was the struggle of great principles, and the people were yet young and unpractised in the enjoyment of that liberty which they had so bravely earned.

"Of either hypothesis I regret to say that it is more charitable than true. I speak not of the United States as they were, but *as they are*. Let the moral character of the past generation of Americans rest with them undisturbed in their graves. Our business at present is with living men, and it is these who are now charged, not by *me*, but by *writers of their own age and country*, with the offences I have ventured to describe."—vol. ii. pp. 119—121.

Mr. Hamilton proceeded by "the Accommodation Stage," which he conjectures has been named according to the principle of negation, on part of the route from Washington to New Orleans. The journey was unpleasant, and occasionally not without peril. One of his companions was a dram-drinking, tobacco-chewing Doctor from Virginia, who spat right and left, sorely to the disregard of the eyes and to the discomfiture of the temper of a very respectable Quaker. On the first discharge which occurred after dark, Mr. Hamilton, who with much discretion had intrenched himself in a back seat, was awakened from a sound sleep by the outcries of the sufferer, who audibly cursed the offender for a drunken vagabond. When embarked on board the Steam-boat, which was to descend the Ohio, Mr. Hamilton indulged himself by procuring a bottle of nominal Champagne from Cincinnati.

"The bottle came, but, on being opened, the contents were much more like sour cider than Champagne. In short, the stuff was decidedly too bad for drinking, and was accordingly pushed aside. But the appearance of this anomalous-looking flask evidently caused some commotion among the passengers. The wine was probably one which few of them had tasted, and many were evidently determined to seize the earliest opportunity of enlarging their experience. 'I should like a glass of your wine, sir, if you have no objections,' said my old enemy the Virginian doctor. I immediately pushed the bottle to him, and he filled his tumbler to the brim. Observing this, the persons about him, without ceremony of any kind, seized the bottle, and its contents incontinently disappeared."—vol. ii. pp. 173, 174.

This Steam-boat voyage was not altogether to Mr. Hamilton's taste. He had never seen anything so disgusting in human shape as his fellow-passengers. To employ his own strong description—their morals and their manners were alike detestable, and a cold, callous selfishness, and a disregard of all the decencies of society, marked every feature, word, and action. Drinking and gambling continued without intermission day and night; and the Captain, preeminent in both those accomplishments, was for the

most part utterly incapable of managing his vessel. Notwithstanding the presence of a Baptist Clergyman, the conversation was interlarded with the vilest blasphemy, "not uttered in a state of mental excitement, but with a coolness and deliberation truly fiend-like." The *ladies* prudently confined themselves to their own berths, except at meal-times. From the ceiling of the Cabin was suspended a public comb and hair-brush, and a catholic towel passed from hand to hand. The voyage terminated at Louisville, where a general rush was made to the breakfast-room of the hotel. Mr. Hamilton requested a neighbour to help him to some cold fowl which stood opposite. The *gentleman* "deliberately cut out the whole body for himself, and then handed across the dish with the drumsticks."

On arriving at New Orleans, Mr. Hamilton found some difficulty in procuring accommodation; the hotels were full, but at length he obtained some wretched rooms in an uninhabited house. His attendant was an old and ugly female slave, from whom it was not possible to extort a smile by money, wine, or courtesy. She spoke little, but when the fit was on her, says Mr. Hamilton, she displayed great tact and discrimination in her selection of topics. Thus, by way of recommending her lodgings, she informed her new tenant that three gentlemen had died in them of yellow fever during the preceding autumn. Two were Englishmen, and "I myself," she added, "laid out their corpses on that very table."

The extraordinary decorum maintained in the public streets of New Orleans is a just subject of applause to both of the writers before us. Nevertheless, as they admit, the moral reputation of the City is very far from standing high. In the House of Assembly the mixed nature of the population produces a curious mode of debate. The Creoles, who speak French, do not understand the American English; but they are fully on a par in this point with their co-representatives, who are ignorant of French. Accordingly, at the conclusion of a speech from either party, an interpreter renders it to the other, as perfectly as his memory allows. When the discussion, as is often the case, assumes a vehement and personal character, the scene becomes eminently ludicrous, both from the ignorance of those sitters by who are the subjects of a tirade while it is originally pronounced, and from their gradual awakening to excitement and indignation, while the deliverer is subsiding into calmness, during its repetition by the interpreter.

The next Steam-boat voyage, on the Alabama, between New Orleans and Charleston, was far more agreeable than that on the Ohio. The table, indeed, was, for the first time in America,

scantily supplied; and plates, dishes, knives, forks and linen, were as usual dirty and disgusting. But the passengers were of a less abominable description. They consisted almost exclusively of farmers, "who, though exceedingly offensive both in habits and deportment, are yet a shade better than the inhabitants of towns." "There is nothing *rustic*, however," continues Mr. Hamilton, "about any American; nothing of that simplicity which distinguishes the peasantry of other countries. The eye is almost uniformly expressive of care and cunning." Their course led them by Claiborne, a paltry village, esteemed "a considerable place;" to Portland, consisting of a store and a few wretched houses, which is termed "a great improvement;" and onward to Cahawba, recently the seat of the Alabama Government. It comprises about twenty very poor houses, among which stands the Court House, where Mr. Hamilton had the good fortune, *en passant*, to hear one stage in the progress of a law-suit: The Judge, not better dressed, and somewhat filthier in his habits than an English ploughman, sat on an elevated platform of rough unpainted boards; the Counsel for the Plaintiff was a Blacksmith, who entered Court with Corduroys *à la Wetherell*, which he hitched up with peculiar grace, and bearing about him many fuliginous testimonies that he was

A luteo Vulcano ad Rhetora missus.

The defendant's advocate pleaded in a fustian jacket, and the Cause—which for aught we know may be *adhuc sub Judice*, for Mr. Hamilton left it unfinished—concerned a Doctor's Bill.

We have not room for a very picturesque account of a day and night passed in an Indian hut in the middle of a forest in the Creole territory. The mail stage had become embedded in a swamp, and the passengers, after remaining during six hours, from one A. M. till seven, under the fury of an American storm, found shelter in a hospitable wigwam till their carriage could be dug out. Their entertainment was kind and courteous. Sleep, indeed, was not to be procured, having first suffered interruption from a drunken quarrel between two white settlers belonging to that ruffian class who seek refuge from the laws which they have violated, in a territory beyond the reach of law, and who spread corruption among the natives by intermarrying with them. Had it not been for timely interference, murder would have ensued in this instance; and when peace was restored, Mr. Hamilton found himself unable to close his eyes, in consequence of the merciless assaults of the inmates, who, he assures us, flea for man, would have outnumbered the army of Xerxes.

At Charleston, Mr. Hamilton found a clean, well-conducted,

and in many points, luxurious Hotel, kept by a black man named Jones. In that under the auspices of Mr. and Mrs. Street, in which Mr. Stuart lodged, the latter was most unlucky. On opening the door, on the first night, after his return from the theatre, he stumbled over the male servants of the house, who slept in the passage with their clothes on, without either beds or bedding, and who accordingly were kicked and trodden on *ad libitum* by every other inmate. Mrs. Street, a very Tisiphone, was hourly disciplining her establishment, either with her fists or with a thong of cow-hide. In no other part of the United States does slavery exist in a more appalling form than at Charleston, and several instances of enormity, upon which it would be very painful to dilate, fell under Mr. Stuart's personal cognizance.

It would be supererogatory to accompany either of these travellers to Niagara. Almost every reader is saturated with the Falls, and he who is not so, may now take his fill of spray in Leicester Square. Mr. Hamilton proceeded through Montreal and Quebec, and returned by Saratoga to New York, where he closed a tour which probably afforded less pleasure to himself *inter itinerrandum* than it has done to us *inter legendum*. Before we take leave of him we must subjoin a very short, but a very sensible and a very seasonable estimate of the condition of Religion as it exists in the United States.

"The clergymen with whom I had an opportunity of conversing during my different journeys, were unlettered, and ignorant of theology, in a degree often scarcely credible. Some of them seemed to have changed their tenets as they do their coats. One told me that he had commenced his clerical life as a Calvinist; he then became a Baptist; then a Universalist; and was, when I met him, a Unitarian!

"There is one advantage of an established church, which only those, perhaps, who have visited the United States can duly appreciate. In England a large body of highly educated gentlemen annually issue from the universities to discharge the duties of the clerical office throughout the kingdom. By this means a certain stability is given to religious opinion; and even those who dissent from the Church are led to judge of their pastors by a higher standard, and to demand a greater amount of qualification, than is ever thought of in a country like the United States. This result is undoubtedly of the highest benefit to the community. The light of the Established Church penetrates to the chapel of the dissenter, and there is a moral check on religious extravagance, the operation of which is not the less efficacious, because it is silent and unperceived by those on whom its influence is exerted.

"Religion is not one of those articles the supply of which may be left to be regulated by the demand. The necessity for it is precisely greatest when the demand is least, and a government neglects its first and highest duty, which fails to provide for the spiritual as well as temporal wants of its subjects. But in the question of religious establishments I cannot

enter. I only wish to record my conviction, that those who adduce the state of religion in the United States as affording illustration of the inutility of an established church, are either bad reasoners or ignorant men."—vol. ii. pp. 399, 400.

We have endeavoured as much as possible to make these two writers advance together *pari passu* and in parallel lines. The superior interest with which Mr. Hamilton has invested, and the more enlarged views with which he has contemplated his subject, have perhaps, however, made us latterly somewhat too forgetful of Mr. Stuart; but as *his* pages also are far from being without their own peculiar merit, we shall now make a desultory gleaning from such portions as we have hitherto left untouched.

We should premise that Mr. Stuart sees every American thing and person *en couleur de rose*, and that he usually sums up the most offensive details by a rounded period in favour of Transatlantic Institutions. The admissions, therefore, into which he is perpetually betrayed by his strict adherence to Truth are especially important. And first for the conveniences of travelling. At Geneva, he assures us, the Hotel was large and well kept, and the people disposed to be obliging; yet there, as elsewhere, it was "rather difficult" (Anglicè, impossible) to get the waiter or chambermaid to come to the bed-room door for the usual domestic offices. First of all, it was not customary; secondly, there were not any bells by which they could be summoned. At night the travellers left their shoes in the Bar in exchange for some repulsive slippers, which in the morning they re-exchanged for their own property, if they were fortunate enough to detect it. Shaving was performed in the Bar-room, in which there was a looking-glass—an article which from this specification we reasonably conclude was *not* in the bed-room. Males, for the most part, wash in basins placed on a wooden bench near the pump-well. On one occasion, when the stage drove up to an Inn door, the driver jumped down and called to the slave in waiting, "Where is the pan? Come, let us take a wash." "This," adds Mr. Stuart, "is very much the custom here. The water is brought in a large pewter basin, and is set down in the space between the parallel apartments of the house, *where there is a large towel upon a roller.*"

As the shoe-black would not come to Mr. Stuart, that gentleman discreetly adopted Mahomet's principle, and while at Hoboken, went to the shoe-black. He was a man of colour, whose residence is pointed out to us with precision as being at "No. 32, Lennard Street;" and unwise indeed would he have been to have quitted this apartment for any occupation connected with Day and Martin. Mr. Stuart found him and his wife "at dinner,

consisting of one of the fattest geese I had ever seen, with potatoes and apple pie. That he dined at his own house, and not at the *Table d'hôte*, arose from his peculiar tint; for the landlord and his whole establishment, provided they are of white hue, nay the stage-coachman himself, elbow the traveller at the common feeding-trough. But it should be remembered that the coachmen of America are of a different class from the Jehus of a Paddington Omnibus; and that Mr. Stuart, when visiting the smiling scenery of Bloody Pond, was driven in a hired Barouche by no less a personage than the High Sheriff of the County. So high a grade, however, was by no means requisite for complete independence, as the following adventure, which occurred between Montgomery and Mobile, will amply testify. Mr. Stuart was alone in the mail-stage, and was therefore wholly at the mercy of his charioteer.

"At a point where the road was covered with stumps of trees, he drew up, and tying the reins up at the front window, he said to me, the only passenger, 'look to the reins till I come back.' He was obliged to go a little way to give out some sewing, as he said. There was neither a house nor a human being in our view, and I felt it unpleasant to be left alone in the forest; but there was no alternative, for the driver was out of sight behind the trees in a moment. He did not return for thirty-five minutes, and then, feeling some apology to be necessary, he said, 'I was obliged to hear her story. The fact is, I keep a girl a little way off. I have built her a house, and we have a negro wench to attend her. Yet the people are making a mighty fuss about it. How do they manage these matters in the North, sir?' I of course advised him to marry, as they do in the North; but he said the girl's family were not equal to his, and he could not think of disgracing himself, though he was very fond of her. The great fault, however, which the public have to find with this person, whose name is Symes, is that of leaving the whole southern mails at the mercy of a stranger, of whom he knew nothing, and who could not be expected to make any extraordinary exertion if any attempt had been made to carry them off."—pp. 187, 188.

Nor are landlords less peremptory. Squire Bentley, who keeps the best Hotel at Jacksonville, named half-past seven to Mr. Stuart as the breakfast hour. The traveller, however, was awakened at six by notes of preparation, and he found the meal commenced (a matter of no small import according to the American rate of eating) before he could gain the parlour. On being asked some questions relative to this precocity, Squire Bentley replied, that "he did not care for the custom of the British; that his forefathers had left England to avoid tyranny, and that he did not want to see foreigners." At night, the same courteous Boniface informed a recently arrived guest, at ten minutes past nine o'clock, that he must go to bed, for that he could not sit up

longer in order to show him his room. In a country in which, when a traveller stops in the middle of a ride, his horse is either tied to a post, or turned loose into an open shed, with some water, "but nothing else," and in which, however much the poor animal may be heated, he is never rubbed down or cleaned, we ascribe it rather to compulsion and necessity than to any superiority of education and training, that they take these privations quietly. Yet Mr. Stuart informs us once again, that "horses are certainly much better broken in this country, and more patient in enduring heat and the attacks of flies, than in Britain." Perhaps so; just as the blind Dobbin in a dustman's cart is better broken to hard blows and scanty provender, than is the Highflyer at Newmarket, or the Clipper-Annuity at Melton.

One stage-coach adventure, however, affords evidence of American gallantry, and we extract it as a genuine specimen of Mr. Stuart's discursive and polymorphous manner, of the great good-humour with which he relates his own discomfitures, and of the characteristic doggedness of the people whom he visited.

"I lodged at Griffith's hotel, which I found very comfortable. Having caught cold in the steam-boat on the Ohio, I had landed at Wheeling, instead of proceeding, according to my original intention, by water to Pittsburg. Being still unwell at Pittsburg, I applied to the clerk of the stages in Mr. Griffith's house to know whether he could secure me a place in the stage across the Alleghanies to Chambersburg, in the hindmost seat, in which I thought I should be able to travel with most ease. On his answering in the affirmative, I paid eight dollars for my place. Next morning (the 27th of May) I was the only passenger in the stage, at starting from the door of the hotel, and I seated myself in my snug corner, as I thought. The stage then went about the town to pick up those who had taken places, and at last stopped at the door of a house, where the driver announced that ladies were coming into the stage, and applied to me to take another seat. This I declined to do, in consequence of what I told him had passed when I paid for my place. The party in the house refused to come out until they were sure of having the seats in the back row. I, on the other hand, was equally decided not to give up the place, to which I maintained I had a complete right in consequence of a special bargain. The landlord of the hotel was sent for to set matters to rights; but after hearing my story, he said that 'ladies were always preferred,' and denied his clerk's authority to make any special bargain. Still I was obstinate. The stage proprietors must be bound by the acts of their clerk or servant. Mr. Griffith then rather lost his temper. If I had been a young man, he said, he would have had me pulled out of the stage by force; but it was lucky that another stage was at home, and he would order the horses to be taken out and put to the other stage, into which the party in the house should first of all be privileged to enter. I heard this threat, and a good deal more of impertinent language, which fell from the landlord and driver, as well as

from some of the by-standers, for a crowd of people had now surrounded the stage, with philosophical indifference ; but when I found that the landlord's threat was actually putting in execution, and that the horses were taken out of the carriage, it became indispensably necessary for me, with a view to my own accommodation, to change my plan of proceeding with what grace I could, and I accordingly, to the no small amusement of the by-standers, removed to the front seat in the stage. The horses were again put to, and the party from the house, consisting of a gentleman, two ladies, and three children, one of them an infant, entered the stage, and we drove off, on a two days' journey, even if the parties were to go no further together than to Chambersburg. It was some time before I ventured to reconnoitre the new comers into the stage ; but the first glance I had of them convinced me that I never could have made such a stand as I had done at a more unpropitious moment. One of the ladies was as interesting a female as I have ever seen ; so young looking, that I should never have supposed that she had been married, if she had not been wearing the deepest mourning dress of a widow, and had her infant child in her arms. The party consisted of Mr. Biddle, of Nashville, in Tennessee, the brother of the President of the National Bank of the United States, at Philadelphia ; of his daughter, the young lady whom I have mentioned ; and of her friend, Mrs. Fisher, with her son and daughter, about six, or seven, or eight years old.

"Half an hour or more passed, a very unusual thing in an American stage, before any general conversation took place. At length the awkwardness that prevailed was put an end to by a trifling but fortunate incident. The stage stopped suddenly. One of the ladies inquired the cause. I looked out first and gave an answer. The ice was now broken, and from that moment we got on quite as well as if nothing unpleasant had happened at the outset. At the end of the first stage, ten miles from Pittsburg, Mr. Biddle asked me to take a little spirits and water with him, to which I consented—though I would far rather have declined the offer—with a view to convince him that there was no lurking ill-humour on my part."—vol. ii. pp. 478—480.

Mr. Stuart was forcibly struck by the inconsistency of the treatment received by *free* people of colour, as they are called, with the professed doctrines of equality. White servants living in the same house refuse to eat and drink with their less white *collaborateurs*. An itinerant Lecturer, at La Rochelle, ejected a well dressed man of colour from his room, saying, "we want no people of colour here ; they are very well in their own way, but we don't mean to make them astronomers." Mr. Stuart ventured to remonstrate with the Planetary Sage upon this manifest partiality, but Sidrophel's reply was unanswerable, that if he had not dismissed the single sable auditor, all the others would have retired. In some of the States, laws exist against the education of free men of colour. The condition of slaves is necessarily far more degrading ; and without shocking the ears of our readers

with any of the more abominable atrocities, which we have before stated that it was our intention to avoid, it may suffice to say, that, in Georgia, if any slaves or *free persons of colour* teach any other slave or *free person of colour* to read or to write, either printed or written characters, the offender is punished by a fine and whipping; and a white person, so offending, is subject to a fine not exceeding 500 dollars, and to imprisonment in the common gaol. So, at New Orleans, the penalty for teaching any slave to read or write, is imprisonment for not less than one, nor more than twelve months. One *humane* slave-dealer, in North Carolina, assured Mr. Stuart that he never separated a husband and wife, "but some people does separate them, as well as children, and then they have a crying scene, that was all." In a rice plantation, near Charleston, in which the slaves were numerous, and received fully average good treatment, it appeared to Mr. Stuart that "from want of education and of ordinary comforts" they were not

"much removed from the brutes. They had little clothing, all of one drab colour; and not one of them had bed-clothes. I had full leisure to talk with them, but of course I was bound to do so with prudence. Every one of them, however, with whom I had an opportunity of conversing, declared themselves unhappy and miserable in their situation. A certain task is allotted to each of them, and if this is not done, they are subjected to one of three punishments, whipping, wearing irons, or putting in the stocks. . . . I was told here, on authority which seemed to be quite unquestionable, that of a wealthy planter who lives in this neighbourhood, that a planter, whose estate is at no great distance from the high road which I was travelling, was in the habit of punishing his slaves, when he thought that they required severe discipline, by putting them in coffins, which were partly nailed down, and that this punishment had again and again resulted in the death of the slaves. The gentleman who communicated this information to me, spoke of it with horror; but upon my asking him why such conduct was not punished, since it was known in the neighbourhood, by virtue of the law, which declared the killing of a slave to be murder, he replied, that his neighbour took very good care of himself. The punishment was inflicted only in the presence of slaves, whose evidence was inadmissible. He added, however, that the coffins had been seen, and that the slaves, who it was said had lost their lives, had disappeared, and that no doubt was entertained that their deaths had been occasioned by their being shut up in coffins.

Polygamy is forcibly enjoined upon both sexes, whenever the result seems likely to be favourable to the quantity or quality of stock. The owner himself pays marked personal attention to this department. Planters are frequently waited upon by their own children, and send them without compunction for sale to the public market.

Mr. Stuart does not appear to have inquired with much interest into the progress of American literature; but at New Baltimore, he was induced to transcribe two of the choicest out of many Epitaphs which he read in the Burial ground. One of them ran as below,

“ In this cold grave my body *rests*;
My soul doth dwell among the *blest*.”

His Tables of expenditure, and his *cartes gastronomiques*, are of great value, and it would not be by any means difficult to present a synoptical view of all that he ate, drank, and paid, at every stage during his three years' Travels. Deep was our sympathy, and most cordial was our condolence, when we read that during a breakfast at Accoqua, where there appeared “ the finest brace of roasted canvas-back ducks he had ever seen,” the unconscionable “ Major Lomax devoured the whole of one and part of the other.”

After a single specimen of the ingenuousness of American childhood, and a remark or two upon the situation of an individual who once excited much attention in England, we must now hasten to a close.

“ It would be easy to multiply instances to show how much the desire of making money constantly engrosses the thoughts of all, both young and old, in this country. One example occurs to me at present of a little boy, eight years old, George, the son of Mr. Woodhull, at Mount Vernon, where we resided. He used frequently to amuse himself by coming into our room, and we encouraged him as he was a smart fine boy. We often talked to him jocularly of his accompanying us, when we returned to Britain, and he seemed to have some inclination to do so. At last he asked me, ‘ But what would you give me if I were to go with you to Britain ?’ I replied, ‘ Five dollars a month.’ He did not lose a moment in leaving us to get information, whether five dollars a month were sufficient wages at his time of life. When he came back he was in an ecstasy of joy. He laid himself on his back, and kicked up his heels, telling us it was a good offer, and he would accept it; ‘ but,’ said he, ‘ I must have my board;’ this was conceded: ‘ then,’ said he, ‘ I must have my washing too.’ To this demand we demurred, to try the effect of it upon the boy, but he was quite firm,—every body in this country had board and washing, besides their wages, and he would not engage to go anywhere unless they were promised.”—*Three Years in North America*, pp. 469, 470.

On passing through the Illinois, Mr. Stuart, when near Albion, “ set off to get a look of Mr. Flower's Prairie.” He found the Proprietor engaged in sheep-shearing; but he was received most hospitably. In a ride through the property, in company with Mr. Flower, he was much interested by seeing him, “ for he puts

his hand to the work himself, assist in laying a trap with part of a dead horse for the wolves which had lately been troublesome."

"Both Mr. and Mrs. Flower seem to me perfectly disposed to conform to the customs of the country in every thing, and are very fond of the situation. They have a fine family. Mrs. Flower was very recently the mother of twins. It is, however, impossible to deny, that persons brought up in England in luxury and affluence, as Mr. Flower's family were, must have frequent cause for self-denial here. It is only by reasoning on the advantages and disadvantages of their present situation for themselves, and the future prospects of their family, that they can reconcile themselves to the privations to which persons formerly in their circumstances in England, must necessarily submit in the western country of America."

"He knew that every child of his, that was industrious and acted discreetly, would be well provided for. Mr. and Mrs. Flower are obliged to adopt the custom which is quite universal here—of eating with their servants, who are very numerous: they all eat and drink alike; but Mr. Flower makes it a condition, on hiring servants, that, when strangers come to see them, they live apart from the servants. There are good gardens, orchards, and a fine lawn close to Mr. Flower's houses. But the ground about them is kept in a style more conducive to the business of the plantation or farm, than clean, and nice, and dressed, as if it were a piece of mere pleasure ground."—*Three Years in North America*, p. 386—388.

Any English gentleman, therefore, who does not object to the view of a straw-yard and a middin from his drawing-room windows, who finds pleasure in convivial intercourse with his servants, and who, wearied of the fox chase, is content to bait wolf-traps with carrion, may advantageously transfer himself to this much-vaunted Occidental Paradise. The species of "Men and Manners" with which he may expect to meet in other parts of the Country, may be fully learned from numerous anecdotes very similar to those which we have already culled, and the traveller who, having crossed the Atlantic after reading these volumes, should return *disappointed*, may thank himself for want either of faith or of apprehension.

ART. XI.—*Collections from the Greek Anthology.* By the late Rev. Robert Bland and others. *A new Edition, comprising the Fragments of Early Lyric Poetry, with Specimens of all the Poets included in Meleager's Garland.* By J. H. Merivale, Esq. F. S. A. London: Longman; Murray.

IF we had leisure, how gladly would we bathe our minds again in these perennial springs of beauty and freshness. How gladly would we turn from the elaborate tinsel, the glittering puerilities, the eternal sameness, of the modern odes, stanzas, tales; and metrical ballads, which weary us almost to death, month after month, and year after year, in the Magazines and Annuals, to the virgin gracefulness, the chaste and statue-like simplicity of the lyric and epigrammatic poetry of the Greeks. But alas! the want of time and space forbids us to expatiate. We can only recommend such of our readers, as have the opportunity of varying their severer, and perhaps holier studies, with light and classical pursuits, to drink from these fountains of delight, and look upon the poems here offered to their perusal, which may be ancient but can never be *stale*, as the perfect standards of pure taste.

In the second edition of this collection will be found several pieces not inserted before; and many specimens of most ingenious and elegant translation. On every account we wish it all the success which can possibly attend it.

Indeed, if we were at leisure to indulge in reflection, there are some interesting trains of thought, which might be at once awakened by the new and approved appearance of the Greek Anthology. This is one of the few works, having the least pretensions to extensive scholarship, which have been popularly successful among us of late years. The suggestion, then, forces itself upon us, that the classical spirit of the country is bowing its head before the mechanical. Would that we could possess both! We are far from wishing to depreciate the useful inventions, and the mechanical improvements, and the intelligent activity in all practical pursuits, which peculiarly characterize the age: we feel their value, (and therefore, cannot be so ungrateful as to disown the obligation,) with every mile which we travel, and every garment which we put upon our backs, and every implement which we take up in our hands, and almost every object which we discern with any of our senses. But not all these things could ever reconcile us to the loss of that polite learning, those "*literæ humaniores*," which soothe and refine, while they elevate, the mind, which purify the morals and manners of a country through its taste, and which tend at least to correct the sordid selfishness which is generated by the ordinary business of the world, and the gross licentious-

ness which is born of its vulgar pleasures; and we scruple not to say, that for the attainment of these excellent ends, the finest and grandest productions of the minds of modern Europe are inferior to the more finished models of classical antiquity.

We might take our stand, it is obvious, upon higher and more sacred ground. We might assert the absolute necessity of classical scholarship to the Biblical student and the Christian minister, in order to understand the words of inspiration, and to avoid those errors and extravagances of doctrine, which the want of learning and the stubborn presumption of ignorance have invariably engendered. But these points we shall not press. We would go upon the broad and catholic principle, that there is a time for all things, and that all things have their use. Yet, if philosophers can sometimes deplore that the higher and more abstract branches of science are almost sacrificed to its more practical and mechanical departments, we feel that the complaint is soon far more likely to be true with regard to profound scholarship and classical literature. The other parts of knowledge can all take care of themselves. Science is safe in its immediate application to the wants and conveniences of our animal life. The study of modern languages is a necessity of modern times. But we cannot but think, that classical scholarship is in some danger. It may be thrown into the back-water, and forgotten, by the "heady current" of innovation and change. Utilitarian pedantry, and morose fanaticism, are alike its enemies. Whether in the eyes of some men there has not been attached to it a disproportioned and exaggerated importance, and whether too much time may not have been occasionally devoted to it, in the general education of youth, are questions which we are hardly called upon to discuss; for the peril is now on the other side. The remarkable phenomenon, which England now exhibits, is the erudition of a country sinking before the ascendant star of its inventive ingenuity; and its literature declining almost in proportion with the advancement of its knowledge. And here we are led to remark, ("so curiously dovetailed" in their connection are subjects apparently distinct,) that our main hope must be in the clergy and the endowments of the church. Amidst the rapid spread of cheap publications, the perpetual piracies by which they live, and their habit of taking knowledge piece-meal, and serving it up to the public in small fragments, it becomes scarcely possible, that any work, requiring long deliberation, and patient diligence, and systematic arrangement, and laborious research, should be undertaken by men who are authors by profession, or who have no surer resources to fall back upon, than their literary emoluments. Pecuniary compensation they cannot expect; and the chances are ten to one

that they will defrauded of their fair share of reputation by some skilful manufacturer of small wares, who abridges and popularizes the fruit of their toils. Therefore solid literature must almost inevitably suffer, and the national taste must be infallibly degraded, unless they are both sustained by men who enjoy some portion of "learned leisure," and are placed equally above the influence of vulgar necessities and vulgar ambition.

But we will not intrude upon a topic which has been so lately adorned by the splendid eloquence of Dr. Chalmers. We would rather turn to the clergy themselves, and express our trust that they will not degenerate from that accurate, and deep, and massy scholarship, which has distinguished their predecessors. They must not, indeed, and they dare not, be behind the age in the cultivation of science, both on account of the debasement which they might suffer in popular estimation, and on account of the mistakes into which they might be betrayed as to science itself, or as to the legitimate and distinct spheres of science and religion. Yet they may still find time for polite and comprehensive erudition; and we do earnestly hope that men of the sacred profession, as they were the first to restore classical learning from its interment in the darker ages, will now be the most instrumental in preserving it from decay. To say more would carry us into a field of inquiry, wide and fertile in instructive speculation, but far beyond our present power to do it justice—we mean the subject of clerical education, and the best intellectual preparation, (moral and spiritual preparation is still, we allow, beyond comparison more important,) for those who aspire to the dignity and responsibility of Holy Orders.

ART. XII.—*A New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, with a Commentary, and an Appendix of various Dissertations.* By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M.A. Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the State of Massachusetts. *Republished, by appointment of the Author, with Prefaces and an Index, under the care of John Pye Smith, D.D. and E. Henderson, Doct. Philos.* London: Holdsworth and Ball. 1833. 8vo.

AT a time when America is occupying universal attention, and when, on every point which concerns America, the passions of the intemperate are so excited by the zeal of the indiscreet as to leave little prospect of a calm and dispassionate investigation—it is refreshing and gratifying to us to turn to the work of an eminent scholar and a pious man, wherein there is no alloy of

party-controversy or factious disputation. It is refreshing to us amid the turmoil and din of politics to meet with something American which is not bigoted in itself, nor calculated to excite bigotry in others—and gratifying to yield our praise, yet maintain our principles. Throughout the measureless continent of American statistics, so encumbered are we by forests of “vexatæ quæstiones,” so perplexed by the “irremeabilis error,” the inextricable labyrinth of republicanism, slavery, the “Congress” and “the Tariff,” that we look in vain for a quiet spot where we may meditate unmolested on the moral problem working before us. Look where we will, north, south, or west—there is little else but toil and perplexity. On every subject connected with Transatlantic affairs, there seems to be a general conspiracy to poison and corrupt the judgment of the sober inquirer. Assertion the most positive is met by contradiction the most direct: allegation by counter-allegation; and plain statements by innumerable replies and rejoinders. We think the violent of both parties to be equally in error, equi-distant from the centre of truth. The injudicious friend, who lauds to the skies the blessing of the young American constitution, seems to our poor judgment no less guilty of perversion than the prejudiced enemy, who, forgetful of its youth, exaggerates its errors and defects, as if they were the vices of depraved age, rather than the inherent follies of inexperienced childhood. It is surely but natural that an infant state, struggling for a place among the long established nations, and conscious of its own mighty energies, should not adhere to the ancient rules which, even in the old world, have been sometimes regarded as the elements of decay; surely it is but natural, that with youthful inconsideration she should for a time pay slight heed to the maxims of experience, and strive, with sanguine temperament, to carve out her own way and her own fortunes. America is yet in the infancy of her political existence, and to the same cause, viz., *infancy*, may be ascribed the small progress which she has yet made in the ascent to literary eminence. If America has not yet graduated among the literati of the civilized world, it is because she is yet, so to speak, *in the teens* of her existence,—and not from the nature of her institutions:—it is because she has *not had time* for purely intellectual pursuits. The care necessary for the consolidation of her vast mercantile concerns—for the arrangement of her mighty resources—for the government of her unwieldy empire—has necessarily left but little space for attention to literature.

But to be silent on the many other productions, which would do honour to any country or era of civilization, with the volume before us, we do not hesitate to assert, that America not

only has seized all the space left, but has in truth outstript her age. If candour, integrity of purpose, and apostolic piety, united to deep research, persevering industry, and varied erudition, could qualify any man for the task of translating and expounding critically the most difficult of the Pauline Epistles, we believe that Professor Stuart possesses these endowments. Whatever be the errors in his work—and our author is the last man to claim infallibility—they arise from the general infirmity of human nature, they are not introduced either to support the views of a polemical partisan, or to maintain the hypothesis of an obstinate disputant. The publication before us is eminently distinguished both for repeated acknowledgment of all the difficulties attendant upon the respective interpretations of the “*vexati loci*,” and for unwearied patience in disentangling the web, in which controversialists have loved to involve this sublime epistle. Aware that every sect which deforms the unity of the Church of Christ, how different soever the views of each from the other, still refers to this epistle as the groundwork of its creed, Mr. Stuart is not so sanguine as to expect that his exegesis will not meet with the opposition which he says (Preface) is the lot of every interpreter “be he Calvinist, Arminian, Pelagian, Autinomial, Socinian, or of any other sect.” While he does “not profess to be free from all prejudices of education and all attachment to system, in such a degree as to make it certain that his views may not sometimes be affected by them,” or, “to be so illuminated in respect to divine things, and so skilled in the original language and criticism of the New Testament, as to be certain that all his conclusions respecting the meaning of the epistle before us are correct,” he, however, has written his work, “so far as in his power, without any regard to sect or name,” and “under no ordinary sense of responsibility.” His “one only inquiry” was, “What did Paul mean to teach? What Calvin, or Augustine, or Edwards, or Arminius, or Grotius, or any other theologian or commentator, has taught or said, has been with him only secondary and subordinate. No one,” he continues, “is farther from disrespect to the great and good than himself; but when explaining the Bible, to call no man *master*, and to bow to no system as such, are sacred principles with him. “If he has not always adhered to them, it results from his imperfection, not from any conscious and allowed design. Of course, all *party* men in theology will probably find some things in the following pages with which they will not agree.”

The work consists of a new translation of, and philological commentaries upon, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. As might be anticipated from the preface, Mr. Stuart is *original* both in

his translation and his comments. He at one time objects to Calvin, at another to Arminius; and we do not think that any partisan will have reason to quarrel with the Professor for a blind adherence to any "set of opinions."

We are aware that we are exposing ourselves to no ordinary censure, when in the present age we have the rashness to assert and maintain our attachment to "things as they are." We can imagine that bigotry is among the least of those charges which will be brought against us, when we have the headstrong hardness to profess, as a general rule, our enmity to change in things sacred. We can fancy we hear the outcry against those who are too well satisfied with the good they have, to risk its loss for a good they "wot not of." But even at the hazard of such imputations lying against us, we must profess our inability to discover the advantage of "new translations" of the Bible. We think that the present version is amply sufficient for either the scholar or the ordinary reader. That a *paraphrastic* translation is serviceable, and to an eminent degree, to students of all sorts and conditions, no man whose attention has been given to the subject can doubt. The train of thought, which guided the inspired penmen, can be more readily traced, when the language, in which they clothed their reasoning, is *amplified*, than when the mode of expression is concise and involved. Detached maxims, indeed, speak to the heart with most persuasive force in short and abrupt sentences. Thus proverbs have so generally obtained. But when the object of the holy authors is to produce conviction by means of a lengthened process of argumentation—when new ideas arise in the mind of the writer from some incidental expression in the argument he is already working out; and thus each word in a sentence becomes the fruitful parent of new arguments, and when therefore it is a matter of serious difficulty, even to the experienced reader, to trace the connecting links in the chain of reasoning, (as is perpetually the case in St. Paul's Epistles,) we conceive that a translation, which, while it faithfully gives the meaning of the original, expresses that meaning *more at large*, must materially assist both the learned and unlearned student. But, as it seems to us, the case does not hold with regard to a new translation. That there may be passages in the standard version of this Epistle, for instance, here and there, which do not convey the meaning of the apostle as directly as they might, and ought to do, is most probably the case. But surely this is not a sufficient reason for new modelling the whole Epistle. And we do not think that a case has ever been made out against our translation which warrants a new one. On the contrary, the late investigation on the subject of what is termed

the University monopoly has confirmed the excellence of our present version. Many object to a new translation of the Scriptures, because it would materially interfere with many of our best authors; because, that is, the language of Shakespeare and Milton would no longer be recognised as drawn from "the well of English undefiled," and some words would speedily lose their acceptance. We need not say that such is not our line of defence. Deep as is our reverence, warm as is our admiration of the mighty masters, who have, in better days than these, adorned, and beautified, and invigorated our language by their graceful, yet dignified and noble compositions, we would yet cast them from us for ever rather than that the souls' welfare of our people should be jeopardied by their preservation. We take an objection on different grounds. We think that a new translation is both unnecessary, and fraught with danger; we think that, by it, a door would be opened for the introduction of expressions which, according to the modifications of language, might bear all and any interpretations "by the cunning craft of men who lie in wait to deceive," and that the faith of millions would be shaken. Do we then object to Professor Stuart's New Translation? Upon the principle above-mentioned, we do. But as a work of a man distinguished for talent, piety, and candour, we freely say that it is entitled to very high praise. We will not open the invidious question of the qualifications of an American Professor for the task of rendering the Scriptures into the English language, farther than to say, that, for us at least, little satisfaction can be expected to be derived from a new translation, when many words in common use bear different interpretations on the different sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

We must now briefly advert to one or two passages in the work before us, in justice to Mr. Stuart, whose commentary and excursus are filled with interesting and valuable information. The work is intended for young students in divinity, and therefore we meet often with minute criticisms, which to the matured scholar and theologian may appear unnecessary, but which will be found highly useful to the beginner, as they will draw his attention to nice points of philology, and so tend to give him accuracy, as well as extent of knowledge.

We may remark (with all due respect for the work of so distinguished a scholar, and meaning merely to throw out a hint here and there on the points which have attracted our notice, and may therefore attract the observation of others) that in translation the Professor does not seem to us to be particularly happy in the expression "*constituted*," which he uses as an equivalent to the original "*ὁρισθέντος*."

To us the word "*constituted*" is far from conveying, as Mr. Stuart conceives (p. 63), a "simple and unembarrassed meaning," for we cannot divest ourselves of the idea that the term implies that a person is made what he was not. That our blessed Lord should be *constituted* a Judge, Acts 10, 42, (an instance which Mr. Stuart says is "exactly in point,") we comprehend, because we understand that he thereby is appointed to an office which he had not hitherto exercised; but we do not understand how such a term can be applied to Christ as the Son of God. "*Constituted the Son of God*," seems to us necessarily to imply that He was appointed to that state of being, and thus that there was a time when he was not the Son of God. And the addition of the words "*ἐν δυνάμει*" does not, to our imperfect judgment, make this reading more clear or less objectionable. In Christ's "fleshly or transitory nature and state, he was David's son,—what was He," asks the Professor (p. 61), "in his exalted condition, his *pneumatic* state? The answer is, 'The Son of God;' and not simply this; for He was the Son of God while *ἐν σαρκί*; but in his exalted state," viz., after his resurrection, "He was the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει*, i. e. He was "Lord over all," "Head over all things to His Church, ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τῷ Θεῷ." Now do we not read that the Son had "power over all flesh," (John, xvii. 2); that "all things were delivered unto Him of His Father," (Mat. ii. 27), and this while He was *ἐν σαρκί*? If this be so, then with deference we submit that the Redeemer was always the Son of God *ἐν δυνάμει*, and therefore it was superfluous to make such an announcement, as that He "was* *constituted* the Son of God *with power after* His resurrection from the dead." Then again with reference to the Greek "*ὁρισθέντος*," we cannot see that the interpretation given to it by Chrysostom, Cyril, and a host of both ancient and modern critics; and which interpretation our English Version follows—viz., *δειχθέντος*, κ. τ. λ. is incorrect or unwarranted, according to the strict meaning of the word. '*Ὅρίζομαι* means to be defined, marked out, to be determined, so as to preclude dispute and mistake, and bears these senses, says Scapula, actively as well as well as passively.† Understanding then our received English translation, "*declared*," as synonymous with "*marked out*" or "*determined*," we think that we have already a true and "simple and unembarrassed meaning" for the

* It may be uncandid in us not to acknowledge, that Bishop Pearson, arguing this subject, says "Thus was he" (Christ) "*defined or constituted and appointed the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead*."—*Pearson on the Creed*, v. i. p. 173.

† *Ὅρίζομαι*. Terminor, finior, item activè et metap. definio, do definitionem rei. Arist. Eth. item censeo, existimo. Arist. Eth. 2.—*Scap. Lex. voc. ὁρίζομαι*.

ἔφη. 3) declaro, demonstro et confirmo, ita certò demonstro, ut in controversiam vocari non amplius possit.—*Schlausner*.

original "ὁρισθέντος." The Apostle's argument would then stand thus; (we follow Professor Stuart's translation): "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, a chosen Apostle, set apart for the Gospel of God, which He formerly published by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures concerning his Son, (who was of the seed of David as to the flesh, and was 'declared,' 'marked out' (δειχθέντος) the Son of God with power as to his holy spiritual nature after his resurrection from the dead." κ. τ. λ. But we have another, and, as we think, conclusive reason for maintaining the expression "declared" to be an equivalent to the original ὁρισθέντος, even from the "usus loquendi" of the Greek grammarians, although Mr. Stuart conceives that "no example is to be found in the classics which seems to be exactly in point." The grammarians wishing to express in Greek the Latin mood "*indicativus*" use the word ὁριστικὸς. They therefore clearly understood that the verb, from which the adjective is formed, would bear, according to common acceptation, the sense of "indicating" or "declaring." "If," (says Professor Stuart, p. 63,) "we should construe the phrase thus, as some do; 'Declared to be the Son of God with power by the Holy Spirit on account of (by) his resurrection from the dead;' one might then ask, how could the *resurrection* declare in any special manner, that Christ was the Son of God? Was not Lazarus raised from the dead, were not others raised from the dead by Christ, by the Apostles, by Elijah, and by the bones of Elisha? And yet was their resurrection proof that they were the Sons of God? God did indeed prepare the way for universal dominion to be given to Christ, by raising him from the dead. To the like purpose is the Apostle's assertion in Acts, xvii. 31. But how an event common to him, to Lazarus, and to many others, could of itself demonstrate him to be the Son of God ἐν δυνάμει, remains yet to be shown." Now we are expressly told by our Lord, in Luke, xx. 35—6, that they who are raised from the dead to eternal life, are *Sons of God, being children of the resurrection*, "οἱ ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως οἱ ὄντες." It surely, then, must be satisfactorily shown that the simple fact of Christ's resurrection declares him to be the Son of God; for what is true of all who are raised from the dead to life eternal must be true of Him. We need not explain how this comes to pass. "It is written," and therefore we believe. It has been beautifully and eloquently said "The grave is as the womb of the earth; Christ, who is raised from thence is, as it were, begotten to another life: and God, who raised him, is his Father."

It is impossible within the limits of our article, either to comment upon many passages, which as they deviate from our version,

require remark, or to do justice to the philological observations with which Professor Stuart has enriched his work. We shall therefore make one or two selections as specimens of our author's criticism, of his care in endeavouring to unravel the true meaning of the Apostle's argument and expressions, and of the piety which breathes throughout his pages. But, before we close with this grateful task, we feel it right to state that our objections to a new translation are not diminished by what we have read in the volume on our table. We are unwilling to be captious in our notice of those points which offend our prejudices, or to lay too great a stress upon apparently minor defects. Premising this, we trust not to be thought uncandid or unfair towards Mr. Stuart, if, although we say that there are many unnecessary deviations, we do not enter into the discussion of them. It will be unjust, however, to deny that some of the deviations are emendations. There is one passage, however, which has not been altered, but which we expected, from its notoriety, would be altered, and with advantage, inasmuch as the omission of the article in our English translation is unquestionably a defect, not because it changes the meaning, but because the supply of it would give force and expression to one of those *vexati loci* to which we have alluded.

In ch. ix. v. 17, Mr. Stuart has adopted a new reading, which he labours hard to defend in his Commentary and Excursus, but which, as it seems to us, is totally uncalled for. "For this cause have I *ruised thee up*," &c. says the Apostle, quoting from Exodus, ch. ix. 16, (according to our verse). "For this very purpose have I *roused thee up*," &c. writes our author. Now it is of course clear that the Hebrew word used in Exodus must decide what the Apostle intended by the quotation. It is impossible to conceive that St. Paul, although not using the phrase of the Septuagint, would quote the verse in question attaching a different meaning from the original to the important word in it. But Professor Stuart saves us the trouble, and precludes the necessity of our discussion of the Hebrew.

"The Hebrew word is הִעֲמַדְתִּי, Hipil of עָמַד; which usually means, in Kal, *to stand, to stand fast, to continue, to stand up*, &c. In Hipil (הִעֲמַדְתִּי), it means *to make to stand, to place, also, to keep standing, to preserve or continue in standing*. Tholuck and others have laboured to show that הִעֲמַדְתִּי has this latter signification in Exod. ix. 16.

That the Hebrew word *might* have such a sense, is sufficiently plain from 1 Kings, xv. 4. 2 Chron. ix. 8. Prov. xxix. 4. 2 Chron. xxxv. 2. And so the Kal conjugation not unfrequently means *to continue, to remain in standing*; e. g. Exod. ix. 28. Lev. xiii. 5. Dan. x. 17. But although

the Hebrew word **וַיִּתְּעֶמְּוּ** might have the sense which Tholuck and others assign to it, yet the Greek word *ἐξήγειρα*, which Paul uses, can hardly have such sense put upon it. I have been able to find no example of a *usus loquendi*, that would justify this exegesis.

"The main question remains, however: Has **וַיִּתְּעֶמְּוּ** the sense of *exciting, arousing, awaking*, like the *ἐξήγειρα* of the apostle? If so, then we may presume the apostle chose this Greek word, in deliberate preference to the *διετηρήθη* of the Septuagint.

Instances of this nature are clear. So in Neh. vi. 7, **וַיִּתְּעֶמְּוּ**, *thou hast roused up or excited the prophets, &c.* So Dan. xi. 11, 13, **וַיִּתְּעֶמְּוּ**, *and he shall excite or rouse up a great multitude, &c.* We can have little reason, then, to doubt that the apostle had such a meaning of **וַיִּתְּעֶמְּוּ** in view, when he rendered it *ἐξήγειρα*; for this Greek word is fairly susceptible of no other meaning. In accordance, therefore, with this result (respecting the meaning of *ἐξήγειρα*), I have translated thus: *For this very purpose have I roused thee up.*"—pp. 385, 386.

Now of the passages mentioned above, and indeed of all where the difficulty lies in the meaning of the prominent word, the context ought to be the umpire. We do not say that this, as a canon of criticism, is universally applicable, but that generally it is received. Now bearing in mind the force of the Hebrew conjugation, Hiphil—and that of the four passages quoted as supporting Professor Tholuck's view, the context of three unquestionably, viz. 1 Kings, ch. xv. v. 4; 2 Chron. ch. ix. v. 8; 2 Chron. ch. xxxv. v. 2; and of the fourth, Prov. ch. xxix. v. 4, probably, does support the sense of placing in an eminent situation or "*raising up*," (Eng. vers.) as may be proved by reference;—and that of the two passages, quoted as supporting Professor Stuart's view, viz. Neh. ch. vi. v. 7; Dan. ch. xi. v. 11, 13, the context will only support the sense of "*exciting*" and "*rousing*," but not so as to place the person "*excited*" in an eminent or distinguished situation, or to convey the idea of continuance, we submit that Professor Tholuck's view is established upon the authority of Scripture, and that Professor Stuart's falls, or is liable to fall, to the ground. If then the argument of the German scholar is good—as we conceive, upon Mr. Stuart's own showing, it is—then the English version is also more consonant to Scripture than this new translation. Because the same idea is implied by "*raising up*" as by "*setting up*," "*making to stand*," or "*preserving*" in an eminent station. Thus much for the Hebrew. One word only remains to be added for the Greek "*ἐξήγειρα*." Scapula, voc. *ἐγειρω*, (we the rather quote him because he is not strictly, like Schleusner, and others, a theological lexicographer,) has this

meaning among others: apud Herodian: *ἐγείρειν τρόπαιον statuere tropæum*—and then descending to the compounds, “voc. *ἐξεγείρω* idem quod *ἐγείρω*.”* We will not assume, because *ἐγείρω* has borne this meaning, that therefore *ἐξεγείρω* must bear the same;—but, without any violent “*petitio principii*,” we think that the “*usus loquendi*” is not altogether so opposed to the interpretation given of our received version as our author believes. We have waived, it will be seen, the theological question, although our argument would be thereby strengthened. It is consonant with all we know of the arrangements of Divine Providence, to “raise up” and exalt certain of the children of men to distinguished stations, to serve as beacons for the world around, and to warn the mariners on the ocean of life against the rocks and quicksands whereon they may make shipwreck of their souls; but we do not know that it is consonant with the dealings of a God of Mercy, to rouse and excite, either directly or permissively, mediately or immediately, his feeble creatures to the commission of sin, which, although it may afford an occasion for the magnifying of his power, will prove the misery of the transgressors.

In arguing upon ch. viii. v. 30, Mr. Stuart wishes to convey to his students that the word *ἐκάλεσε* implies not only the *external* but the *internal* “call” to the Gospel; in other words, unless we have mistaken his argument, that all who are *κλητοὶ* will be saved.

“*Τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσε, the same did he also call.* Is this the so named *effectual calling*; or does it mean nothing more than the *external* invitation of the gospel, the moral suasion of it addressed to the heart and understanding of sinners? That the external call is often designated by the word *καλέω*, is clear enough from such passages as Matt. ix. 13. Mark. ii. 17. Luke v. 32. Gal. i. 6. v. 8, 13. Eph. iv. 1, 4, &c. But the word *καλέω* may also be applied to *effectual calling*, i. e. such a calling as ensures acceptance. In such a way *κλήσις* and *κλητὸς* are, beyond all doubt, usually applied to *effectual calling* or *election*. So here, *ἐκάλεσε* manifestly means, such a *calling* as proceeds from the *πρόθεσις*, from the *fore-knowledge* and from the *predetermination* of God in respect to the objects of it, and which is followed by justification or pardon of sin, and final glory. If this be not *effectual calling*, what is? Such a call as proceeds from the everlasting purpose and love of God, and ends in heavenly glory, is something more than an *external* motive or suasive argument, merely addressed to the mind.”—p. 349.

It will be observed, (and this is almost the only instance in the work where such an omission occurs; with such an impartial

* The same idea is conveyed by this quotation as by the rendering of our translators. The erection of the trophy corresponds, analogically and metaphorically, to the elation of Pharaoh as a monument of divine power. “For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, ‘Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.’”

honesty is the controversy conducted) that passages are quoted confessedly proving that only an external "call" is implied by them, while not a single passage is adduced to confirm Mr. Stuart's exegesis.

Our pious and excellent author desires, we are well persuaded, nothing less than that the scholastic reader should not, without inquiry, adopt his views; and therefore we are sure that he will regard our caution to the student with no invidious feeling, when we exhort him to call "no man master" in his study and perusal of the Word of Truth. To refer to the works of the learned and pious, to compare the various readings they adopt with the sole unerring standard, to sift, to inquire, and to ponder,—this is becoming and needful. But to fly to a Commentary, be the author how distinguished soever he may be, for the purpose of superseding personal industry and investigation, is the token of culpable sloth and indolence.

We take our leave of Professor Stuart, trusting that he may be permitted to continue long in his sphere of usefulness, in which for many years he has been doing so much good, and by persevering in which he will shed a lustre over America, brighter than can be conferred by the triumphs of the senate or the field, and a glory, more substantial than will redound from the proudest acquisitions of conquest and enterprise.

Redeeming our word, we beg to recommend the following extracts, which are worthy the attention of students of every age.

Arguing against the *literal reading* of some passages of Scripture he says:

We come, next, to the second class of reasons assigned by Tholuck in defence of his interpretation; viz. those derived from the Jewish and Christian belief respecting the renovation of the natural world, at a future period.

"The passages of Scripture mainly relied on, are 2 Pet. iii. 7—12. Rev. xxi. 1. Is. xi. 6, seq. lxxv. 17, seq. Heb. xii. 26, seq. Hints of the same doctrine are supposed to be contained in Matt. xiii. 38, seq. xix. 28, and Acts iii. 21. Brief suggestions respecting passages of such a nature, are all which any reader will here expect.

"All the force of argument from these and the like passages, must rest on a *literal* interpretation of them. But how can passages of this nature be urged as having a literal meaning, after reading Rev. chap. xxi. and xxii. 1—5? Or if this does not satisfy the mind, then compare passages of a similar nature, viz. those which have respect to the Messiah's kingdom on earth, his spiritual kingdom *before* the end of time, and during the gathering in of his saints. What immeasurable absurdities and contradictions must be involved in a literal exegesis here! For example; from Is. ii. 1—4 and Micah iv. 1—3, one might prove that in the time of the Messiah, the temple of the Lord is to be

built on a mountain, placed on the top of the highest mountains any where to be found, and that there all the nations of the earth will assemble to offer their devotions. Is. xi. 6—9 would prove that all the brute creation are to experience an absolute change of their very nature; the lion is to eat straw like the ox; the asp and the cockatrice are no more to retain their venomous power. Is. ix. 7 would prove, that the literal throne of David is to be occupied by the Messiah, and that he is to rule in his capacity as literal king, without intermission, and without end. Is. xxv. 6—8 would prove, that a feast of fat things and of rich wines is to be made for all nations, and that all suffering and sorrow and death are to be abolished. Is. xxxv. 1—10 would prove that the deserts of the earth are to be filled with living streams and exuberant herbage and trees, and that all the ransomed of the Lord are to repair to the literal mount Zion, where they will have uninterrupted and everlasting pleasure. Is. xliii. 18—21 would prove the same thing respecting the deserts; and also that the beasts of the field, the dragons, and the owls, shall be among the worshippers of God. Is. lv. 1—13 would prove, not only that wine and milk are to be had, in the days of the Messiah, without money and without price, but that the mountains and the hills will break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands! Is. lx. 15—22 would prove that Israel is to feed on the milk of the Gentiles, and to be nourished by the breasts of kings; and also that there will be no sun by day, nor moon by night, but God himself, by his own splendor, is to make their everlasting light, so that no more night will ever be known. (The very same things are said respecting the New Jerusalem, in Rev. xxi. 23; are they literal there?) Is. lxvi. 22—24 would prove, that all nations are to come, from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, and worship before the Lord in Jerusalem.

“Why now are not such passages just as reasonably construed in a literal manner, as those which have respect to the kingdom of God *after* the general resurrection? Must it not be true, that in its very nature this kingdom will be still more spiritual, than that of the Messiah during its preparatory or disciplinary state? This will not be denied. Is there not reason *à fortiori*, then, why we should understand the language respecting this kingdom as figurative; in just the same manner as we are obliged to do, with regard to all the descriptions in the Bible of the heavenly world? Nay, I may add, that the idea of Flatt, Tholuck, and many others, about a renewed earth becoming the literal abode of the blessed, after the resurrection, is directly at variance with other declarations of the Scriptures. Paul represents Christians at the general resurrection as *caught up to meet the Lord in the air*, i. e. as ascending to heaven, and as so, *being ever with the Lord*, viz. in heaven, 1 Thess. iv. 17. So all the Bible; believers are to dwell with God, to be with him, to see his face, to enjoy his presence, to stand at his right hand. The apostle Paul says, that at the resurrection this mortal will put on immortality, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, that this natural body is to become a spiritual body, and be made like unto Christ's glorified body, 1 Cor. xv. 44, 50, 53; and all this,

that saints may be glorified with Christ. But where is Christ's body? And where does he dwell? And where do believers go, when they are "absent from the body," in order that they may be "present with the Lord?" Our Saviour represents the saints at the resurrection, as becoming incapable of all earthly pleasures, and as being made like to the angels of God in heaven. Matt. xxii. 29, 30. And must we believe, after all this, that the present earth, when it has undergone an emendation, is still to be the abode of spiritual bodies, of saints made like to their Lord and Redeemer? Believe it who may, I must first see all these and the like texts blotted out from the Bible; nay, my whole views respecting the very nature of future happiness must undergo an entire transformation, as great as the earth itself is supposed by the writers in question to undergo, before I can admit such an exegesis as they defend. It contradicts analogy; it contradicts the nature of the case; it contradicts the express declarations of the Saviour and of his Apostles."—pp. 326—328.

As a specimen of criticism we would extract, had we room, Mr. Stuart's remarks upon the meaning of the word "*κρίσις*."—pp. 330—333.

We conclude with the following extract, which will assist both the young scholar and the Christian.

"Τὸ πνεῦμα, *the Spirit*. But what Spirit? Our own mind? A filial Spirit? Or the Spirit of God? Each of these methods of exegesis has been defended. I was once inclined to regard the second meaning as the most probable; principally on account of the 27th verse. It is natural to ask: Does not the epithet ὁ ἐπεννῶν τὰς καρδίας, designate him who knows the secrets of the *human breast*, and not him who knows the secrets of the Spirit of God, i.e. his own secrets? Then again, φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, in the same verse, seems to mean, *the mind, will, design of the human heart or spirit*; and again, Where in all the Scriptures is the Spirit of God represented as *making intercession* (ἐντυγχάνει) for the saints? These difficulties led me, as they have done many others, to construe πνεῦμα as meaning πνεῦμα νιοθεσίας, comp. ver. 15. But a re-investigation of this subject, has now, on the whole, made me to doubt this exegesis; and this for reasons which will be specified in the sequel.

"Let the reader first compare πνεῦμα in vs. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 23, where it clearly means the Spirit of God or of Christ, and he will feel the weight of probability that the writer here uses πνεῦμα in the like sense. That Spirit which sanctifies Christians, which subdues their fleshly appetites, which gives them a filial temper, which bestows a foretaste of future glory,—this same Spirit aids Christians in all their sufferings and sorrows; and consequently they ought patiently to endure them. It cannot be denied, that *intensity* of meaning is given to the whole passage, by this exegesis.

"Συναντιλαμβάνεται, *helps*; but in the Greek, σὺν augments the signification, so that one might translate, *greatly assists, affords much help*,—'Ασθενείαις ἡμῶν, *our infirmities*, seems to mean, our frail, infirm, afflicted, troubled state; and this accords entirely with the context.

"Τὸ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ., γὰρ *illustrantis* again; for the sequel shews what our condition is, and how the Spirit aids us. Τὸ γὰρ . . . οὐκ οἶδαμεν, *for we know not what we should pray for as we ought*; i. e. in our perplexities, weaknesses, ignorance, and distresses, we are often at a loss what would be best for us, or most agreeable to the will of God respecting us. Καθὸ δέϊ, i. e. the object for which we should pray καθὸ δέϊ, viz. κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ (comp. 1 John v. 14), is frequently unknown to us.

"In this state, *the same Spirit*, [Qy.] αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα, the same who sanctifies us, dwells in us, and helps our infirmities—this same Spirit *intercedes for us*, ὑπερεννυχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, where ὑπὲρ in composition with the verb, augments the force of it.

"Prayer or supplication, however, made by the Spirit, i. e. the Spirit of God, as such and by himself, is not here intended. So the sequel clearly shews. *The Spirit makes intercession for us στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις*, in sighs or groans which are unutterable, i. e. the full meaning of which cannot be spoken in words. Or ἀλαλήτοις, may mean *that which is not uttered, that which is internal, suppressed sighs*. Either sense is good; and either gives an intense meaning. In this way, then, the Spirit intercedes for the saints, viz. by exciting within them such longing and high desires for conformity to God, and for deliverance from evil, and for the enjoyment of future blessedness, that these desires become unutterable; no language can adequately express them. What is thus done in the souls of believers through the influence of the Spirit, is here attributed to him; i. e. he is said to do, what they do under his special influence.

"In accordance with such a sentiment, Fenelon, in his Essay entitled, *Que l'Esprit de Dieu enseigne en dedans*, [That the Spirit of God teaches internally,] says in a very striking manner: "The Spirit of God is the soul of our soul." So Augustine, with equal correctness and concinnity: "Non Spiritus Sanctus in semetipso apud semetipsum in illa Trinitate gemit; sed in nobis gemit, quia gemere nos facit, (Tract. VI. in Johan. § 2); that is, 'the Divine Spirit does not groan or intercede in and by himself, as God and belonging to the Trinity; but he intercedes by his influence upon us, and by leading us to aspirations which language cannot express;' a sentiment equally true and striking.

"(27) 'Ο δὲ ἐρευνῶν τὰς καρδίας, a common appellation of God who is *omniscient*; comp. Ps. vii. 9 (10). Jer. xi. 20.—Οἶδε τὸ φρονήμα τοῦ πνεύματος, *knoweth the desire of the Spirit or the mind of the Spirit*, i. e. what is sought after, willed, or desired, when these στεναγμοὶ ἀλαλήτοι, excited by him, arise. In other words: 'The Searcher of hearts does not need that desires should be clothed or expressed in language, in order perfectly to understand them and to listen to them.'

"It is not *the mind of the Spirit of God*, in itself considered and as belonging to the Godhead, that the Searcher of hearts is here represented as knowing. It is *the mind or desire of the Spirit*, as disclosed ἐν στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις τῶν ἁγίων, that the writer means to

designate. In this way, there is no difficulty in applying πνεῦμα to the Spirit of God.

"Οὐ κατὰ . . . ἄγιον, because he intercedes for the saints agreeably to the will of God. To construe κατὰ θεόν, to God, as if it were πρὸς θεόν here, the *usus loquendi* of the language absolutely forbids; for ἐντυγχάνει κατὰ . . . means to accuse; in which case, also, κατὰ must be followed by the Genitive. Κατὰ θεόν, then, must mean *secundum Deum*, i. e. κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, comp. 1 John v. 14. So the Syriac version, Chrysostom, Tholück, Platt, and others. Comp. for this sense of κατὰ, Rom. viii. 4. 2 Cor. xi. 17. Rom. ii. 2. Luke ii. 22, 24, 27, 29, et al.

"Sentiment: 'The Searcher of hearts knows all that the sighs of his children mean, when these are excited by his Spirit; for the Spirit excites in them unutterable desires, in accordance with the will of God, i. e. desires for what is agreeable to his will or proper for him to grant; to which, therefore, he will readily listen.'

"In this mode of exegesis, all difficulties seem to be removed, and one is enabled to maintain a uniform and consistent meaning of πνεῦμα throughout the whole chapter.

"The Christian who reads this passage with a spirit that responds to the sentiments which it discloses, cannot avoid lifting up his soul to God, with overflowing gratitude for his mercies. Here, we are poor and wretched and miserable and blind and naked, and in want of all things; we are crushed before the moth; we all do fade as a leaf, and the wind taketh us away; we are often in distress, in darkness, in perplexity, in straits from which we can see no escape, no issue; even in far the greater number of cases, we know not what will be for our ultimate and highest good, and so 'know not what we should pray for as we ought:' but then, the Spirit of the living God is present with all the true followers of the Saviour; he excites desires in their souls of liberation from sin and present evil, of heavenly blessedness and holiness, greater than words can express. The soul can only vent itself in sighs, the meaning of which language is too feeble to express. Often we do not know enough of the consequences or designs of present trials and sufferings, even to venture on making a definite request with regard to them; because we do not know whether relief from them is best or not. The humble Christian, who feels his need of chastisement, will very often be brought to such a state. Then what a high and precious privilege it is, that our 'unutterable sighs' should be heard and understood by Him who searches our hearts! Who can read this without emotion? Such are the blessings purchased for sinners by redeeming blood! Such the consolations which flow from the throne of God, for a groaning and dying world!"—pp. 341—343.

ART. XIII.—*The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament*. Fourth Edition. London. James Ridgway and Sons. Piccadilly. 1833.

THE pamphlet before us contains a review of the measures of his majesty's ministers in their domestic and foreign policy, and paints them all "*couleur de rose*." Accordingly, it has been extravagantly praised and vehemently decried, in compliance with the approved spirit of party, without possessing in itself either merits or demerits of any extraordinary kind. It strikes us as rather a clever exposition and a skilful piece of pleadership. It may be the sole production of Mr. Spring Rice, or a *pic-nic* made up from the contributions of all the government offices. We really care not a rush about the matter. For us the mystery of its composition has no interest; nor shall we think of pinning our faith to the estimate of transactions formed by any writer, who so evidently enacts the part of an advocate rather than of a judge. We have no intention, therefore, of pursuing it through its details; but look at it simply as it gives us an opportunity of offering a few remarks upon the debates and proceedings of the first session of the Reformed Parliament of Great Britain, and briefly consider the position in which we find ourselves at its close.

Yet let not our readers be alarmed. We are not about to plunge into the wide and troubled ocean of general politics. We have no desire to ride upon the tumbling billows; and we apprehend that it is no human power which can direct the approaching storm. The centre, round which our orbit must revolve, is the Church and the affairs of the Church, or rather Religion and the interests of Religion. Our examination, therefore, will be for the most part confined to such matters as have an immediate bearing upon our spiritual or ecclesiastical relations.

The measures of the session, which has just passed, have been remarkable in themselves; and are still more remarkable as presages and portents of that which is to come. Of what has been *done* to affect the Church, by far the greater share regards the Establishment in Ireland. The Irish Church, in fact, has been almost re-modelled; the vestry cess has been abolished; Bishoprics have been lopped off, like dead branches from an old tree; and if the Legislature has not yet trenched upon the sacredness of property strictly ecclesiastical; has not yet declared it alienable at the discretion of the state; it has advanced within a hair's-breadth of the invasion of the principle. On the other side, some assistance has been afforded to the clergy of Ireland in the collection of their tithes; and the sum of £1,000,000 has been advanced in relief of their immediate distresses.

As to England, the bill for the commutation of tithes, which is known to have been in readiness, has been postponed for reasons into which we shall not inquire; but plans have been suggested, and, we believe, are now in agitation, for the revision and alteration of the Liturgy; nor can we have forgotten that memorable piece of legislation, conducted by the Solicitor-General, intituled the "Tithes Stay-of-Suits Bill," which was hurried by acclamation through the House of Commons, and so unceremoniously dismissed by the House of Peers, not without the special consent of the Lord Chancellor.

If we look to the vast dependencies of the empire, we find the foundations laid of a more extensive Clerical Establishment and Hierarchy in India; while, by turning our eyes from east to west, we see also that religious instruction is to be provided for the slaves, who are to emerge in our colonies through apprenticeship into freedom, upon "liberal and comprehensive principles;" which is, by interpretation, under the auspices of the Dissenting Missionaries no less than of the regular Clergymen attached to the Church. In the same spirit the grant of £20,000, which has been made for the purposes of education at home, is to be distributed, we are given to understand, to the other religious bodies in an equal, if not in a larger, proportion than to the members of the Church of England.*

We state these things without comment; we state them as matters of fact, not as matters, on the one hand, of remonstrance and complaint, or, on the other hand, of exultation and rejoicing. Momentous as they are, whether for good or evil, their importance dwindles into nothing in comparison with other and too obvious considerations. The temper generally exhibited by the public mind during the progress of the legislative enactments was, to a close observer, of more fearful meaning than the enactments themselves. It can hardly have escaped any reflecting person that the grossest and most truculent calumnies were received greedily and without inquiry; while the tardy steps of justice halted lamely, and too often impotently, after the rapid strides of triumphant defamation. Men swallowed the most enormous slanders with the stomach of an ostrich; and then strained at the simplest truths, which were to refute them, as something too big for the delicacy of their throats, and too hard for the weakness of their digestion. Let us take, for instance, that "Tithes Stay-of-Suits Bill," which we have already mentioned. With what fond

* We really had not heart to mention above the lamentable parsimony which has occasioned the contemplated reduction, and after the year 1834, the total discontinuance of the parliamentary grants which have been bestowed for the advancement of religion or religious education to the Clergy of British North America.

and credulous avidity did the people, and the chosen representatives of the people, listen to exaggerated tales about the innumerable multitude of processes instituted by the Clergy; with what loud and angry voices did they express their abhorrence of men, as being insatiable of litigation and very cormorants of rapacity, who were acting under a kind of moral compulsion, and looked much more to the interests of their successors than to their own. That the occurrence of *any* suits was to be lamented, is most true; but the fault, we affirm, was not with the Clergy, who, on the contrary, appear to have urged their pecuniary rights with that lenity and forbearance, which, in nine instances out of every ten, they have uniformly manifested. Again, the collection of tithes and other clerical dues is becoming a matter of difficulty; and the repugnance, we fear, is ascending to men of tolerable substance and decent respectability from that large class of persons with which it naturally began, who have a strong disinclination to pay *any* thing of which they can avoid the payment: that new species of insubordination, which goes by the gentle name of "passive resistance," has leapt, almost at a single bound, across the Irish channel to our own immediate shores: and in more parishes than one, the usual church-rates have been refused by the votes of considerable majorities of vestrymen, and the church-wardens have been under the necessity of making a public declaration that they had not sufficient funds for the requisite repairs of the Church, or the payment of the inferior officers connected with its services.

These things have already happened; and, as signs of the times, they are enough to make us anxious. We repeat, however, that the intensity of our solicitude is much increased, when we regard them as heralds and indications of coming events; when we see other and more awful shapes swelling into a gigantic magnitude amidst the haze of the distance, and seem to hear something unearthly whispering to us of a futurity big with prodigies of change; like the weird sisters announcing to Macbeth not merely the earl that was, but the king that should be hereafter. Indeed, it is almost idle to look back upon the past, except as a guide for the present and the future. It is for this reason that we have cast a retrospective glance to the measures of the legislature, and the tone of popular opinion which has accompanied them through their several stages. We shall now advert to the state of parties which they have engendered and the condition in which they have placed us, under the conviction that we have seen but the beginning of troubles; that the end is not yet: and that scarcely any description of persons will be contented that things should rest exactly as they are. For unless we are much

mistaken, the most striking feature in our circumstances is, that we are in a process of *transition* rather than in any settled and permanent state. The question seems to be, not so much whether changes will arise, as what character is to be stamped upon them. We confess our suspicions that their tendency is to be of an extreme character; and we arrive at this conclusion from a survey, as dispassionate as we can make it, of the relative strength, and resources, and expectations of the various orders of our population, as well as the organs which influence public opinion, or give their impetus to the progressive movements of society.

Our first attention is due to the members of the government. We have no wish to heap abuse upon their designs or their actions. We cannot think that they mean ruin to the Church. We rather imagine that those among them who possess the highest talents, and the most considerable weight, as Lord Grey, Lord Brougham and Mr. Stanley, not to mention the Messrs. Grant and the party to which they are attached, would maintain it in the integrity of its present revenues, and almost the plenitude of its present rights, only making alterations in the collection and distribution of its property with other changes of detail. But there is a prevalent and probably a well-grounded notion, that on this subject there are warm divisions in the cabinet; and if the heads of the government are unable to subdue the refractory temper of their subordinate colleagues, there is in the impetuosity of the popular volition a far more formidable power which they cannot even combat. They are at the mercy of that wild spirit of innovation, which they have done much to conjure into existence. We verily believe that they know no more than ourselves what course events will take within the next three years. Assuredly, at least, they cannot command that course. Instead of impressing a tone upon the state of opinions out of doors, they take their own tone from its dictation. They *feel* their way instead of seeing it. Instead of steering onward in any direct track, they can only spread their sails to catch the gusts of public caprice just as they arise, with whatever strength and from whatever quarter. Hence it becomes impossible to calculate, from any certain data, upon the nature of their policy; and the misfortune is, that even while their intentions are not hostile to the Church, their measures, not the less, may be destructive. Sometimes, indeed, they have almost had the appearance of men standing in a strange district, by cross-roads where there is no sign-post, and waiting for some one to pass by and show them the way.

If we pass on from the ministry to the legislature, we are met by a combination of similar elements. The power of the legislature is no longer supreme. It is inadequate to cope with the

expressed decision of the masses of people collected in our large towns, who, in reality, form at this moment, the moving power and lever of the state. There is no potent voice issuing from the recesses of the legislature, which leads and sways the public mind of England. There are no parliamentary names which act as spells. You cannot "conjure with them." The name of Henry Brougham will hardly "call a spirit" so soon as the name of Rowland Detrosier. And well it is that the voice of the people should make itself heard and felt in the chambers of the senate. We do not complain on that account. Yet is there serious cause of lamentation, if the weathercock of national policy is compelled to turn with all the whirling eddies and shifting currents of democratical sentiment.

Moreover as to the two great branches of the legislature, it is evident that the House of Lords is no longer a counterpoise to the House of Commons. Recent occurrences have shorn it of its authority: in how many quarters may we discern a growing inclination either to revolutionize the constitution of the assembly by removing the Spiritual Peers, and making the Temporal Peers not hereditary, but elective; or utterly to sweep it away as an obsolete and unphilosophical incumbrance. Far indeed is it from our wish to depreciate the dignified integrity, and talent, and eloquence, and firmness, of many individual Peers;—or, generally, to deny the absolute necessity of the House of Lords to the preservation of our constitution as a limited monarchy: or to abridge the exercise of its power as an independent estate. But the truth must be told. The Peers may interpose a brief delay; but they cannot prevent the accomplishment of any measure strenuously advocated or earnestly insisted upon by the Lower House. The late session of Parliament may, it is true, furnish some apparent exceptions to this rule: as in the rejection of the Local Courts Bill—the alterations in the Irish Church Bill—and a few other instances, which will be fresh in the recollection of our readers.* But in these instances it will universally be found, either that the people were indifferent, or at least tranquil, spectators of the con-

* It certainly appears to us, that, where there has been any collision between the two Houses, and the Lords have remained firm, their interference has been for good; and we offer one example, connected with religion, which may show the incalculable mischief, that is likely to ensue, if their honours were abolished, and they were condemned, in their capacity of legislators, to an inglorious and useless, because merely nominal, existence. The following is an extract from the Times of August 9, 1833. "In the House of Lords last night, the Commons were invited to a conference on the subject of an amendment made by the Commons in the Law Amendment Bill, and in which their Lordships did not concur. The conference terminated in a communication, that the Commons would not insist upon the amendment. *The object of the amendment was to abolish Good Friday as a holyday in the Courts of Law.*"

test; or that the House of Commons took no care to put forth the full energy of its strength: or that the majority was obtained with the tacit consent, if not connivance, of the Minority, including the Ministers themselves.

Whatever, then, may be the theory of the constitution, it is verging fast into a virtual democracy: and much as has been talked about the domination and usurpation of the Oligarchy, the whole legislative power of the state is practically lodged in the House of Commons. This power, however, is itself rather apparent than real, rather derivative than inherent. In a word, we are rapidly imbibing many among the distinguishing peculiarities, the faults as well as the advantages, of a Republican community. This truth we have already laid open in analyzing the conduct of Ministers, and tracing that *weakness* of the government, that *mixture of precipitancy and vacillation in matters of public policy*, from which democratical states are very seldom exempt. We may also see it exemplified in the character and proceedings of our popular legislative assembly. It has been long remarked as a circumstance, which had a deteriorating effect upon English oratory, that the House of Commons was not a convertible audience: that the speaker, in fact, could scarcely ever entertain the hope of so far carrying his hearers along with him, as to alter their votes; but how much more especially is this the case in the present period of our history. So far is the House of Commons from being a convertible assembly, that in the strict sense of the term, it is scarcely a deliberative one. It is composed of local delegates, rather than of national representatives. A very small proportion of the members can be called free agents. The majority are morally fettered, if not literally pledged. The senator is the mere creature of his constituents. He must not only vote according to their will, but endeavour at least to talk up to their expectations. The length and number of his speeches must be measured by *their* estimate of their collective and individual dignity. Hence the British Parliament is treading close upon the heels of the American chamber in the tone of its discussions, their prodigious garrulity, and their interminable tediousness. The members think, and are compelled to think, much more of making a display to their several constituencies, than of addressing themselves to the public business in statesmanlike debate.

But all these political phenomena are but different effects of one and the same cause. At the bottom of all is the growing and resistless power of the millions; whether we are inclined to designate it, with the one party, as the despotism of the popu-

lace; or, with the other, as the legitimate and constitutional triumph, which the many, by their intelligence and their union, have achieved over the few. If the legislature follows, instead of directing, the opinions of the multitude; if one branch of it almost monopolizes to itself the authority of the whole; and if the members of the National Council are little more than the mouth-pieces of the electors; we cannot but recognize the force of that external pressure, which impels and shapes every deliberation within the walls of parliament.

The same influence will be equally observable, if we look, for a single moment, to the constitution and attitude of parties in the state. Vast as is the aggregate of individual respectability among the Tories, their influence, as a party, is on the wane; and their vigour has suffered from the magnitude of their recent defeats. They are also divided among themselves as to the extent to which they should push their principles, and the degree of uncompromising decision with which their resistance to modern innovations should be maintained. The one section is prepared to risk all, with the firm determination of sacrificing all, if all cannot be preserved: the other section has imbibed an apprehensive caution from their past disasters, and the present unpopularity in which their names and tenets are involved. Hence, as a body, their opposition to the measures of the government, during the late session, has been tame and feeble upon the whole. They have spoken and acted almost as if a sense of hopelessness was weighing down their spirits. The anomaly of their position has been, that they have dreaded to gain a victory; because, if they gained, they could not use it. They have felt that their success would be, in all probability, only the first step to some more signal and irretrievable reverse; and the means of placing them in a worse position than they occupy at the present moment. Their influence is now eclipsed; it might then be extinguished. They have felt, that, even if they could form an administration, neither the bold sagacity of the Duke of Wellington, nor the extraordinary tact and acuteness of Lord Lyndhurst, nor the prudence, and eloquence, and experience of Sir Robert Peel, could conduct the government in strength and safety for a single month. Hence the greatest violence has been exhibited by politicians, upon whom the responsibilities of office would be unlikely to fall, if the existing ministry were overthrown; while the more moderate part of the Tories, and the more conservative section of the Whigs, are attracted together by a mutual gravitation or affinity; and will perhaps end with a coalition, of which faint, yet scarcely equivocal, signs are already discernible.

For the Whigs, although their triumphs as a party have been brilliant, and they have certainly managed to turn the tables upon their old antagonists, are yet placed in no very comfortable or enviable predicament. They can neither manage their new friends, nor do without them. They can neither calculate upon their own strength, nor rely upon their own resources. Oftentimes they have been sustained by overwhelming majorities, and yet they have experienced a larger number of failures than any former Administration has been known to outlive. They are like men who, having hurried to a spectacle, and standing in the front of a dense crowd, are pushed on into a place of imminent peril by the multitude behind them, unable to recede, and unwilling to go forward.

The truth is, that a new and increasing party has arisen out of the novel conjuncture of circumstances. For if, in order to illustrate our meaning, we represent the English Parliament after the manner of the French Chamber of Deputies, and consider the moderate Conservatives and the moderate Whigs as forming the right and left centres, and the vehement Tories as constituting the extreme right, we see a fresh school of political enthusiasts, British and Irish, gathered in the extreme left. This party, which we may call the Movement Party of England, is as yet split into a variety of sections, without singleness of purpose or concentration of force: it is as yet without a chief, without organization, without consistency, without much of practical skill or political experience; and yet it is daily growing into greater and more dangerous importance, because it marches on with perpetual resources, and magazines, and reinforcements, in the distress and discontent of the country; because the clubs, and institutes, and unions of the people are its support; and because it is backed by a very active and influential portion of the press. It has youth too in its favour—youth, both in a political and personal sense, with all the sanguine expectations and ardent fanaticism of youth. The men, who compose it, are as flushed with hope, as the older Tories are sunk in despondency. They already look upon themselves as the only oracles of political *philosophy*: they already think of first enlightening the nation, and then ruling it; they already proclaim, that all effete institutions and antiquated prejudices must melt away before the vivifying heat and splendour which their illumination is to spread around it; they already announce, that no form of government can last long, which has its only tenure in the ignorance of the people; they already perceive at the termination of a long vista of changes, the radiant form of a republic, with something like a President at its head,

governing fifteen millions of freemen, with a salary of six thousand pounds a-year!*

Here, then, is a cloud which must burst, at no distant date, with the thunders of present disturbance over the country and its destinies; though, whether it will purify the atmosphere and become the harbinger of fresh brightness in the horizon, is a dark riddle, which only futurity can solve.

Amidst, however, that gloom of uncertainty, which envelopes our condition, there are one or two facts, which stand out in prominent relief; there are one or two lessons, which only blindness can fail to see, and only madness would refuse to learn from. Our remarks, in this article have been purposely made historical rather than critical; and we have carried them, as it were, but along a single line. Other trains of inquiry would all converge to the same point to which we have been brought. Let us pause for one instant, and regard it with the steadfast eye of sober, but unflinching, observation. Nor let it be supposed that we have lost sight of those interests of the Church which we set out with describing as the one object in our view. It is to that very point, that the excursion, which we have taken, is designed to bring us round.

We have seen that the paroxysmal violence, attendant upon the agitation of the Reform Bill, has destroyed the balance of the constitution for the time. It may be restored hereafter, but it does not exist now. We have a monarch, who, from a variety of causes, is unlikely to exercise any decisive influence upon the progress of events. We have a House of Lords, which is overruled into a subordinate importance, and may soon be destined to play rather a nominal and formal than any *real* part in the drama of legislation. We have a House of Commons, almost absolute as far as the other branches of the legislature are concerned; yet almost powerless to direct or control the popular will. We see again that the day of personal leadership is almost gone by. The sway of individuals is absorbed in the action of large masses of men.

In whatever direction, then, we look, one colossal figure rises up before us. Every thing exhibits to us the omnipotence of the People and the Press. A thousand indications declare to us that we are on the eve, nay, that we trace already the first throes in the birth, of a great social Revolution, of which the Reform Bill has been the womb.

* It was our intention to have offered some more protracted strictures upon the constitution of the Movement Party in England, and its objects, as they regard the Church, taking Mr. Bulwer's last publication as our text-book; but want of space compels us to postpone the execution of our wish to some future opportunity.

What, then, is *not* to be attempted? and what is to be done? On the one side it is obviously impossible to reconstruct the political and social edifice of the empire upon its ancient model. Let us away, therefore, with vain lamentations and impotent regrets! They can do nothing but display our weakness. We must take together the good and the evil of that change of circumstances, which has been effected, and which is irrevocable. We are now like men, who, after sustaining the conflict of the elements, and the labours of a troubled voyage, are landed upon a new shore. We cannot retrace our steps. Our interest, as our duty, is to adapt our conduct to our situation, and look manfully at things under their existing aspect, without dreaming to carry the past into the present.

Hence, we conceive, parties in the state must soon be remodelled and re-organized. They must take a wider sweep of vision and of action. They must be formed more with reference to principles than to persons. The march of events, it can hardly be repeated too often, is too strong to be turned out of its course by any barrier of individual obstacles. Therefore even the composition of a Ministry has become a matter of comparative insignificance; at least it is far from forming the most essential item in the computation of occurrences. We do not mean to say, that it matters nothing, whether we have statesmen at the head of affairs; or hot and rampant demagogues, or school-boy theorists without practical knowledge or political experience. This would be just as absurd as to assert that the House of Peers ought to attempt nothing, because it cannot effect much. For a man might fairly answer, that the Lords, while their power is abridged, ought to use peculiar skill and diligence, so as to make the most and best of the diminished authority which they retain; and, in the same way, that, when the will of the people is almost despotic, especial attention ought to be paid to the composition of a Ministry, in order that at least something of good may be done, and at least something of evil may be prevented. But we still think, that, whoever may be the constituent members of the Administration, the spirit of its policy will run on with a *general* uniformity of tenor; because its tone must be borrowed as much from an external necessity as from internal convictions. The Prime Minister of this empire must either so shape his measures in one session as to propitiate the favour of the multitude; or he must bear to have their dictations forced upon him in the next; or he must retire, in disgust and sorrow, his efforts baffled, and his party dispirited. It seems scarcely probable, that matters will take a turn in any brief period; but here we speak chiefly of the immediate conjuncture.

It does then appear to us, that mere personal skirmishes and the party details of petty warfare must be almost as frivolous as the quarrels of fractious children, tired towards the evening; while the real struggle is on so broad a scale, and whole orders of men, and whole theories of government, are in a state of antagonism. We much doubt, indeed, whether there can be any eventual repose or safety for the country, until old names and old heart-burnings are forgotten; and fresh parties arise out of the fresh elements—the fresh world—which has been created around us, recast in a new mould, and belonging to a new era: or, in a word, until a great Christian party shall be formed and shall acquire consistency, of which the main object will be to Christianize the empire,—to conduct the progressive changes, and, we trust, improvements of society, under the direction of Christian principles,—as opposed either to projects of unprincipled spoliation, or a mere utilitarian and fantastic philosophy.

In the mean time, there is another inference, deducible from the existing state of things, which strikes us as still more evident, still more incapable of refutation:—it is this.

The clergy and the friends of the Church must, under Providence, *trust only to themselves*. If they dream that their safety can be ensured by the exertions of any political party or the wish of any one branch of the legislature, they are undone. Then in the homely but emphatic words of the Duke of Wellington, “the Church must go.” Neither Whigs nor Tories will avail her; neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords. The former, perhaps, will not be found to have the disposition; the latter, assuredly, will not be found to have the power. But the course is plain. That “all power emanates from the people,” whatever we may think of it as a speculative tenet, being now a practical truth, the Clergy, and all the friends of the Church, must address themselves *directly to the people*. They must counteract the influence of the malignant demagogue in that quarter where it is most formidable; we mean, in the bosoms of the humbler classes of the community. We repeat advisedly, *the people must be gained, or all is lost*. And we do trust, that the thousands of Parochial Clergy, who are distributed throughout the various districts of the empire will, before any fatal crisis can arrive, have fixed for themselves a strong hold in the universal mind and heart of the English nation. We should hope, indeed, that the piety and kindness, which they almost uniformly exhibit, will have produced this result; nor do we wish to take the occasional ebullitions of vulgar spleen as serious tokens of any permanent estrangement; nor do we believe that mere infidels and revolu-

tionists will succeed for a perpetuity in convincing the reason, and gaining over the affections, of a population like our own.

We wish not—and except in the very last extremity of danger we could never entertain the wish—that the clergy of this, or of any, country should wield their spiritual weapons as an instrument of political domination; we think it no more desirable, than it is possible, to restore any thing like monkish tyranny, or bring back the days of Thomas-a-Becket. We should be most sorry to see the people of England, in the political sense of the word, a priest-ridden people; though it were a much less awful anomaly to have a priest-ridden people than an infidel-ridden people; but we *would* have it recollected by those persons who would always uplift the secular arm to smite down all spiritual dignities, and bring the majesty of the State to bear upon the subversion of the Church;—yes, we would have them recollect that the State and the authorities of the State may themselves have something to dread and suffer in the collision; that, if the Church now appears to succumb, it is rather because the Church allows its influence to be dormant, than because it can ever be annihilated; and that the Christian Clergy of a kingdom will in *all* ages hold, and be able to exert, a tremendous power, as long as there remains, (and there always *must* remain,) a religious fibre in the human heart; as long as the wants and infirmities of men continue to be what they now are; as long as their diseases are many, and their life is short, and they are visited, at the close of it, by a sense of guilt and a fear of future retribution.

God forbid that the disastrous day should ever dawn upon this empire, when its whole Priesthood, driven into resistance by oppression or despair, should be simultaneously arrayed, with collected and concentrated energies, in opposition to the state. Religion and liberty might both perish in the shock. At present, assuredly, we would desire to see the Clergy have recourse only to the quiet arms of peace and gentleness; we would have them endeavour to entwine themselves, by the sublime arts of faith and charity, with the feelings and affections of the community in the spots where they reside; and, flinging away a vain reliance upon this or that party, upon this or that individual, to say, each of them, with the old Roman, in the best and truest sense of the words, “*PROVOCO AD POPULUM!*”

We have hitherto left almost unnoticed that other power which is co-ordinate,—and marches side by side with the power of the people,—we mean the power of the press. In truth, the people and the press exercise a joint supremacy, and form not so much two distinct powers, as one great and confederated strength. Now, the press can be combated with advantage only by the

press. Nothing else can meet it on equal terms. While, therefore, the pestilent part of it is so swift and active to do mischief; while the intellectual nutriment, upon which so many thousands of our fellow-countrymen have habitually fed, is the filth and garbage of the lowest among the weekly newspapers, we rejoice that such works as the *Saturday* and *Penny Magazines*, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, with others of a similar kind, have been established for the express purpose of conveying cheap information and entertainment to the millions. It is also a source of congratulation, that Christian societies are not only strenuous in providing moral and religious instruction; but that they have also learnt to address themselves, with a more pliant dexterity than heretofore, to the existing wants and dispositions of the people. Moreover, it were easy to mention many individual publications of great value and merit, either issuing from the bosom, or espousing the cause, of the Church;* and when we blend these facts with the acknowledged advancement in spiritual, and intellectual, and popular acquirements among the Clergy; and, with very few exceptions, the acknowledged irreproachableness of their general conduct, as a body of men, we confess, that we have good hope in the midst of many discouragements, and occasional apprehensions. In short, if the perils which surround us, have the effect of more thoroughly awakening the members and ministers of the Church to their real position and their real interests, we may well believe that Providence, among all our troubles, has graciously displayed the means of educing good out of evil; and that even "from the nettle danger, we may pluck the flower safety."

And, in speaking upon these subjects to others, it cannot escape us, that a mighty responsibility now lies upon ourselves; inasmuch as this publication has been for many years an organ of opinion especially devoted to the interests of the religion of the

* We have several new publications, either valuable or curious, lying at this moment before us, which we much regret our inability to notice more at large; as, for instance, Mr. Chevallier's Translation of the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, &c.; O'Sullivan's "Guide to an Irish Gentleman;" the Sermons of Dr. O'Brien, Mr. Hamilton of Leeds, and Sir Charles Hardinge (the Second Volume); "Letters on the Holy Scriptures, by the Rev. J. Carile;" "The Liturgy compared with the Bible, by the Rev. H. J. Bailey;" "Thom's Assurance of Faith;" many works both instructive and recreative, such as "Montague," and "The Note-Book of a Country Clergyman;" to say nothing of single Sermons, Tracts, and Charges, and the Reports of various Societies. Unfortunately, the critical state of the Church of England itself has prevented us from doing justice to the theological literature of the season. The same cause prevents us from examining, as we could wish, the present state of the Church of Scotland, the "Voluntary Church Association," on the one side, and, on the other, the society established at Glasgow, at once for the defence and reformation of the Church,—which in its institution and career is replete with interest. We must trust to future opportunities for making up, in part at least, our present omissions.

country and its ecclesiastical institutions. Would that our powers were more worthy of those interests, and more adequate to their maintenance and preservation! For, we would say, there has seldom, if ever, been a period when the defenders of the Church had a more urgent and imperative call, or were under a more serious and solemn obligation, to put forth all their energies and all their resources. We may be deceived: all men in every age have thought the times, in which they lived, the most prolific of important events, and the most overshadowed by a momentous futurity; but still, we apprehend, the social world is now impelled with a very accelerated speed; and, therefore, it is peculiarly now that a publication may be of use, which forms a link between the religion of a country and its secular pursuits, and regards, in connection, the temporal and eternal welfare of mankind. It is impossible for *any* single publication to view *all* things in *all* lights; and, therefore, not disregarding in this respect the advice even of Paine, we have made it our express business to "view all things theologically." We have thus before us the vast range of the actual and the ideal world,—the whole *variety* afforded by the social and political philosophy,—the literature and the science,—the condition and the habits—the past, the present, and the future—of our own empire, and all the regions of the earth; while we retain a distinct *unity* in looking at this diversified multiplicity of objects under their more religious aspect; and endeavouring, in our mental investigations, to make Christian principles the bond of union throughout the entire realms of art and nature, speculation and practice. We cannot but be aware, that the due execution of so wide, and—we speak it in a spirit of diffidence rather than vain-glory—so exalted, a scheme, must be opposed by numerous obstructions, and difficulties, which we may not be able altogether to surmount; but there are motives, even higher than patriotism, even stronger than self-interest, which must encourage us to pursue our course, defending the ecclesiastical establishments, because we believe them to be the best defence of the Christianity of the land; and striving, amidst the changes and chances of political and economical systems, to preserve the inviolability of our religious institutions and ordinances; because we believe *their* integrity to be necessary to the integrity of our faith, and the integrity of our faith, while it can alone secure the final happiness of individuals, to be necessary to the present prosperity of the country, and the ultimate improvement of the human race.

ART. XIV.—1. *A Sermon, delivered at the Cathedral Church of St. John.* By Daniel, Bishop of Calcutta, at an Ordination holden on Sunday, January 6, 1833, being the Feast of the Epiphany. Calcutta. 1833.

2. *The Edification of the Church, for the Salvation of Souls, the Office and Duty of the Christian Ministry: the Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of New Jersey; delivered in the City Hall, Camden, May 29, 1833, at the opening of the Convention.* By the Right Rev. George W. Doane, A.M. Bishop of the Diocese. Camden. 1833.

SHOULD we be asked, why we go so far as India and America for Charges upon which to comment, we might well answer, that, if we turned to those which have been delivered by dignitaries of the Church of England, we should be embarrassed by the difficulty of choice. Our main reason, however, is, that the publications, which we have selected, form a confirmation and supplement to one or two of the articles in the present number of this Review, which happened to be written before the discourses of Bishop Wilson and Bishop Doane came over to us. We might also add, that, to our apprehensions, it is a most important thing, to find testimonies in favour of our religious establishment sounding at the same moment in our ears from the east and from the west, from almost the opposite ends of the habitable globe, and, amidst so much of timidity and disaffection at home, voices of no common significance and power making for themselves a path across the ocean, to fix the wavering and admonish the unfriendly. Yes! it is consolatory, while a fantastic theology is lifting its head among ourselves, to see orthodox principles of Church-of-England Episcopacy firm and erect in Camden and Calcutta.

A previous production by Mr., and not yet *Bishop*, Doane, has already given occasion, in a former article, for an account of the early Episcopal Church in North America; his tone is perhaps more elevated, and the trumpet gives a more certain sound, since he has been chosen to his present office. How emphatically does he bear witness, in his primary Charge, to the excellence of the Forms and Liturgy of that Church, which ought to be hallowed among us, not only by its intrinsic worth, but by the lapse of ages, and the memories of the great and good men who have lived and died adorning or defending it.

“ III. I should but do imperfect justice to my solemn obligations to the church, did I omit to enumerate among the means of her edification, the due performance of her *public and occasional services*. It is the distinctive excellence of the church, and our peculiar privilege, that she

has secured, to so great an extent, in her inimitable liturgy, with its routine of scriptural lessons, songs of praise, confessions and devotions, the instruction and improvement of her members; and left so little of the worship of the sanctuary dependent upon the clergy. Sadly do they misconceive their duty and her interest, who, in the exercise of an unauthorized private judgment, presume to depart from her prescriptions, by adding to, or taking from, the admirable order of her services. Greatly do they disappoint her just expectations, and hinder her proper influence, who, from carelessness, or whatever other cause, deprive of their due effect her scarcely uninspired devotions. It is a solemn thing, my reverend brethren, to lead the worship of the assembled congregation. Surrounded as we are, by ignorance and prejudice, and, still worse, surrounded as we are by perishing sinners, and ourselves compassed about with infirmity, let us woo down from heaven, when we approach the altars of our God, that sacred flame which can alone enkindle our hearts, and purify our lips, to worship him acceptably. The generous glow, thus caught, will spread from heart to heart. The free-will offering of a holy worship will be welcome, through the blood of Jesus, at the mercy-seat of heaven; and "God, even our own God, will give us his blessing."—pp. 16, 17.

The whole Charge, indeed, is an energetic appeal to his "Brethren of the Clergy," expressed in a fine tone of hortatory composition.

We can only afford to extract, as a specimen of the style, the following observations, where he is speaking of the various duties of the Ministers of the Gospel, in connection with "the edification of the Church."

"Nor can I leave this branch of the subject, without, at least, a slight allusion to that which, in my judgment, is by far the most interesting duty of the pastoral office, *the nurture and instruction of the young*. To no other exercise of his fidelity and patience, can the Christian minister so certainly look for future increase, or for present satisfaction. To the regular catechetical instruction, to the Sunday School, to the Bible class, to whatever can bring the youth of his congregation about him, engage them in religious inquiries, and impress them with religious truth, let him assiduously devote himself. Let him begin early, and late leave off;—engaging the infant soldiers of the Cross, from the time that they first leave their mother's arms; and never letting them go, till, as grown up men and women, they are themselves fit to become teachers and examples to the flock. In both these respects,—in beginning too late, and leaving off too early,—the Church is greatly the sufferer. The baptismal font does not now duly lead, as it was wont, and ever should, first to the chancel rail, and then to the table of the Lord. Many that are baptized, never ask for confirmation. Many that are confirmed come not to that holy supper. The church loses her hold upon them; and they are but too often lost to her,—to themselves,—to the world,—to God. These things, surely, ought not so to be. That, so far as in us lies, they may not be so, let us follow

his example, who, in that beautiful prophetic picture, "feeds his flock like a shepherd, gathering the lambs with his arms, and carrying them in his bosom;"—let us ever bear in mind his affectionate appeal to the Apostle Peter, and make it the test, by which, to our own hearts, we try our love for him.—'Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me, more than these? Feed my lambs.'—pp 17—18.

We turn to the Ordination Sermon of the Bishop of Calcutta, which has entirely the nature of a Charge, as to a publication of still higher importance than the discourse of Bishop Doane. It is distinguished by that eloquent and affectionate earnestness which all, who have any acquaintance with him, would expect from Dr. Wilson, and not less by a temperance, and discretion, and soundness of views, for which some persons, perhaps, would hardly have given him credit. It is of considerable length; but, as the Bishop himself states in his introductory letter,—

"The length of the discourse arises, as you will perceive, from the observations on the ecclesiastical polity of our Church and the duty of her members to adhere to her communion, which were demanded on the occasion of an Ordination, and which it seemed to me improper to omit, or materially curtail, upon my first coming into the diocese and in the incipient state of the Church in India."—p. v.

The subjoined hints, also taken from the Introduction, afford a strong, and yet, as it seems, an undesigned evidence of the necessity of having more bishops than one through the vast extent of our Indian territories.

"The rapid removals of my revered predecessors have necessarily impeded that settlement of our Church, which was begun by the first learned and pious Prelate of this See. Every thing will, however, I trust, find its level by degrees, notwithstanding the impediments arising from the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, the paucity of the clergy, their distance from each other, the difficulty of communication, the changes and suspensions of duty arising from sickness and the separation of families, and the impossibility of bringing the peculiarly episcopal functions into actual contact with every part of such an almost boundless diocese."—p. viii.

But our attention is now due to the discourse itself. Its subject Bishop Wilson designates as "the Apostolical Commission," and says,

"In considering this commission we shall have to notice, *the great end* which the Apostle had to keep in view in executing it; *the primary instructions* which he delivered in order to that end; and *the spirit and manner* in which he discharged the whole office."—p. 2.

Hence he takes a general survey of "the ennobling objects" to be kept in view by "the minister and the missionary of Christ," with the spirit and manner "in which they should be performed:"

he takes occasion to trace through its several steps the historical argument, drawn both "from antiquity and from Scripture," in favour of Episcopacy, with peculiar reference "to the question of the authority of our Apostolical Reformed Church in sending out ministers in the manner of Episcopal ordination into the field of Evangelical labour." This part of the Discourse is carefully compiled and very valuable. He then proceeds to speak, with that striking force which arises from unequivocal and immediate conviction, of the vast utility of the ecclesiastical establishment in India.

"For myself, I am persuaded that our national Establishment is peculiarly adapted for nourishing the infant Churches in Eastern Asia. The native converts can never stand safely alone. A general Christianity would soon be no Christianity at all. A scriptural liturgy, offices for the sacraments, a well-regulated ministry, a presiding helper and overseer, that is, a Bishop, and the protection of a Christian State, are most needful for their steadfastness and growth in Christianity. Amongst the possible forms of Church government, then, surely our own would have a claim to consideration, even if she had not set her foot in India. Her mild paternal discipline, her tolerant spirit, her moderate and wise and scriptural doctrines, her simple affecting liturgy, well qualify her to give solidity and permanence to the young and feeble religion of Asia. But she is already amongst us and is gradually diffusing herself by her Chaplains and Missionaries. She makes therefore a peculiar demand on the allegiance of those who profess to be her members. Nor do I doubt that she will take her full part in the mighty enterprise of illuminating the heathen around her, and thus become a blessing in the Eastern, as she has long been in the Western, world.

"And surely there will be an additional pleasure in propagating Christianity in unison with the sympathies and usages—with the self-same litanies and lessons—with the very catechism and offices which are in veneration at home. Not to say that the training of our converts in our national Church will be the most likely way of attaching India to the British sceptre, and of creating a point of continued affection between our government and its native subjects and allies."—pp. 27, 28.

As many of the candidates were ordained "to Christian missions," the bishop not merely directs the general argument of his discourse to their particular case; but animates them, towards the conclusion, by an address embracing several considerations, which may well become a spur to renewed exertions in *all* Christians, whosoever or wheresoever they may be, even if a somewhat too sanguine glow of anticipation be cast over the picture.

"Be encouraged by the thought that there never was a moment when a Missionary went forth with such reasonable hope of success as in this region of the globe at the present time.

"The power entrusted to the arm of Britain is unexampled. About

a sixth of the human race may be now subject to her sway, or united with her by alliance, or under her beneficial influence. A greater population probably owns her sceptre in India than any of the four ancient monarchies which claimed to be universal.

"The equity and mildness of England's use of this power, her fidelity to treaties, the purity of her administration of justice, the benevolence and honour of her chief authorities civil and military, the fame of her inventions, of her arts and sciences, and of her civilization, have long surpassed those of preceding dominant powers in India.

"At the same time, the unnatural institution of castes, the impure rites of an idolatry unsupported by any one evidence of a divine authority, and hostile to the welfare of man; and the fierce but irrational claims of a prophet who founded his imposture on the sword, are tottering with their own weight.

"The native press, again, and schools for literary education are beginning to diffuse general knowledge, and to lay the foundation of historical and geographical truth. For they are doubtless awakening a spirit of enquiry; and if this secular knowledge be conjoined with fixed moral and religious principles, the native mind will soon be prepared for receiving evidence aright, and listening with humility to the proofs of Christianity.

"The protection of the British power thrown around the Missionary in his civil capacity, whilst he conducts himself discreetly and peaceably, (which I trust all before me will never cease to do,) is a further advantage in pursuing his humble labours.

"The refutation, by lapse of time and the evidence of fact, of the prejudices against peaceful attempts to diffuse Christianity, as if they could be mistaken by the natives of India for a violation of compacts and treaties, has now long been admitted, and places the enterprise of the Missionary on a vantage ground of unspeakable importance.

"The growing piety and zeal of many of the civil and military servants both of his Majesty and of the Honourable Company is removing one grand obstacle to the progress of Christianity—the unholy lives of professed Christians—and is raising up active friends in various quarters.

"The wide diffusion of the translations of the Scriptures in most of the languages and dialects of the East, more especially in the Chinese, however imperfect many of those translations may be, is a most important preparation for the conversion of the heathen.

"Nor is the success already obtained a small additional encouragement—for many have already been gathered in as the first-fruits of the harvest. In the South especially, as much as a hundred years since, numerous converts were made and Churches formed, by the labours of Ziegenbalg, Grundler, and the venerable Schwartz.

"The open acknowledgment by Great Britain of the duty of Christian missions is most important—I allude, not only to the individuals who in private societies are engaged in the work—nor to

the Society for Church Missions merely, now for more than thirty years prosecuting her task and attracting the confidence of the Church at home and abroad—but rather to the national proceedings of the Incorporated Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, both by the collections at home under the King's letters throughout the kingdom for its support, and here by the noble edifice on the banks of the Hooghly, Bishop's College, which salutes the Christian eye as it approaches the capital of India, and testifies the desire of England to bless her Eastern empire with the knowledge of Christianity."—pp. 32—34.

It would be unjust to pass without notice the strong and fervent simplicity, which points the subjoined exhortation.

"Finally, brethren in the sacred ministry, and those who are about to be admitted to it, remember the peculiar obligations you are under of preserving a high standard of clerical character in such a place as India. A bad clergyman, an indifferent clergyman, a secular clergyman, a quarrelsome clergyman, an inefficient clergyman, an unconverted clergyman, a backsliding clergyman who has fallen from God, is a curse wherever he may be; but in India, where "he is as a city placed on a hill," where the eyes of Mohametans and Hindoos are fixed upon him, what an additional mass of evil is he accumulating, and what an enormous weight of duty is he habitually neglecting?"—pp. 35-6.

In the same spirit—to recur for a moment to the Introduction—are the following admonitions.

"I would beg leave to observe that never had our reformed branch of the Catholic Apostolical Christian Church so fair a field of holy effort before her as in India. What God may be pleased to do with her and by her, we know not. Our united exertions and unwearied prayers may possibly be the means of rendering the Church of our native land a bulwark of Christianity and a safeguard of sound doctrine in the East, as she has been for three centuries in the West. At all events we must be plain, earnest, uncompromising in unfolding the great doctrines of the Gospel of Christ. We must 'know nothing,' as the Apostle Paul expresses it, 'but Jesus Christ and him crucified'—in the merits of his sacrifice, in the operations of his Spirit, in the riches of his grace. This is the grand primary duty of our ministry, a defect in which can be compensated for by no other attainments.

"We must, moreover, apply truth affectionately and closely to the consciences of those who hear us, and administer the Sacraments according to Christ's institution,

"We must also earnestly exhort men to obedience and good works, as the 'fruits of faith and following after justification.'

"We must then urge them to 'grow' (continually till life shall close) 'in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"We must, lastly, let the ornamental and protecting drapery of

apostolical order and discipline be thrown around the mighty substance of this interior, vital Christianity.

"To effect all this we must fervently pray that the influences of the Holy Spirit may descend on us, whilst composing and delivering our sermons, and whilst catechizing and instructing from house to house our flocks.

"We must also give our best diligence to THE ONE THING; to the neglect of all other studies and pursuits—putting our whole hearts into our ministry, and being 'willing to impart to our people,' as St. Paul speaks, 'not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because they are dear unto us.'

"Thus will our people become pious and well instructed Christians and members of our Church—and will 'let their light so shine before men,' (whether Christian or Heathen,) that they may see their good works and glorify their Father which is in heaven."—pp. vi. vii. viii.

For the rest, we can only remark, as a subject of congratulation, that, with reference to Seceders from the Church, the Bishop of Calcutta draws the same distinction, which we have ourselves attempted to establish, between the charity which is indispensable, and the amalgamation which is impossible. He speaks of the "indiscreet and exaggerated and really false admissions of individual writers," and significantly says, "*Charity is one thing, latitudinarianism or controversy, another. A Christianity without a specific doctrine and discipline, is no Christianity at all.*"

In one of the notes, marked E, appended to the discourse, is to be found perhaps the closest condensation, and clearest exposition, of the whole argument in favour of National Church Establishments, which we ever remember to have seen.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

The King has been pleased to grant to the Right Rev. Father in God Edward Bishop of Hereford the place and dignity of a Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, void by the death of Dr. Wm. Tournay.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Athawes, John	Great Loughton, R.	Bucks	Lincoln	Trin. Coll. Camb.
Baker, Robert Geo.	Stevenage, R.	Herts	Lincoln	Wm. Barker, Esq.
Ball, John	{ Oxford, St. Giles, V. & — St. Mary, C. }	Oxford	Oxford	St. John's Coll. Oxford
Beadon, F. Fleming	Compton Bishop, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	{ Preb. of Compton Bi- shop, in Wells Cath.
Beadon, R. A'Court	Heselbere, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	{ Preb. of Heselbere, in Wells Cath.
Blofield, Thomas J.	{ Old Sodbury, V. with Chipping Sodbury C }	Gloster	Gloster	D. & C. of Worcester
Bolland, William	Waltham Cross, C.	Herts	London	Bishop of London
Boscawen, Hon. J. E.	Ticehurst, V.	Sussex	Chich.	D. & C. of Canterbury
Bury, Charles	Albrighton, C.	Salop	Lich. & Cov.	Wm. Spurrier, Esq.
Chatfield, W. A.	Stotfold, V.	Beds.	Lincoln	Trin. Coll. Cambridge
Cheales, Henry	Burton Penwardine, V.	Lincoln	Lincoln	H. Handley, Esq.
Clark, Joshua	Uldale, R.	Cumb.	Carlisle	
Coldham, George	Glemsford, R.	Suffolk	Norwich	Bishop of Ely
Cookson, Charles	Min. Can. of Cath. Ch. of	Peterborough		D. & C. of Peterboro'
Cox, John	Poslingford, V.	Suffolk	Norwich	Col. Thos. Weston
Cox, R. A.	Montacute, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	John Phelps, Esq.
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Crofts, Henry	Linton, One Med. R.	W. York	York	The King
Cubitt, John	Oxwich, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	John Blake, Esq.
Curling, William	{ Southwark, St. Sa- viour Chaplaincy }	Surrey	Winchest.	The Parishioners
Davies, William	Llangynllo, R.	Cardigan	St. David's	Freeholders
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Draper, Wm. Yorke	Brooke, R.	Kent	Cant.	D. & C. of Canterbury
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Ekins, Robert	Folke, R.	Dorset	{ P. of D. of Sarum }	{ D. & C. of Sarum
Etty, J. S.	Min. Can. in Cath. Ch. of	Winchester.		
Evered, C. W. H.	Exton, R.	Somerset	B. & W.	J. Evered, Esq.

Name.	Preferment.	County.	Diocese.	Patron.
Fendall, James	Comberton, V.	Camb.	Ely	Jesus Coll. Cambridge
Fenton, John	Ousby, R.	Cumb.	Carlisle	Bishop of Carlisle
Fenton, W.	Admarsh, C.	Lancaster	Chester	V. of Lancaster
Fitzroy, T. W. Coke {	Grafton Regis, R. {	Northamp.	Peterboro'	Lord Chancellor
	with Alderton, R. }			
Foxton, Frederick Jos.	Hoghton, C.	Lancaster	Chester	V. of Leyland
Garnier, Thomas	Wanborough, V.	Wilts	Salisbury	D. & C. of Winchester
George, William	Bridell, R.	Pemb.	St. David's	The Freeholders
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	Peter, C. }			
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	and Swavesey, V. }			
Harding, T.	Bexley, V.	Kent	Cant.	Viscount Sidney
Harington, Richard . .	Oulde, R.	Northamp.	Peterboro'	Brazen. Coll. Oxford
Harrison, W. Bagshawe	Gayton, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Lord Chancellor
Harrison, W.	Cronall, V.	Hants	Winchest.	St. Cross Hospital
Hilton, John	St. Nicholas Wade, V.	Kent	Cant.	Abp. of Canterbury
Horne, Thomas	Mursley, R.	Bucks	Lincoln	Mrs. Childers
Howell, T.	Trenaine, C.	Cardigan	St. David's	Philip J. Miles, Esq.
Jackson, W.	Penrith, St. And. V.	Cumb.	Carlisle	Bishop of Carlisle
Jones, D.	Llandeilog, V.	Cardigan	St. David's	R. Stanley, Esq.
Jones, David	Kingswood, C.	Wilts	Glouces.	Inhabitants
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Mayor, Robert	Copenhall, R.	Chester		Bp. of Lich. and Cov.
Meller, T. W.	Haddenham, P. C.	Camb.	Ely	Archdn. of Ely
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Morgan, S. F.	Birmingham, {	Warwick	Lich. & C.	V. of St. Mart. Birm.
	— Nineveh, C. }			
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Newbolt, W. R.	Somerton, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	Earl of Ilchester
Norman, C. M. R. . . .	Northwold, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	Bishop of Ely
Owen, J.	Llechryd, C.	Cardigan	St. David	{ Thomas Lloyd and C. Longcroft, Esqrs.
Page, Thomas	Cheltenham, St. Paul	C. Gloster	Gloster	
Parker, William	Saham Toney, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	New Coll. Oxford
Paulet, Lord Charles	Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	Salisbury		Bishop of Salisbury
Powell, Morgan	St. Bride's, V.	Glamorgan	Llandaff	
Prowett, John	Catfield, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	Bishop of Norwich
Radcliffe, Geo. D.D.	Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	Salisbury		Bishop of Salisbury
Richards, George . . .	Walkhampton, V.	Devon	Exeter	Sir Ralph Lopez, Bart.
Shutte, Richard	Minor Canonry of Cath. Ch. of	St. Paul		{ D. & C. on nom. of Minor Canons
Soames, Wm. Aldwin	Greenwich, V.	Kent	Rochester	The King
St. John, George	Warndon, R.	Worcester	Worcester	Sir T. Winnington, Bart
Tatham, William	Great Oakley, R.	Essex	London	Sir John's Coll. Camb.
Topping, George	Rockliffe, C.	Cumb.	Carlisle	D. & C. of Carlisle
Veysie, Daniel	Daventry, P. C. . . .	Northampt.	Peterboro'	Christ Church, Oxford
Waddington, Geo. {	Masham, V. with {	N. York		
	Kirkby Malzeard, V. {	W. York	Chester	Trin. Coll. Camb.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Walford, Ellis	Bucklesham, R.	Suffolk	Norwich	Rev. William Walford
White, Rich. Marsh . .	Aveley, V.	Essex	London	Bishop of London
Whytthead, Robert . .	Ipswich, St. Peter, C.	Suffolk	Norwich	Rev. C. Simcon
Wilkins, Thomas . . .	{ CollingbourneKing- ston, V. }	{ Wilts }	Salisbury	D. & C. of Winchester
Wilkinson, H. Thos . .	Weston Market, R. . .	Suffolk	Norwich	Rev. H. T. Wilkinson
Williams, Thos.	Llangwym, R.	Pembroke	St. David's	Mrs. Ann Barlow
Wilson, J.	Folkingham, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	
Wilson, Thos. D. H. . .	Hinderclay, R.	Suffolk	Norwich	Rev. T. D. H. Wilson
Woodhouse, Gervas H.	Boulton, C.	Derby	Lich. & Cov.	Proprietors of Estates

CLERICAL APPOINTMENTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Appointment.</i>
Byron, John	Domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Sutherland.
Crane, Robert Prentice	Domestic Chaplain to Lord Stuart de Rothsay.
Dakins, J. H.	Domestic Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.
Duffield, M. D.	Domestic Chaplain to Lord Western.
Dyer, William	Domestic Chaplain to Lord de Saumarez.
Mackie, Charles	Head Master of Free Grammar School, Appleby.
Marsden, J. Howard	Lecturer in Divinity at St. Bees Coll. Cumberland.
Myers, Thomas	Chaplain to Viscount Lorton.
Peil, T. W.	Senior Tutor and Fellow of Durham College.
Porklington, Henry Sharpe	Domestic Chaplain to the Marquis of Camden.
Povah, John Vidgen	Priest in ordinary to the King.
Pritchard, Richard	Chaplain and Master of Grammar School, Stratford-on-Avon.
Rose, Hugh James	Professor of Divinity at Durham College.
Skelton, Joseph	Master of Grammar School, Scarborough.
Snooke, Hargood Bettesworth	Domestic Chaplain to Earl Grey.
Wells, Gifford	Head Master of Grammar School, Stourbridge.
Wesley, Charles	Confessor of the King's Household at St. James's Palace.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Name.	Preferment.	County.	Diocese.	Patron.
Bolland, John Gipps	Fetcham, R.	Surrey	Winchester	Rev. J. G. Bolland
Bright, John	Preb. in Cath. Ch. of Salisbury	Salisbury		Bp. of Salisbury
	Grafton, Regis, R.	Northamp.	Peterboro'	Lord Chancellor
	with Alderton, R.			
Butts, William	Glemsford, R.	Suffolk	Norwich	Bp. of Ely
Campbell, Rt. Caleb	Owstone, V.	W. York	York	P. D. Cooke, Esq.
	Ipstone, C.	Stafford		Freeholders
Carlisle, William	& Sutton le Dale, R.	Derby	L. & C.	
	with Duckmanton, V.			
Catlow, J. S.	Copenhall, R.	Chester	Chester	Bp. of Lich. and Cov.
	and Madeley, V.	Stafford	L. & C.	Lord Crew
Clavell, John	Church Knowle, R.	Dorset	Bristol	W. Richards, Esq.
	with Kimmeridge			
Cooper, James	Hoghton, C.	Lancaster	Chester	Vicar of Leyland
Cory, Richard	St. Kean, R.	Cornwall	Exeter	Thomas Leah, Esq.
Davy, Martin	Fell. of Magd. Coll.	Oxford	Oxford	Joseph Henley, Esq.
	Waterperry, V.			
Dodd, H. Hayman	Arlington, V.	Sussex	Chich.	Preb. of Woodhorne, in Chich. Cathedral
	Confess. of H. M.'s Househ. at St. James'			Bp. of London
	Priest in Ord. to His Majesty			Dean of St. Paul's
	Subdean of the Cath. Ch. of St. Paul			D. and C. on nom. of
Fly, Henry, D.D.	Minor Can. of the Cath. Ch. of St. Paul			Min. Cans.
	Trinity, C. Minorities	London		Lord Chancellor
	Willesdon, V.			
	Kingsbury, P. C.	Middx.	London	D. and C. of St. Paul's
	with Twyford, C.			
Harrison, W. D.D.	Southwark, St. Sav.	Surrey	Winchester	The Parishioners
	Chaplaincy			
Holme, Nicholas	Rise, R.	E. York	York	Lord Chancellor
Hutton, Henry	Beaumont, R.	Essex	London	Guy's Hospital
Johnson, John	North Mimms, V.	Herts.	Lincoln	Mrs. Fullerton
	Great Parndon, R.	Essex	London	Hon. W. T. L. P. Wellesley
Jones, John	Llangynllo, R.	Cardigan	St. David's	Freeholders
Littledale, Osborne	Admarsh, C.	Lancaster	Chester	Vicar of Lancaster
Mathew, George	Greenwich, V.	Kent	Rochester	The King
Mawdesley, Thomas	Chester, St. Mary, R.	Chester	Chester	Earl Grosvenor
Morris, John	Llangwym, R.	Pembroke	St. David's	Mrs. Ann Barlow
Morris, Joseph	Feltham, V.	Middlesex	London	
Neve, Charles	Brierly Hill, P. C.	Worcester	Worcester	
	and Kilmersdon, V.	Somerset	B. & W.	Lord Chancellor
Parsons, John D.D.	St. John, Wapping, R.	Middlesex	London	Brazenose Coll. Oxford
	Skegness, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Earl of Scarborough
Rowe, John	Alverdiscot, R.	Devon	Exeter	G. Rooke, Esq.
	Bow, sin. R.			J. Marshall, Esq.
Shuckburg, Chas. W.	Goldhanger, R.	Essex	London	N. Westcombe, Esq.
Smith, Edw. Grose	St. Helen's, P. C.	I. of Wight	Winchester	Eton College
Stovin, James D.D.	Rossington, R.	York	York	R. Bower, Esq.
Stuart, John Francis	Lower Gravenhurst, R.	Bedford	Lincoln	Lord Chancellor
Sweet, Charles	Kentisbury, R.	Devon	Exeter	

State of the Dioceses.—DEATHS.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Preferment.</i>	<i>County.</i>	<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Patron.</i>
Taylor, Robert ..	{ More, R. Shelve, R.	{ Salop	Hereford	R. More, Esq.
Tournay, William	{ Preb. of Cath. Ch. of Peterborough Preb. of Coll. Ch. of Westminster			Bp. of Peterborough The King
Townshend, Thomas	Aisthorpe, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Mrs. Mangles
Vyse, John	Wootton, R.	Northamp.	Peterboro'	Exeter Coll. Oxford
White, John	{ Preb. of Cath. Ch. of Salisbury Hardwick, R.	Bucks	Lincoln	Bp. of Salisbury New Coll. Oxford
Whitelock, R. Hutch.	Choriton, C.	Lancaster	Chester	Manchester Coll. Ch.
	Bucknell, R.	Oxford	Oxford	New Coll. Oxford
Yeomans, W. Boh.	{ and Warndon, R.	Worcester	Worcester	{ B. Johnson, Esq. as Trustee for R. Berkeley, Esq. a Roman Catholic

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Appointment.</i>
Evans, Benjamin	Under Master of Harrow School.
Horstford, John	Chaplain to the Earl of Aberdeen.
Tahourdin, William	Fellow of New College, Oxford.
Wall, John Whitmore	Fellow of New College, Oxford.

ORDINATIONS.

At an Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of Winchester, on Sunday the 7th July, 1833, in the Chapel within Farnham Castle, in the county of Surrey, the following gentlemen were admitted into Holy Orders.

DEACONS.

Chas. Boileau Elliott, B.A. Qu. Coll. Cam.
Rt. Jas. Dunn, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxford
R. F. Carter, B.A. St. John's Coll. Cam.
E. Roberts Larken, B.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.
Edward John Cathrow, B. A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
G. M. Braune, B.A. Sid. Sus. Coll. Camb.
W. Bunting Tate, M.A. Trin. Coll. Cam.
E. Knight Maddock, B.A. Cath. H. Cam.
W. H. Pooke, B.A. Worcester Coll. Oxf.
D. Hogarth, "Literate," *Letter Dim. from Bishop of Norwich.*

PRIESTS.

Hen. Carey, B.A. Worcester Coll. Oxford.
Jas. Stevens, M.A. St. John's Coll. Oxf.
Percy Jos. Newell, B.A. Magd. Hall, Ox.
William Bray, B.A. Exeter Coll. Oxford
Edward Payne, M.A. New Coll. Oxford
H. K. Richardson, B.A. Trin. Coll. Cam.
Helier Touzel, B.A. Sid. Sus. Coll. Camb.
Richard A'Court Beadon, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb. *Let. Dim. from Bp. Bristol*
Rt. Kempt, "Literate," *Letter Dim. from Bishop of Norwich.*
A. Hugh Pearson, B.A. Qu. Coll. Camb. *Letter Dim. from the Bishop of Ely.*

The following gentlemen were admitted to Holy Orders, on Thursday, 25th July, being St. James' day, at Worcester Cathedral, by the Lord Bishop of Worcester.

DEACONS.

Thos. Jones, B.A. Cath. Hall, Camb.
Reg. Pyn. Turner, B.A. Bal. Coll. Oxf.
J. H. T. Allen, B.A. Brazen. Coll. Oxf.
Wm. Jas. Heale, B. A. Wad. Coll. Oxf.
T. C. Vaughan, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.
Edward Thrupp, B.A. Wadh. Coll. Oxf.
Thos. Jones, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.
Wm. Nicholson, B.A. Christ Coll. Camb.
Rt. W. Stoddart, B.A. Jesus Coll. Camb.

PRIESTS.

Folliot Baugh, B.A. All Souls' Coll. Ox.
J. Roberts Oldham, M.A. Oriel Coll. Ox.
Jos. Hill Grice, B.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.
George Hodson, B.A. Magd. Hall, Oxf.
Wm. Lewis Mills, B.A. Qu. Coll. Camb.
E. Crane, B.A. Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb.
Frederick Powell, B.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.

At an Ordination held in July by the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, the following gentlemen of Oxford were ordained:—

DEACONS.

Wm. Belcher, B.A. Magdalen Hall.
Edward Harland, B.A. Wadham College.
Muirhead Mitchell, B.A. University Col.
Francis H. Menteath Stuart, B.A. Magd. H.
Richard Pritchard, B.A. Jesus College.
T. Green Simcox, B.A. Wadham Coll.
Hon. G. G. Chet. Talbot, B.A. Ch. Ch.
S. Ravenshaw Wood, B.A. Christ Church.

PRIESTS.

W. H. W. Bowyer, S.C.L. Brazen. Coll.
C. Cameron, B.A. Queen's College.
G. Herbert Cotton, B.A. Worcest. Coll.
G. Lillingston, B.A. Worcester College.
John Little, B.A. Magdalen Hall.
John Dryden Pigott, B.A. Christ Church.

At an Ordination held in July by the Lord Bishop of Chester, the following gentlemen of Cambridge were ordained:

DEACONS.

Montague Hautrey, M.A. Trinity Coll.
Richard M. Lamb, B.A. Trinity College.
James Tate, M. A. Trinity College.
Henry Morgan, B.A. St. John's College.
Richard Rigg, B.A. Caius College.
George Dunning, M.A. Downing Coll.

PRIESTS.

William Sedgwick, Trinity College.
Miles Galloway Booty, Trinity College.
Pelham Tones, St. John's College.
Edward Birch, St. John's College.
Edward Alderson, St. John's College.
John Edwards, St. Peter's College.
C. A. Austin, Catharine Hall.
George Moody, Catharine Hall.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN MEDICINE.

Charles Badham, (Radcliffe's travelling
Fellow,) University College.

Thos. Broadley Fooks, Fell. of New Coll.
Hon. Henry Bertie, Christ Church.
Edward Hardwicke, Queen's Coll.
Chas. Lewis Cornish, Fell. of Exeter Coll.

DOCTOR IN MUSIC.

Benjamin Blyth, Magdalen Hall.

BACHELORS IN MEDICINE, WITH LICENCE
TO PRACTISE.

William Duke, Magdalen Hall.
James Edward Winterbottom, St. John's
College, Grand Compounder.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

James Mitchell, Christ Ch. Grand Comp.
Geo. Lloyd, St. John's Coll. Grand Comp.
Philip Twells, Worcester College.
Rev. Thomas Whitaker, Worcester Coll.
Rev. Edw. Payne, Fellow of New Coll.
Rev. Rob. J. Rolles, Fellow of New Coll.
Rob. Jas. Mackintosh, Fell. of New Coll.
George Fred. Fowle, Fell. of Exeter Coll.
Samuel Grimshaw, Brazennose Coll.
John Griffiths, Fellow of Wadham Coll.
Rev. Geo. Wm. Murray, Merton Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Kenelon Digby, Christ Church.
John Ellison, Christ Church.
Cha. Wm. Bingham, Fellow of New Coll.
H. Blackstone Williams, Fell. of New Coll.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

Elections.

On the last day of Act Term, the Rev.
Godfrey Faussett, D.D. late Fellow of
Magdalen College, was unanimously re-
elected Margaret Professor of Divinity.

Mr. William Boyd, B.A., of University
College, has been elected Fellow of that
Society, on the Northumberland Founda-
tion.

Mr. J. Carey, B.A., and Mr. Gustavus
Townsend Stupart, Commoner of Exeter
College, have been elected Fellows of that
Society on the Guernsey Foundation.

The Rev. George Edward Gepp, B.A.,
the Rev. Arthur Charles Torbutt, B.A.,
and Thomas William Allies, B.A., Schol-
ars of Wadham College, have been elected
Probationary Fellows of that Society. And
on the same day, Mr. Lewis Evans and
Mr. John Cooper, Commoners of Wadham
College; Mr. Edward Wyndham Tuffnell,

of the county of Somerset, and Mr. George Domville Wheeler, Commoner of Oriel College, also a native of the county of Somerset, were elected Scholars of Wadham College.

Mr. Charles Rew, Mr. Henry Heming, and Mr. Henry James Farrington Cox, have been admitted Fellows of St. John's College; and Mr. Henry William Burrows, from Merchant Tailors', and Mr. George Martin Bullock, from Bistol, Scholars of that Society.

The Rev. James Charles Stafford, B. D., William Walter Tireman, M. A., and William Palmer, M. A., have been admitted Actual Fellows of Magdalen College; and the Rev. J. Peterson Chambers, M. A.,

the Rev. Wm. Francis Harrison, M. A., the Rev. Thomas Sale, M. A., Frederic James Parsons, M. A., and Thomas Henry Whorwood, B. A., admitted Probationary Fellows of that Society. The same day the following gentlemen were elected Demics of Magdalen College:—Henry Dale, Commoner of Worcester College, on the Warwickshire Foundation; Edward Daubeney, Commoner of Trinity College, Norfolk; William F. Picken, Nottinghamshire; Thomas Butler, Commoner of Wadham College, Diocese of Winton; Charles Burney, Commoner of Christ Church, Kent; Philip Drake, Norfolk; and Edward John Chaplin, Commoner of Christ Church, Lincoln.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

HONORARY MASTER OF ARTS.
Sir David Brewster, Trinity College.

DOCTOR OF CIVIL LAW.
Richard Samuel Dixon, Trinity Hall.

LICENTIATE IN PHYSIC.
Disney Launder Thorp, Caius College.

BACHELOR IN CIVIL LAW.
John Stuart Roupell, Trinity Hall.

BACHELORS IN PHYSIC.
George Fabian Evans, Caius College.
Algernon Hicks, Magdalen Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.
Thomas William Greaves, St. John's Coll.
Albert Way, Trinity Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.
Henry Barlow, St. John's Coll.

NO. XXVIII.—OCT. 1833.

The Rev. Dr. Lloyd, of Trinity College, Dublin, admitted *ad eundem* of this University.

On Thursday, June 27, the following gentlemen of this University were admitted to honorary degrees.

The Earl Fitzwilliam, LL.D., Trin. Coll.
Sir Charles Lemon, M. A., Trinity Coll.
Sir T. Macdougell Brisbane, M. A., Trinity College.

At the same time the undermentioned gentlemen were admitted to *ad eundem* degrees:—

W. Buckland, D. D., Christ Church, Oxford, Professor of Geology.
T. R. Robinson, D. D., Dublin, Professor of Astronomy at Armagh.
Right Hon. D. Gilbert, LL.D., Pembroke Coll. Oxford.
Dionysius Lardner, LL.D., Dublin.
J. Macartney, M. D. Trinity Coll. Dublin.
W. E. Honey, B. D. Exeter Coll. Oxf.
C. J. Laprimaudaye, M. A. St. John's College, Oxford.

R. Walker, M.A. Wadham Coll. Oxford.
 J. Stroud, M.A. Wadham Coll. Oxford.
 C. Wordsworth, M.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.
 W. Palmer, M.A. Magdalen Coll. Oxf.
 W. R. Brometh, M.A. Pemb. Coll. Oxf.
 P. Bury Duncan, M.A. New Coll. Oxf.
 John Wilson, M.A. Queen's Coll. Oxf.
 E. Denison, M.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.
 J. Sabine, M.A. Trinity Coll. Dublin.
 Lord Morpeth, M.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.
 Rt. Hon. Sturges Bourne, M.A. Christ
 Church, Oxford.
 F. Plumptre, M.A. University Coll. Oxf.
 Humphry Lloyd, M.A. Dublin.
 W. Vernon Harcourt, M.A. Ch. Ch. Oxf.
 Sir John Mordaunt, M.A. Christ Ch. Oxf.

Charles Lacey, M.A. Christ Church, Oxf.
 William Cureton, M.A. Ch. Ch. Oxf.
 Baden Powell, M.A. Oriel Coll. Oxford,
 Savilian Professor.
 Sir T. Dyke Acland, M.A. Ch. Ch. Oxf.
 J. E. Winterbottom, M.A. St. John's Coll.
 Oxford.
 C. Hotham, M.A. University Coll. Oxf.
 J. Forster Alleyne, M.A. Balliol Coll. Oxf.
 W. Kerr Hamilton, M.A. Merton Coll. Oxf.
 Lord Sandon, M.A. Christ Church, Oxf.
 R. Bassett Wilson, M.A. Univ. Coll. Oxf.
 W. R. Courtenay, B.C.L. All Souls' Coll.
 Oxford.
 Lord Adare, B.A. Trinity Coll. Dublin.
 W. R. Hamilton, B.A. Trin. Coll. Dublin.

On Tuesday, July 5, being Commencement Day, the following Doctors and Masters of Arts were created:—

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

Rev. Samuel Lee, Trinity Coll.
 Rev. Wm. Steven Gilly, Catharine Hall.

DOCTORS IN PHYSIC.

William G. Peene, Trinity Coll.

Charles Morgan Lemann, Trinity Coll.
 James Johnstone, Trinity Coll.

DOCTOR OF CIVIL LAW.

Richard Samuel Dixon, Trinity Hall.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

KING'S COLL.
 J. Wolvey Astley
 George Thackeray
 Thomas Philpotts
 Charles Luxmoore

ST. PETER'S COLL.
 Comyns Tucker
 G. Harvey Vachell
 Rowland Fawcett
 Edmund Cory
 William Fletcher
 Henry Dowell
 Matt. D. Williams
 Wm. F. Raymond
 Thomas Moore
 Wm. John James
 Robert Hawthorn
 James Kirkpatrick

CLARE HALL.
 Philip Wm. Ray
 Wm. H. Molineux
 W. Perceval Bailly
 T. Dickinson Hall
 Wm. Knapp Jonas

Thomas Hills
 L. Erasmus Dryden
 Ben. T. Williams

PEMBROKE COLL.
 Hen. Tho. Liveing
 Thomas England
 Rich. Nelson Barnes

CAIUS COLL.
 J. Medows Rodwell
 Thomas Wall
 Stephen Jackson
 W. Handley Bland
 William Jay
 Rob. Cha. Vaughan
 T. L. J. Sunderland

TRINITY HALL.
 Pet. Le Neve Foster

CORP. CHR. COLL.
 Jas. Septimus Cox
 Joseph Pullen
 Edwin Steventon
 Charles Chapman
 John Hooper

Tho. Cha. Barton
 Henry Geo. Walsh
 Thomas Dwyer
 William Millett
 James Elliott
 Samuel Leggatt
 Chas. F. Bagshawe
 J. Calvert Blathwayt
 Thomas Browne

QUEEN'S COLL.
 Frederick Hose
 W. Dixon Rangleley
 Francis Upjohn
 Joseph Brown
 Jas. Edward Dakon
 Edward Weigall
 Jas. Langton Clarke
 Jas. S. Shackelford
 George Kember
 Edm. Long Eve
 Frederick Norris
 Samuel Newall

CATHARINE HALL.
 Wm. Daniel Fyson

Henry Kubiff
 Philip Simpson
 Josiah Crofts
 Andrew Watson

JESUS COLL.
 James Samuel Lake
 Samuel Rowe
 Samuel Coates
 Robert Ingram

CHRIST'S COLL.
 Adam Fitch
 James Penfold
 G. Vaughan Jackson
 Wm. Darwin Fox
 Thomas Burroughes
 George Simpson
 Wm. Fred. Carter
 E. Arnett Powell

ST. JOHN'S COLL.
 Thos. Greenwood
 W. Morrell Lawson
 C. Carda Babington
 Fred. Chas. Crick
 Chas. Tho. Whitley

Charles Merivale
Christopher Clarke
J. Maurice Herbert
Jos. Dunnington
W. Pantou Walker
John Hodgkinson
Jas. Castle Burnett
James Colley
John Fielden
Edmund Carrington
Wm. Fred. Beadon
John Lawes
Frederick Reade
William Singleton
Jonath. Blackburne
Charles Pritchard
F. John Stainforth
George Wharton
George Moody
Samuel Shields
William Hewson
Herbert C. Marsh
E. Hayes Pickering
Thos. Leonard Hill
G. Stammers Barrow
John Browne

W. Windham Farr
MAGDALENE COLL.
George Urquhart
Edward Dodd
John Foster
Henry J. Lockwood
G. Frankland Lewis
Edward Yardly
F. T. W. C. Fitzroy
A. Allicocke Young
Henry J. Jackson
William Breynton

TRINITY COLL.
Charles Lestourgeon
Weeden Butler
Samuel Marindin
Leonard Thompson
J. Mitchell Kemble
Joseph Mann
Thomas Wilkinson
Thos. Henry Steele
T. Borrow Burcham
Christ. Wordsworth
John Moore Heath

John Frere
John Wilson
Urban Smith
William Foulger
Edward Vaux
E. Harner Ravenhill
W. Lloyd Birkbeck
Wm. John Travis
William Colquhoun
Charles Bigsby
C. Eboral Rogers
James Brogden
Peter Carey
Charles Hebert
Henry Prater
Thomas Myers
Jos. Yates Cookson
F. William Rhodes
Wm. Bunting Tate
Richard Mosley
William Ramshay
H. Belmont Sims
E. A. Illingworth
Anthony Gordon
Rich. Peter Hoare
Thomas Wilson

Stephen Davies
Jas. Frederick Todd
R. Chenevix Trench
George Arkwright
Joseph Taylor
Thomas Greenwood
Thomas Quayle
John Fearnley
Wm. G. Ponsonby
Edwin Hill Handley

EMMANUEL COLL.
Frederick Watkins
Roger Baston
William Wall
Jas. Richard Browne
W. Charles Holder

SIDNEY COLL.
George Johnson
J. W. L. Heaviside
M. T. S. Raimbach
Vicesimus K. Child
T. Francis Layng

DOWNING COLL.
William P. Hulton
Thos. P. Michell

**MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.**

Elections.

George Ray, B.A. of St. Peter's College, has been elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society.

The Earl of Compton, son of the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Thurlow, the Hon. W. J. Wentworth Fitzwilliam, and the Hon. Philip York Saville, have been admitted of Trinity College.

Grace.

A Grace to the following effect has passed the Senate.

To allow the Syndics for building an Anatomical Museum and Lecture Rooms, for the Professors of Anatomy and Chemistry, a sum of money not exceeding £220 for the fitting up the same, in addition to the sum voted for the erection of those buildings.

COMBINATION PAPER.

PRIOR COMB.

- Aug. 4. Mr. Newberry, Regin.
11. Mr. Hine, Sid.
18. Mr. Otter, sen., Jes.
25. Coll. Regal.
Sept. 1. Coll. Trin.
8. Coll. Joh.
15. Mr. Hall, Magd.
22. Mr. Sikes, Regin.
29. Mr. Skinner, Sid.
Oct. 6. Mr. Steggell, Jes.
13. Coll. Regal.
Oct. 20. Coll. Trin.
27. **COMMEN. BENEFACT.**
Nov. 3. Coll. Joh.
10. Mr. Ford, Magd.
17. Mr. Fitzherbert, Regin.
24. Mr. Barne, Sid.
Dec. 1. Mr. Otter, Jun. Jes.
8. Coll. Regal.
15. Coll. Trin.
22. Coll. Joh.
29. M. Evans, Pet.

POSTER COMB.

- Aug. 4. Mr. Buckle, Sid.
 11. Mr. Gedge, Cath.
 18. Mr. Tecson, Clar.
 24. FEST. S. BART. Mr. Ford, Magd.
 25. Mr. Evans, Pet.
- Sept. 1. Mr. Wardell, Trin.
 8. Mr. Jones, Pet.
 15. Mr. Carter, Joh.
 21. FEST. S. MATT. Mr. Ruddock, Joh.
 22. Mr. Turnet, Corp.
 29. FEST. S. MICH. Mr. Remington, Trin.
- Oct. 6. Mr. Gibson, Trin.
 13. Mr. E. Wilson, Cath.
 18. FEST. S. LUC. Mr. Severne, Chr.
 20. Mr. R. Wilson, Joh.
 27. Mr. Baldwin, Chr.
 28. FEST. SS. SIM. ET JUD. Mr. F. White, Trin.
- Nov. 1. FEST. OM. SANCT. Mr. N. Robinson, Trin.
 3. Mr. Rodmell, Trin.
 10. Mr. T. Williams, Joh.
 17. Mr. Daniel, Clar.
 24. Mr. Napleton, Sid.
 30. FEST. S. AND. Mr. Colls, Chr.
- Dec. 1. Mr. Wilmot, Joh.
 8. Mr. Sandys, Pemb.
 15. Mr. Symes, Jes.
 21. FEST. S. THOM. Mr. Hannam, Joh.
 22. Mr. Drake, Joh.
 25. FEST. NATIV. Mr. Bagshawe, Magd.
 26. FEST. S. STEPH. Mr. J. B. Robinson, Trin.
 27. FEST. S. JOH. Mr. Whiter, Clar.
 28. FEST. INNOC. Mr. Lawson, Joh.
 29. Mr. Bazely, Clar.

Resp. in Theolog.

- Mr. G.A. Browne, Trin. { *Oppon.*
 Coll. Regal.
 Coll. Trin.
 Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Turner, Mag.
 Mr. Harris, Cath.
 Mr. Sutton, Clar.
 Mr. Hutchinson,
 Jes.
 Coll. Regal.
 Coll. Trin.
 Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Chichester,
 Magd.
 Mr. Gleadall, Cath
- Mr. Blakeney, Joh. {
 Mr. Gimingham, Cai. {
 Mr. Day, Cai. {

Resp. in Jur. Civ.

- Mr. Ireland, Emman. { *Oppon.*
 Mr. T. Marshall,
 Joh.
 Mr. Godfrey, Joh.

Resp. in Medic.

- Mr. Paget, Cai. { *Oppon.*
 Mr. Nairne, Trin.
 Mr. Shann, Trin.

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